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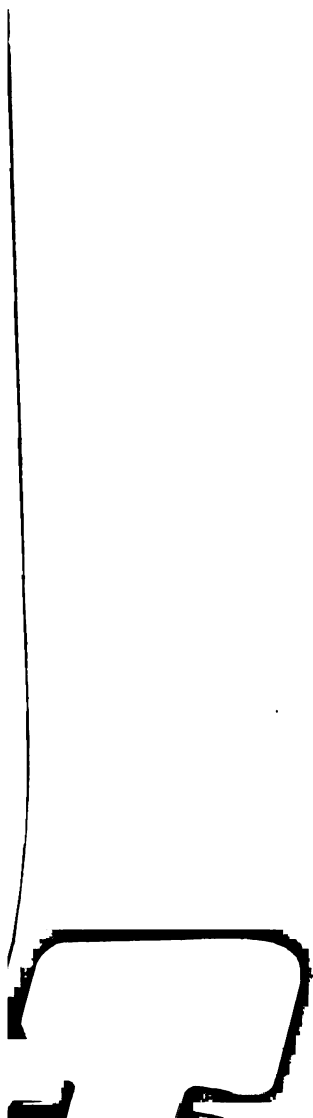
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# LUTON CHURCH

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

BY THE LATE

HENRY COBBE, M.A.

RECTOR OF MAULDEN, BEDFORDSHIRE; RURAL DEAN  
OF AMPHILL

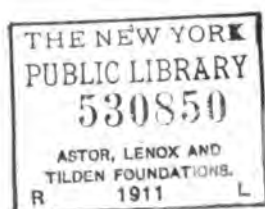
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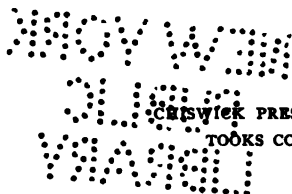
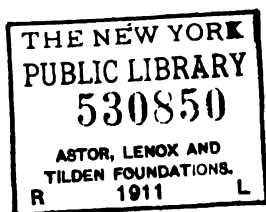
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Yet modern writers have in general, with a singular disregard of both etymological and historical intimations, attributed well-nigh all that is recorded of its earliest history to some town or village not heard of till generations later, whilst even the tradition of those more recent events and persons which are plainly and rightly accredited to it in well-known records, has, for the most part, died out of the memory of its present population.

Yet Luton, as will be seen, has played its part, and a not inglorious or altogether unimportant part, from the very earliest times, in the story of the nation. It possesses one site, at least, within its borders of more than ordinary, it may be of unique interest, and two or more manors of perhaps little less historical consideration. It can claim among the lords of its chief manor, besides a long succession of worthy kings, some of the foremost champions of liberty and men of the most noble character, and it has seen in its streets or heard in its fanes many of the notables of both mediæval and modern times; whilst it can show in the history and present aspect of its venerable parish church, with its well-authenticated succession of clergy dating from Saxon times to the present hour, an evidence as well of the continuity of the National Church, alike through changes of race and dynasty, of policies and creed, as of the still-existent beauty of one at least of her mediæval fanes, notwithstanding both royal and fanatical despoilers.

Primæval men, both Paleolithic and Neolithic, have left here, as elsewhere in the county, the mark of their residence in stone implements and weapons, in hatchets and scrapers, in spear and arrow-heads. British princes, both of early and of late date, as well as Roman officers with their subalterns, have almost certainly dwelt within its borders. Anglian, Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings have, in turn, owned its broad acres, and through a long series of years claimed annually from their tenants thereon their "honey and other provision for the royal table," their sumpter horse and hunting dogs, besides their four ounces of gold for their queen's wardrobe, even if they have not themselves, as one at least is recorded to have done, rested at their vill or

"bury" there as they moved from manor to manor. Once at least, also (November 12th, 931), subject kings and the whole hierarchy of the kingdom, with all the chief nobles of the land, met their sovereign in solemn witenagemot of the whole nation—the grandest assembly of the kind on record—at his Luton mansion, where, as usual when such meetings were held at one of his manors, they "enjoyed the hospitality of the king."

The coins, too, and the tiles, the weapons, utensils, and bones of these several races found in the valley of the Lea, at Leagrave and Limbury, at Dallow and the Hoo, and elsewhere therein, attest that each race in succession lived and toiled as well as fought and died there.

Men of mark, too, Earls of Perche, Albemarle, and Pembroke, the Princess Eleanor Plantagenet and her canonized husband, Simon de Montfort, John, Duke of Bedford, the wise and patriotic councillor of Henry VI., Mortimers, Wenlocks, Rotherams, Napiers, and Stuarts, all names had in high estimation in their day, have each in succession held its chief manor, while others of no little note also, as Robert, the princely Earl of Gloucester, Robert Fitzwalter, "Marshal of the Army of God and of His Church" in the days of Magna Charta, Hoo, Cheney, Lucy, and others, have possessed its other lands and manors. A Stuart queen on her progress with her husband through his kingdom (1605) "reposed" at one of its homesteads. A prime minister (the Earl of Bute) built and resided at its chief mansion in modern times. A poet, John Pomfret, very popular in his day, but finding an unhappy and early grave, was born in its vicarage. George Fox, John Wesley, Dr. Johnson, each has recorded in his diary his visits to the town; while tradition adds to the list of occasional preachers there the name of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. An archbishop of Canterbury (John Peckham) in his dress as a Franciscan friar held a visitation there (1279). Reginald Pole, though cardinal and primate of all England, thought it not beneath his dignity to accept from the Crown, by special Act of Parliament, part of the tithes of the parish church.

The nobility of the land in the crisis of 1245 named it as their

trysting-place, ostensibly for a tournament, virtually to oppose the Pope's pretensions and exactions. The manor of Luton is the chief manor of the hundred, its parish boundaries the most extensive in the county, its population second in number only to that of the chief town of the shire. The revenues of its church—from both its rectory and vicarage—from time immemorial the largest on record of all its neighbours; “the ordination” of its vicarage—the result of a long contest between bishop and abbot—the designed model after which all succeeding vicarages were to be formed. Of its clergy, not a few have risen to the highest offices and dignities in the Church, one aspiring even to the Popedom itself. Hospitals, once planted upon its soil, claimed, legitimately, as their founders, one the first of the Plantagenet kings, the other his unbending subject, the murdered and canonized Thomas à Becket.

It is part of the scheme of the following pages to give a short biography, as far as ascertainable, of each of the persons who have been most intimately connected with the church.

But the chief design of the work is to give as full an account as practicable of the history of the church of the parish from the earliest times to the present day. That history appears to go back to the remotest period, even to that of the introduction of Christianity into this part of the country. If the conjectures hereafter made be well founded, then the church at Luton bore a prominent and honourable part in the first propagation of the gospel in the Midlands. It has been found, happily, that events connected intimately with the church of the parish, both at an early and at a later period, have been noted and preserved with unusual fulness. Similar events may have been happening and probably were happening elsewhere, even in the immediate neighbourhood, but they have not always been similarly recorded or the account preserved. The history of Luton church may therefore be taken as a specimen, and probably a fair specimen, of how it was faring with a large proportion of the numerous churches throughout the land, numbering, it is reckoned, at the date of the Survey, some six or seven thousand, and increasing

gradually to double that amount during the succeeding eight centuries.

This gives to that history a more than local and limited interest. Contentions concerning rights of patronage, monastic appropriations of revenues, papal and royal exactions, "ordinations" of vicarages, disputes concerning tithes and glebes, the building, the neglect, the decay or consumption by fire of the material fabric of the church; its frequent, almost continuous, restorations; generous grants made for the more solemn and decorous performance of divine offices therein; the increasing beauty of the architecture of the sanctuary; its gradual decline to the poorest imitation of domestic forms, and the revival again of a purer and more reverent taste and style; the introduction of the various kinds of monuments to the dead, each age having its own ideas of appropriateness; the erection and recasting of bells, each bell so often telling its own tale, and not seldom that of the parish also; the institution of rectors and vicars, and the appointment of chantry priests; the variableness in the number of official assistants in the conduct of public worship, and the establishment of guilds to help the clergy both within and without the church—these and many suchlike facts and events which are recorded in the following pages are such as might be found with but slight modifications in the story of almost every parish around, could that story but be unfolded.

But beyond the changes thus continually going on, at Luton as elsewhere, the fulness of the records connected with its church has made it possible to exhibit a series of rectors and vicars believed to be almost unique. The twelfth century, even when we have the names of the rectors during the days of the Confessor and the Conqueror, is too often a blank in the list of the clergy of a parish. The *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* helps us to bridge over this period in the case of Luton. By this means, supplemented by later documents, the continuity of the church through its ministry is exhibited throughout a period of at least eight hundred years—an interesting instance in itself, and valuable as showing that, if other early documents had been preserved, the same con-

tinuity of clergy might have been proved to have existed in almost every other parish church.

Though, owing to the paucity of Saxon documents, it is quite impossible to trace in all its stages in any parish the early development of the parochial system, yet something of it may be seen in the case of Luton, and some basis seems to be afforded for justifiable conjectures as to its further growth there. As being a royal manor, and situated where it was, it was probably as early as any in Mercia a complete parish with its own priest, and its church endowed with both land and tithe. An attempt has been made even to fix the date of that foundation.

As was to be expected, the story of Luton church has been from the first more or less connected with the general history both of the church and of the country. Without unnecessary digression that connection, in order to the better understanding of the facts and events related, has been at times exhibited, the bearing of each upon the other being often of considerable local interest. Where the introduction, however, of that history would have broken the continuity of the narrative, it has, when chiefly connected with the parochial history of Luton, if too long for a footnote, been generally consigned to the Appendix, whilst in the instances where the subject is also of county or more general interest, the discussion of it has been made to form part of a distinct portion of the work (Part IV.).<sup>1</sup>

HENRY COBBE.

*Maulden Rectory.*

<sup>1</sup> Part III., "The History of the Wenlock Family," and Part IV. are not at present in course of publication.

The proofs of this work were only corrected by the author to the end of Part I. The following notice appeared in *The Guardian* of November 30th, 1898 :

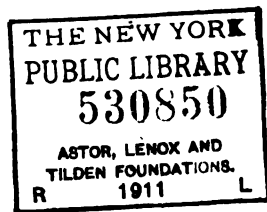
“ In Memoriam—Henry Cobbe.

“ By the death of the revered *Henry Cobbe*, a charming personality has been removed from the life and work of the Church in South Bedfordshire. Although he had reached a great age, his appearance and manners were young and vigorous, but an autumn chill developed into broncho-pneumonia, failure of the heart supervening, and he peacefully ended his happy and useful life two days after completing his eighty-first birthday. He was widely known as a scholar and antiquarian ; but, while his knowledge and literary tastes, if indulged, might have given him, like his gifted sister, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, considerable celebrity, he was contented to live his life as a country rector. He has left behind him a completed MS. on the antiquities of Luton, which we believe is in the process of publication. This has been the work of many years.

“ The deceased, who was born on November 11th, 1817, was the fourth and youngest son of the late Charles Cobbe, of Newbridge House, Donabate, County Dublin. One of his ancestors was Archbishop Cobbe, of Dublin (born in 1686 and died in 1765), who built Newbridge House about 1737.

“ Henry Cobbe was an Oriel man and graduated at Oxford in 1840, taking holy orders in 1842 from the Bishop of Kilmore. He remained a curate at Kilmore until his appointment in 1846 as incumbent of Grange, in Armagh. In 1866 he was preferred to the rectory of Milton Bryant in Bedfordshire, and in 1879 to Maulden rectory, in the patronage of the Marquis of Ailesbury. In 1894 the Bishop of Ely gave him the position of rural dean in the deanery of Ampthill, where he received the unstinted confidence and regard of all the clergy. He was carried to the grave by the clergy of the deanery, who were followed by a host of sorrowing friends and parishioners.

“ He merited and met the reward of a simple, earnest, and kindly life spent for the honour of his Master and the good of his people.”



ROY WAT  
1888  
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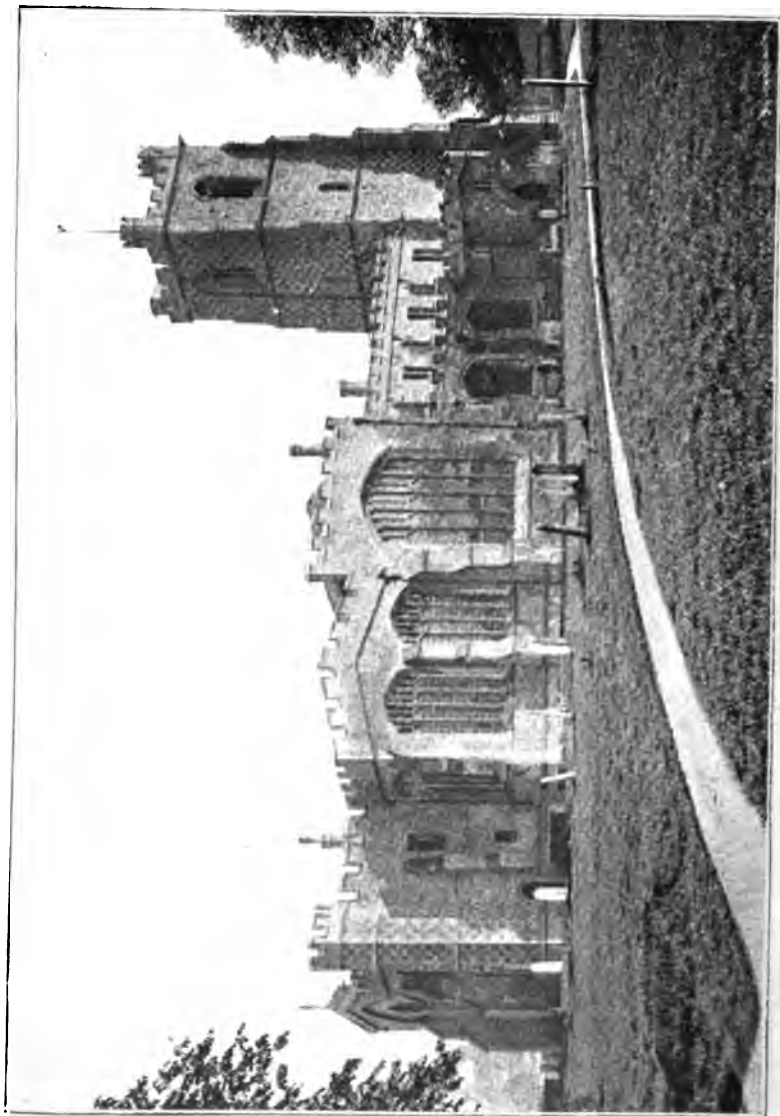
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VIEW OF CHURCH FROM THE NORTH-EAST, WITH SACRISTY AND WENLOCK CHAPEL.

# THE HISTORY OF LUTON CHURCH.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

#### 1. *Bedfordshire. Luton.*

EARLY historical notices of any portion of that central part of England in which Luton<sup>1</sup> is situated—now popularly called “the Midlands”—are admittedly few and meagre.<sup>2</sup> The immediate district with which the township has been connected since the beginning of the tenth century has been known from that date as the county, or shire, of Bedford; and as such must have had a somewhat distinct and corporate existence and therefore a special history of its own. Yet even of this period up to the time of the Norman Survey, beyond a few casual allusions, and those chiefly to be found in monastic and private documents, we have hardly a single fact recorded relating to any place within the borders of the shire. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be still fewer notices of preceding times. Nevertheless in the three previous centuries the district must have been the scene of events of much greater moment than during the later period. At its commencement, soon after the inroad of the West Saxons in 571, even if not previously on the north of the Ouse, the original inhabitants, the Romanized Britons, were being more or less speedily dispossessed of their towns and forts, their homesteads and holdings; they themselves were slain, driven away or enslaved, and their place taken by another and more vigorous race—the ancestors, presumably, of many who still dwell within its bounds. Later on came, no doubt, struggles between the various tribes and families of the invader for the possession of the best of the land; rivalries

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A, *Various Lutons*.

<sup>2</sup> “Mercia has left us neither the name of an author nor even a meagre chronicle” (Lapenberg, *Hist. of England*, p. 221).

between small clans or states, and still more frequently between their rulers; and then the gradual absorption of these smaller into one larger ealdormanry or petty kingdom; this last, perhaps, somewhat conterminous with the present county and eventually determining its boundaries. It was probably at this stage of the development of kingship among them, that the Mercian monarch, Penda, annexed the entire region to his own dominions. The district now called Bedfordshire thus became part of the great kingdom of Mercia. This was speedily followed by the greater change wrought in the character and habits of the people by their conversion to Christianity and the general advance of civilization.

The records of these events would have been of no little interest to after-generations; but if, perchance, the account of any portion of them was ever preserved in either of the monasteries of Mercia, it doubtless perished when those seats of learning and piety were rifled and burnt in the ninth century by the next invader of these shores, the ruthless Dane. It was hardly to be expected that occurrences which happened in so small a district, and so similar to those which were taking place elsewhere, should find any but an exceptional place in the annals of a distant monastery. It is only, therefore, on those few occasions when its affairs came to be connected more or less directly with those of some other kingdom,—as with that of the West Saxons in 571, and of Northumbria in 652,—that any allusions to them occur either in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede<sup>1</sup> (if his words include the district in question) or in the wider record of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>2</sup> Consequent on this, and owing to the rarity of other early manuscripts, scarcely more than one or two references to any events which can with certainty be attached to some acknowledged place<sup>3</sup> within the district are to be found chronicled in any one century of the Saxon

<sup>1</sup> Bede flourished 672-735, spending the greater part of his life at the monastery of Jarrow-upon-the-Tyne. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English* was for many centuries the only source of knowledge to the nation of its early history (Smith, *Eng. Lit.*), yet the name of neither Bedford itself nor of any place within the borders of the present shire ever occur in the history; nor is there any direct reference of the kind even in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with the exception of the transactions of 571, till the year 917.

<sup>2</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* exists in seven separate forms, each named after the monastery in which it was compiled, and of which the Winchester and Peterborough Chronicles are the most valuable. The earliest is that of Winchester, begun probably in Alfred's reign (871-901).

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B, *Places in Bedfordshire mentioned in Pre-Norman Records.*

period previous to that which closed with the Norman Conquest. Yet, notwithstanding this paucity of records and the brief and fragmentary nature of those which have come down to us, it will be seen even from these documents, supplemented by a few others of later date, that, considering its position, LUTON played no inconspicuous part in the history of those early times.

Nor was the early ecclesiastical history of the township devoid of considerable, if not of unique, interest and importance. As the name of one of its hamlets (Limbury) seems to point unmistakably to the spot where the first recorded great event in its civil history was enacted, so, in the name of another (Biscot, Bishopscote) we appear to have a valuable hieroglyph, as it were, of the beginnings of its ecclesiastical and religious history. It may even happen that in unrolling the volume of its story we may find evidence enough to lead us to the opinion that the approximate date at least, if not the actual year and day, albeit nine centuries and a half ago, of the foundation of the first parochial church of Luton—the earliest church of the kind, seemingly, in the county—may with considerable probability be reached.

And when it is remembered that the contemporary history—at least that previous to the eleventh century—of every other *parish church*<sup>1</sup> in the county is entirely lost in oblivion, and that here alone, therefore, we appear to have not merely the earliest memorials, but the only traces, of either the introduction or the early spread of Christianity in the district, these vestiges of the past, slight in themselves and of only local interest as they might otherwise be deemed, seem to acquire, like ancient footprints on the now hardened sandstone, a special value and significance; like

<sup>1</sup> Considering that even in the following pages no little reference will be made to the supposed early history of S. Paul's, Bedford, it may appear as an oversight not to except that church from the above general remark. But though numbered now among parish churches, it was from its foundation and throughout the Saxon period a Monastic or Collegiate church. Its earliest assured history, moreover, commences too late to cast any light upon the first beginnings of Christianity in these parts, whilst from its position as a monastic church it can give little or no intimation of the condition even of the later parish churches of Pre-Norman times. Owing, however, to its presumed connection at a very early period with that of Luton, an attempt has been made in a succeeding chapter, and more fully in Part IV., to recover its almost forgotten but by no means uninteresting story. The two histories happily combine to show the vicissitudes and dangers through which the Saxon Church of the country had to pass in each department of her organization, monastic and parochial.

them both stirring and guiding conjecture as to times of which we have neither written history nor even faint tradition. If these vestiges have been interpreted aright in the following pages, then the Royal estate of Luton was the earliest home of the Church in the county. Upon its soil the first house of God was probably erected, the first-fruits unto Christ were gathered; and in the water of its stream (the Lea) the first Christian converts of the neighbourhood were baptized. To trace the development of that hopeful and pregnant beginning up to its present consummation is the special object of this history.

## 2. *Early Records relating to Luton and its Church.*

The Norman Survey (A.D. 1086), which makes mention directly of only four churches in Bedfordshire,<sup>1</sup> supplies the three following statements<sup>2</sup>: (1) that one of these churches, which had been in existence also during the preceding reign, was at Luton; (2) that this church had the rich endowment of five hides of land; and (3) that its priest in King Edward's time, the Saxon Morcar, used to minister therein, seemingly to some seven or eight hundred souls.<sup>3</sup>

Documents<sup>4</sup> of only a little later date add (4) that this church, being that of a Royal Manor, had been built "upon the king's demesne;" (5) that its endowment with these five hides of land

<sup>1</sup> Viz., Luton, Houghton (Regis), and Leighton, all Royal Manor churches, and S. Paul's, Bedford, a collegiate church (Part IV., *Saxon Churches in Bedfordshire*).

<sup>2</sup> "William, the Chamberlain, holds the church of this manor (Luton) from the king, with the five hides of land which belong to it. These five hides are counted in the thirty hides of the manor. The arable land is 6 carucates, one carucate is in demesne, and villeins hold 5 carucates. There are 11 villeins there, and 4 bordars, and 3 serfs. And one mill worth 10s. The church renders 20s. per ann. A wood for 50 swine. The whole was valued in King Edward's time and at the Conquest, and is valued still, at 60s. Morcar the priest held this church with the land in the time of King Edward" (Appendix C, *Extended Latin Text of Domesday*).

<sup>3</sup> The total number of the villeins within what was probably then, as now, the boundary of the parish, was 101, viz., belonging to the manor of Luton, 80, to that of Biscot, 10, of the church, 11; the number of bordars 51, viz., Luton, 47, Biscot, 0, the church, 4; and of serfs, 6, viz., Luton, 0, Biscot, 3, the church, 3; total 158, which may be considered approximately as the number of the heads of families, many artisans and others being omitted in the census as unconnected with the land.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, by Thomas Walsingham (Chron. and Mem. (No. 28), i., pp. 122, 115), where the verdicts of juries on these points in A.D. 1155 and 1139 are given.

had taken place "at its first foundation ;" and also (6) that they had been given to it "in free alms."

These several statements, though apparently somewhat meagre in themselves, yet when taken in connection with certain facts which will be adduced, throw a light upon the early years of the church at Luton and its ancient endowment such as is not always obtainable, even in the case of churches well known to have been in existence long previous to the Norman Conquest. They supply also important clues to its site, its founder, and the date of its foundation.

Nor do even these exhaust our sources of information bearing upon the origin and development of the early Christian community at Luton. For although the above is nearly all that is definitely recorded of this, the first historical church of the parish, in those documents which professedly give some account of the matter, yet a good deal more is to be found elsewhere, which, if not directly connected with that particular fabric, as relating to a time anterior to its existence, nevertheless helps to unveil to some considerable extent the still earlier ecclesiastical history of that district which is now the manor and parish of Luton. And to that earlier history, no doubt, the parish church of Luton, and probably that of many a neighbouring district, is indebted for its origin.

### 3. *Offa's Grant to S. Alban's of land in Luton.*<sup>1</sup>

Offa "the Terrible," the King of Mercia, three centuries previously to Domesday (792) granted "the land of five manentes (or tenants) in *Lygettune*" (a name identified by Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, i. 443, with *Luton*) to S. Alban's Abbey, which he had founded the year before.

These "five *manses*," as such holdings are called, had certainly ceased to belong to S. Alban's at least as early as the time of Edward the Confessor, and probably for some two centuries previously. There are many reasons for concluding, as will be shown later on, that they are the same lands as those of a certain manor, which, though jutting into the very centre and completely surrounded by the Royal Manor, were found at the Domesday Survey



KING OFFA.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix D, *Offa's Charter*.

so entirely separate and distinct from it as to have been for many years neither in the possession of the crown nor even attached to the same Hundred.<sup>1</sup> As this manor bore at that time a distinct name, viz., that of one of the hamlets of the parish (Biscot), its subsequent history can easily be traced.

But wherever these manses were situated, whether their locality can be determined or not, it is worthy of note that from the fact of their being thus mentioned in Offa's grant—the earliest extant charter, so far as is known, which contains a reference to any place within the borders of the shire—they possess the special distinction of having been the very earliest lands in the whole county of Bedford of the gift of which to God and to His Church for the support and propagation of Christianity the record has been preserved.

This, however, is not the whole amount of interest attached to these manses, nor the only ground for desiring to determine with certainty their situation and to identify them with lands which can be definitely recognized.

They have undoubtedly a still earlier history attached to them; one indeed of comparatively little interest so long as their locality remains undecided, but of which, when this has been satisfactorily established, the document containing their grant by Offa becomes a valuable link, connecting, it may be, another century or more of previous ecclesiastical events at Luton with those of the eleven hundred years which have since elapsed.

For Offa in his very grant of these manses<sup>2</sup> to S. Alban's Abbey recounts one important event at least in their former history, viz., that they had, antecedently to his acquisition of them, belonged to a still earlier monastery, having been given to him by Alhmund, the abbot of that monastery. It follows therefore that they had been the *property of the Church* for some time even previous to Offa's possession of them. And if their above identification be correct, and also the suggested origin of the name still attached to them be admitted, it will appear that their original and first grant of all to the Church must have preceded even the acquisition of them by Alhmund's monastery.

<sup>1</sup> No other manor or lands within the parish besides this and that of the church are either named or in any other way distinguished from the rest of the royal manor in Domesday; these peculiarities unmistakably pointing to something exceptional in the previous history of each of them.

<sup>2</sup> "At Lygetune the land of five manentes, viz., that which *Abbot Alhmund*, who had deceitfully neglected the fyrd, gave me by way of reconciliation" (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 224).



And moreover as there is every reason to suppose that the royal estate<sup>1</sup> or *vill* of Luton, by whatever name it was then known, included in the earliest times those very manses as well as the rest of the present manor, these lands must have been originally granted away to the Church by one of Offa's predecessors, *i.e.*, by one of the first Christian rulers of Mercia,<sup>2</sup> of which only five or six preceded him.<sup>3</sup>

This takes us back, apparently, even to the period of the implantation of Christianity among the "Angelcyn" of this part of the country.

The story of its introduction into the neighbouring counties of Leicester and Northampton is, in its outline at least, well known, but the extension of the work into Bedfordshire and its subsequent history there for some centuries are involved in much obscurity; and though we are not without one or two recorded facts in connection therewith—and Luton itself, as will be seen, was probably one of its earliest centres, if not its very earliest—yet in these matters we are necessarily left in great measure to inference and conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> Even if there were no other reasons to conclude that these manses formed part of the *Crown Estate* of Luton, the very fact of their being at that early period given to a *Bishop* is sufficient proof that they were then in the hands of the king (Appendix E, *The Royal Manors of Bedfordshire*).

<sup>2</sup> As the question at what time Bedfordshire became a part of Mercia lies at the foundation of many of the following arguments and conjectures, and yet the point seems never to have received due consideration on the part of any author, it has been deemed well to discuss the subject at some length (Appendix F, *Early History of Bedfordshire*).

<sup>3</sup> Namely Peada, Governor of the Mid-Anglians under his father, Penda, 653, and "of all the Mercians south of the Trent" under his father-in-law, Oswy of Northumbria, 655, but murdered the following year; Oswy, who, after slaying Penda, 655, and annexing Mercia to his own kingdom of Northumbria, retained in his own hands only the country north of the Trent, but on the death of Peada apparently resumed the whole of Mercia; Wulfhere, who wrested the kingdom of Mercia from Oswy, 658-675; Ethelred, his brother, 675, who died Abbot of Bardney, Lincolnshire, 716; Cenred, 704-709, who died a monk at Rome; Coelred, 709-716, who died insane; and Ethelbald, 716-756, the founder of Croyland Abbey (Part IV., *The Pedigree of the Mercian Kings*). It will be seen further on that the arguments appear to be strongly in favour of *Oswy* having been the original donor of the manses, the first Bishop of Mercia having been appointed by him.

## CHAPTER II.

EARLY ENGLISH TIMES, A.D. 653-919.

1. *The Introduction of Christianity into the Midlands.*

PEADA, the son of the heathen King Penda of Mercia, and himself still a heathen, having been appointed by his father (A.D. 653) governor or under-king of the Mid-Anglians (Leicestershire, etc.), and seeking in marriage Ealhflæd, daughter of the Christian King Oswy of Northumbria, was accepted<sup>1</sup> on condition of embracing Christianity along with the nation he governed. Putting himself under instruction he soon declared that he was ready to become a Christian, even though the damsel were refused him. He was accordingly baptized, at At-Wall near Newcastle, by S. Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, together "with all his thanes<sup>2</sup> and soldiers and their servants who had come with him;" and returning to his dominion with his bride he brought back also four priests<sup>3</sup> to instruct his subjects. Three of them, Cedd, Adda, and Betti, were Northumbrian Angles, and the fourth, a Scot or Irishman named Diuma. Of Adda and Betti we hear no more after this, except of their zeal and their success, but Cedd was soon (654) called to work elsewhere and consecrated Bishop of the East Saxons (London); whilst Diuma, after three years of labour among the Mid-Anglians, was "hallowed" as missionary bishop (656) not only for the Mid-Anglians but for the other Mercians to the far west and for the Lindisfaras, or Lincolnshire folk, to the east.

By these missionaries and their disciples,<sup>4</sup> within the course of

<sup>1</sup> Bede, iii. 21; Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Part IV., *The Missionaries of the Mid-Anglians*.

<sup>3</sup> One of these was Saxulf, who became the builder and first Abbot of Medeshamstede, and afterwards successively Bishop of Leicester and of Lichfield, in each of which latter capacities he was Diocesan of Bedfordshire.

<sup>4</sup> "Anno 653. In this year the Mid-Anglians under Ealdorman Peada received the orthodox faith" (*A. S. Chron.*; Bede, v. 24). The missionaries "preached the word and were willingly listened to, and many, as well of the nobility as the common sort, renouncing the abominations of idolatry, were baptized (*fonte saluatoris ablutos*) daily" (Bede, iii. 2).

three or four years "the five thousand families of the Mid-Anglians" were led to renounce idolatry and to profess themselves Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Cedd and his companions seem to have made Leicester<sup>2</sup> (which was probably Peada's capital) the centre of their work; extending their labours to Repton on the north-west, and to Medeshamstede (Peterborough) on the east. How far south they came is not recorded, nor is it even known for certain how far in this direction Peada's kingdom extended;<sup>3</sup> but there are many reasons

<sup>1</sup> It has been observed that notwithstanding the rapid and almost instantaneous conversion of Mercia, the work remained permanent, and that, unlike other converts in Yorkshire, East Anglia, Essex, and Kent, the people of Mercia never relapsed into heathenism (Freeman, *Old English Hist.*, p. 61).

<sup>2</sup> "They preached round Leicester, and as far north as Repton; sometimes they even crossed the Trent into Staffordshire and the Peak" (Dioc. Hist. *Lichfeld*, p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bright (*Chapters on Church Hist.*, p. 174) interprets Bede's language (*E. H.*, iii. 21, iv. 2) as if the Mid-Anglians in Peada's time only extended southward as far as to the Bedford district, "between (as he says) the Trent and the Bedford district;" Maclear (*The English*, p. 75) assigns to them the whole of the north of Beds down to the Ouse, "between the Trent and the Bedfordshire Ouse;" whilst Green in his map (pp. 10, 11, *Short Hist.*) of "Britain in the Midst of the English Conquest," makes the *Mercian kingdom* to include the whole of Beds, and in another map, "The English Kingdoms in 600," i.e., fifty-three years before this period (*Hist. of the Eng. People*, pp. 32, 33), locates the Mid-Anglians in both North and South Beds. In either case Bedfordshire, if not even included in Peada's province, was at least "within the sphere of his influence." Penda after the Battle of Hatfield, 633, is said by Green (*S. H.*, p. 20) to have "united to his own Mercians the Middle English of Leicester, the Southumbrians (of Notts), and the Lindiswaras." However clear the boundaries of the two latter peoples may have been, those of the Middle English—who were constantly spreading southward and settling on both sides of the Ouse, and part of them shortly assuming the name of *South English*, to distinguish themselves from those of Leicester, etc., or of *South Mercians*—must for many years have been very vague and indefinite, varying year after year, yet being gradually extended. That "the Middle English," and consequently Peada's territory, extended beyond the bounds of the modern Leicestershire to which they are so often hastily limited, seems clear from the choice made of Repton and Medeshamstede as missionary stations, the one in *Derbyshire* and the other at the farthest eastern extremity of *Northampton*. In the succeeding reign of Wulfhere, an interval of only three years intervening, it is evident that not merely the whole of Northamptonshire was peopled by Angles, but that monasteries were scattered throughout that county from north to south. But *vide* Appendix F, *Early History of Bedfordshire*.

for concluding that before the end of his reign, short as it was, it reached at least to the Ouse at Bedford, if not still further towards the Chilterns.

## 2. *Monasteries the chief centres of Mission work in the Midlands.*

It was chiefly by the establishment of Sees<sup>1</sup> and the erection of Monasteries<sup>2</sup>—the former, indeed, having almost always one or more of the latter attached to them—that the early Anglo-Saxon kings throughout England aided the spread of Christianity and civilization in their respective dominions. The roof-trees of the bishop and of the abbot, with their “families” of clergy and others, were the great centres everywhere both of spiritual life and of missionary work. In the instance of Mercia, however, as in that of Kent, the earliest missionaries in each kingdom being all attached to some brotherhood, and having at first no bishop at their head, the monastic element naturally took precedence of the episcopal in the conversion of the nation.

Doubtless Peada assisted by grants of land and in other ways in the building of any monastery that arose within his kingdom. There is no mention indeed in the meagre accounts which have come down to us of any Abbey having been erected at Leicester at this early period. Yet, if this were the chief settlement of the missionaries, there can be no doubt that such an institution would be established there from the very first, being required no less as a home<sup>3</sup> for the brotherhood itself—and a refuge and training school for their converts—than as a centre for their work. As in similar cases, one of their company would be elected abbot of this monastery, or some clerk whom they had brought with them would be appointed prior.

Neither does it seem known for certain by whom, or when, the famous Abbey at Repton, “the pride of Mercian piety,”<sup>4</sup> was erected, though it is generally inferred that it also arose in the

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Early Saxon and Anglian Sees.*

<sup>2</sup> Part IV., *Early Monasteries.*

<sup>3</sup> “The advantages of the monastic system for the purposes of evangelization were these : it was powerful through the concentration of the workers at the centre of work ; it was economical, for the clergy thus living together in the most frugal manner, could be maintained more cheaply than in any other way ; it was influential, for their devoted, self-denying life gave the monks influence over the people” (Cutts, *Dict. of the Church of Engl.*, “Monasticism,” p. 410).

<sup>4</sup> Lingard, i. 103.

## II.] MONASTERIES THE CENTRES OF MISSION WORK. 11

days of Peada,<sup>1</sup> or immediately afterwards. Like many of the Northumbrian monasteries, it was unquestionably of the Celtic or Irish type, including both men and women under the rule of an abbess; and near at hand was the royal burial-place, "the sacred mausoleum of all the kings of the Mercians" (Ingulph).

Peada, together with his father-in-law, began also the foundation (though he did not live to see the completion<sup>2</sup>) of a still more famous monastery than even Repton, viz., that at Medeshamstede (Peterborough) on the river Nen, a spot which was probably not far from the extreme eastern boundary of his dominion, in the country of the Girvii or fenmen—indirect evidence that he claimed some authority over these latter and more distant tribes as well as over the Mid-Anglians, properly so-called. If his jurisdiction reached to the Ouse, as is most probable, it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that if the missionaries were enabled to extend their labours so far during his short reign, he would help them to found a monastery<sup>3</sup> of some sort at or near the chief place of that district also, viz., at Bedford,<sup>4</sup> a town not only very nigh to what was probably the south-eastern extremity

<sup>1</sup> Peada was murdered by his wife about Easter, 656 (or 657); Repton Abbey was founded *before* 660 (Birch, *Chron. List of Abbess*); but previous to that date three bishops, all of them monks, and including Diuma, 656-658, are credited by modern historians with having made Repton their headquarters. If so, there must have been some monastic establishment there even then. A crypt still existing at Repton is supposed to have formed part of the *later* conventual church of this monastery, which was destroyed by the Danes when they wintered there in A.D. 874. When Guthlac, who had been trained in Christian ways at Repton by the Abbess Elfrida, 697-699, died at Croyland in 714, in the monastery which he had founded there, Eadburga, a succeeding abbess of Repton, sent him, in memory of his former connection with her abbey, a sarcophagus of Derbyshire lead and a shroud (Bright, p. 395; Dioc. Hist. *Lich.*, p. 31; *Monumental Hist. of the Church*, S.P.C.K., p. 200). At the time of the destruction of the monastery another Eadburga, daughter of Eadulf, King of the E. Angles, was abbess. Dr. Bright (p. 395), speaking of Guthlac going there in 697 during Ethelred's reign, merely states that it had been for some time in existence then.

<sup>2</sup> It was hallowed in A.D. 664, in the reign of Wulfhere, who out of love to his brother's memory, "and for the love of Oswy, his brother by baptism, and for the love of Abbot Saxulf," endowed it with great privileges and gifts of land (*A. S. Chron.*, a. 657), and in the episcopate of Jaruman (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 120; Moberley's *Bede*, iv. 6; Hole, p. 192).

<sup>3</sup> Part IV., *Various Types of Monasteries*.

<sup>4</sup> "Staf-ford" affords somewhat of a parallel to "Bed-ford," both being towns upon river-fords from which shires have received their names; and

of his kingdom, but situated also, as those other chosen spots were, upon a considerable river—a favourite position for such institutions.

### 3. *The Conversion of Bedfordshire to the Faith.*

If such a monastery, however, were not erected at Bedford during either the four or five years of Peada's rule, or the three succeeding years when Oswy of Northumbria<sup>1</sup> assumed the sovereignty of Mercia, it seems almost certain that one would be founded in some part of the district during the reign of Wulfhere, the brother of Peada, who for nearly seventeen years was king of the whole of Mercia. There can be little doubt but that his rule extended over the south as well as over the north of the present county. In a grant<sup>2</sup> of various lands and privileges to the monastery of Medeshamstede (as early as A.D. 664) he styles himself "King of the Mercians, Mid-Anglians, and the southern kingdoms," his supremacy<sup>3</sup> extending over the East Saxon kingdom (Essex, Middlesex, and parts of Herts), *which adjoined Bedfordshire* on the further side from his capital, as well as over Surrey, Sussex and Kent. He<sup>4</sup> was besides the most earnest and indefatigable of all the kings of Mercia in disseminating Christianity both in his own and in his neighbour's territories, sending his own Mercian bishop, Jaruman, with a staff of clergy into his subject kingdom of Essex, A.D. 665, to recover them from their lapse into idolatry, their own bishop, Cedd, having died in the previous year.

Before the close of his reign, heathenism, which had "received its death-blow when Penda was slain" (655) was entirely banished,<sup>5</sup>

Stafford, from Alfred's day, had a collegiate church (as Bedford also had even long previously), though not what was strictly a monastery till c. 1200.

<sup>1</sup> It is to King Oswy that Dugdale (*Monast.*) assigns "the conversion of all the nation" of the Mercians.

<sup>2</sup> "Wulfhere, Dei beneficio, rex Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum, Australium quoque regnorum" (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, i., p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> Appointing even their bishop (Wini) in 666.

<sup>4</sup> "Wulfhere ended his noble life in 675, leaving the Church firmly settled in the Midlands" (Dr. Bright, p. 265). "Christi nomen ubique locorum regni sui prædicare jussit" (Flor., a. 675). "Christianitatem vix in regno suo palpitantem . . . enixissime juvit" (Malm., *Gesta Reg.*, i. 76), quoted by Dr. Bright. *Vide* Part IV., *Additional Arguments*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> "Abolishing and utterly uprooting the worship of idols among his people, Wulfhere caused the name of Christ to be published throughout his dominions,

it is asserted, from all parts of his dominion, and Christianity established in its stead. It seems certain, therefore, that the south as well as the north of Bedfordshire, if not in a measure converted even previously during the time of Peada or Oswy, had become Christian, like the rest of the Mercian territory, at the date of Wulfhere's death in A.D. 675, and probably, as is generally considered, before the arrival of Archbishop Theodore, A.D. 668.

As there were not however as yet, or for some centuries to come, any parochial clergy,<sup>1</sup> all such missionary work had to be effected, and the ministrations of religion to be supplied, either by the bishop<sup>2</sup> personally, assisted by his itinerating priests and others, or else, under his direction, by the members of the different

and built churches in many places" (Flor. of Worc., A.D. 675; Dioc. Hist. *Lichfield*, p. 27). "Idolatry disappeared in Mercia" (Lingard, i. 57). "Mercia became Christian after the death of Penda, under his sons, Peada and Wulfhere" (Freeman, *O. E. H.*, p. 61). "Mercia had been converted only just before the commencement of his (Theodore's) primacy" (Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, p. 122). With the exception of the small kingdom of Sussex, where heathenism offered no resistance, Mercia was "the last great stronghold of the worshippers of Thor and Woden; and there, under Penda, the old idolatry made its last struggle for existence" (Dioc. Hist. *Worc.*, p. 14). If the south part of Bedfordshire belonged to the West Saxons after the entrance of Christianity amongst that nation in 634, arguments against which, however, are adduced later on, then it would have to be concluded that its inhabitants were converted to the faith even before Wulfhere began to reign.

<sup>1</sup> The foundations even of the strictly parochial system in the west were not laid until the Council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, nor for more than another century in England (*vide* Selborne, p. 84).

<sup>2</sup> "The bishop on his missionary journey took with him not only his chaplains and clergy to help him in preaching, baptizing, teaching to chant psalms, etc., but also a company of builders to erect baptisteries and churches (no doubt generally of timber), where the gentry gave him ground for them" (Churton, *English Church*). "Wilfrid," says Eddius, his biographer (*Vita Wilfredi*, ch. xiv.), "when performing the office of bishop in many places in England" (and, as will be seen, he acted more than once as bishop over Bedfordshire), "took about with him a band of masons" (*cementarii*), being much given to erect handsome stone edifices. Lingard (*A. S. Church*, p. 155) describes the bishop as "itinerating at first with his clergy and servants, the latter especially to read the Scriptures to the people, to teach them singing, etc., staying at appointed stations (at first only a cross) a competent time to preach, administer baptism, and celebrate the accustomed worship, and when the circuit was completed returning home. But that," he continues, "was too desultory to be lastingly useful. Hence the importance of monasteries in the estimation of all the apostles of the Saxons, being so many centres round which the knowledge of the Gospel was spread by the labours of their inmates."

monastic bodies and of their numerous offshoots and dependencies.

It may therefore be taken for granted that after the appointment of Diurma in 656, and in the reign of Wulfhere, there was besides the missionary stations of the bishop and his priests, a monastery, probably a rather important and central one, somewhere in the district now called Bedfordshire;<sup>1</sup> also that it was through its means chiefly, directly or indirectly, that Christianity was successfully established therein.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Hertford, 673, the first English Provincial Council—"the first (even) of all national gatherings" (Green), held during the reign of Wulfhere, under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore, and at which the Bishop of Mercia (Winfred) was present (Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 77), when so much was done, not merely towards regulating the work of the clergy in each diocese, but also in welding together all the dioceses of England into one national church—was sure to direct the attention of both king and bishop, on the supposition that the Hertford of the council was the same as the Hertford in the shire of the same name, to that part of the kingdom so near to the place of meeting and through which the bishop, in that case, had probably to pass on his way to the council. One of the decrees also enacted there was that each bishop should visit every part of his diocese annually (*ibid.*, p. 223). Winfred himself, however, could hardly have done so more than once after this, since shortly (probably in 675) he was deposed by Theodore, as is generally thought for resisting a division of his diocese (Bright, p. 265). The place where the council was held, however, is not entirely undisputed. The general opinion has naturally been that it was held at the old residence of the East Saxon monarchs in Herts (Soames), a place of note and importance, at least in 913 (*A. S. Chron.*). Dr. Bright accordingly describes it (p. 247) as "a place probably chosen as fairly accessible, being on the borders of South-East Mercia and of Essex." Kerslake (*Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*, p. 49) is, nevertheless, inclined to consider that both this Hertford and also Heathfield, where another synod was held in 680, as well as Cealchythe and Cloveshoo, where others were held subsequently, were all in Kent, in the diocese of Canterbury, for the convenience of the archbishop, and more or less easily accessible to all the bishops and abbots by means of the Watling Street and other ancient roads.

<sup>2</sup> Although the complete evangelization of the district must, under the circumstances of the times, have been effected by some one or more monasteries erected either within or without its boundaries—and the natural supposition is, that an institution for that purpose would be reared within, rather than without, its limits and be founded, if not by the bishop himself, by one of the two kings (Oswy or Wulfhere) in whose reign the establishment of the people in Christianity evidently took place—yet the arguments adduced presently in favour of a monastery at Bedford in Offa's day (755-796), a century later, would not be affected, if instead of one in that prominent and ancient town, any number of such institutions were previously founded in different places in the district or neighbourhood, and that it was through their means that the people



But there is *no record* of there having been a single monastery anywhere in the district during the whole period of four hundred years of Saxon and Danish rule after the conversion of Mercia, *except at Bedford itself*. Here then we may fairly conclude was the chief, as well as probably the earliest monastery (of any note) in the district, although no doubt many "lesser" houses<sup>1</sup> were built as cells to it and dependent upon it, upon some of the properties granted to it from time to time in the surrounding country.

#### 4. *A Monastery at Bedford in King Offa's days.*

Though the date of the foundation of such a monastery at Bedford may not be ascertainable, yet there can be no doubt whatever but that there was an institution of that kind in existence there *in the days of Alhmund and King Offa*.<sup>2</sup>

The latter died (A.D. 796)<sup>3</sup> at Offley (Offeleia, so named after him, and adjoining Luton) in Herts, and instead of being buried at his newly-erected abbey of S. Alban's—as its abbot, his own relative,<sup>4</sup> entreated—or at the royal mausoleum at Repton monas-

were either originally converted or finally established in the faith. It is extremely improbable, however, that Bedford itself should have been for any length of time ignored; hardly possible even in the days of King Ethelred, another brother and the successor of Wulfhere (675-704), "whose activity mainly showed itself in a planting and endowment of monastic colonies which gradually transformed the face of the realm" (Green, *Making of England*, p. 344).

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Medeshamstede, where the establishment increased so fast that in a very few years, Saxulf, its first abbot, founded cells both at Brixworth (where his church is said to be still in existence), and at Ancarig (afterwards Thorney Abbey), on land given to him for that purpose.

<sup>2</sup> It would have been strange, indeed, if there had not been a monastery at such a place as Bedford at this time, when Bede, who finished his *History* in 731 (sixty years previously to this), "complains that monasteries were even then so numerous everywhere, on the lands given by the several kings and nobles, that there were no desirable places for the erection of new sees" (Nye, *Story of the Church of England*, p. 41). "It was upon the monasteries of canons and monks and their churches (which included cathedral churches) that the administration of the offices of religion to the lay people practically depended during the *eighth* century and for a considerable time after" (Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 126).

<sup>3</sup> Tradition adds that he was on his way at the time from S. Albans to Bedford, and that he had a palace at the latter place also (Wyatt, p. 9).

<sup>4</sup> The disappointment and the apparent contempt of the abbey shown by Egfrid, for the blame is laid upon him, in not allowing his father's body to be

tery, or at the family monastery<sup>1</sup> at Bredon, was interred "in royal fashion," by his son Ecgfrid<sup>2</sup> at his own special request,<sup>3</sup> at *Bedford*; according to M. Paris and Matthew of Westminster, "in some chapel<sup>4</sup> without the (then) town, on the banks of the Ouse," "which chapelle (says Stow) with the sepulchre of the king, the said river hath swallowed up."

As yet, there seems to have been no other consecrated burial-grounds<sup>5</sup> but those connected with monasteries and their churches. Offa's mortuary chapel at Bedford, therefore, whatever its form or material, was in all probability erected within the precincts<sup>6</sup> of some monastery there, if not within, or as an addition to, the monastic church itself. There can be little doubt that it was in order that his body might rest under the shadow and protection of that monastery, that it was conveyed thither from his palace at Offley, where he most probably had a private chapel,<sup>7</sup> and a priest, but no consecrated burial-ground. The supposition that a Christian king would be interred in unconsecrated ground is out of the question. "The exigency of the time," which M. Paris speaks of as a reason for his being buried at Bedford, seems to imply that this was the nearest place where there was a consecrated cemetery, or, at least, a fit and secure burial-place for a king.

buried, as was usual in such cases, within the precincts of this his royal foundation, is said to have hastened the abbot's (Willegod's) death, which occurred within two months of that of Offa (Newcome, p. 30).

<sup>1</sup> Founded by his grandfather Eanulf (Smith, *Christian Biography*, "Offa").

<sup>2</sup> So he is generally designated, but his true name was Ecgerht, as evident from his coins (Dug., *Mon.*, ii. 179).

<sup>3</sup> Flor. of Worc., Camden.

<sup>4</sup> Part IV., *Offa's Chapel at Bedford*.

<sup>5</sup> It was not until the laity, owing to the destruction by the Danes of so many monasteries and their churches in the latter part of the *following* (the ninth) century, had become almost entirely dependent for the ordinances of religion upon secular priests and the services in private chapels, that the bishops, to encourage the latter, "enlarged the powers and functions of such rural priests and consecrated as burial-grounds the precincts of some of those chapels or oratories" (Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 173).

<sup>6</sup> In almost every known instance of a royal or even of a noble burial, in the earlier as well as in the later Saxon times, mention is made of its having taken place in some cathedral or monastic church, or in the cemetery attached to either of these (*vide* Part IV., *Early Royal Burials*).

<sup>7</sup> Offa is said to have had such a chapel attached to his villa or palace in London—now represented by the Church of S. Alban's, Wood Street, Cheapside.

Moreover, it is recorded in a document<sup>1</sup> of considerable interest belonging to this date (798), that there was at this very time a "church at Bedford." As all churches,<sup>2</sup> with the fewest exceptions, were then conventual, *i.e.*, built upon land granted to some monastery or collegiate body and served by its members, it may be concluded without hesitation both that this "church at Bedford"<sup>3</sup> was attached to some monastic establishment there, and also (as there is no likelihood of there having been two such institutions so close together in a small town) that it belonged to this very monastery within whose precincts the body of Offa doubtless lay.

Bishop Tanner, consequently, after mentioning "the *Monastery of Bedanford*"<sup>4</sup> near the river Ouse, *where Offa was buried*—

<sup>1</sup> Spelman, *Conc.*, i., p. 379; Tanner, *Not. Sac.*, p. 1. *Vide* Part IV., *The Monastery at Bedford*.

<sup>2</sup> Such as royal chapels and churches (*e.g.*, S. Martin's, Canterbury, and S. Peter's, Bamfborough), or oratories built by nobles at their country seats—which could not yet have become very numerous, only two cases being mentioned by Bede, *viz.*, those erected by Addi and Puck, near Beverley—or any temporary churches erected by bishops where they or their chaplains ministered on episcopal or missionary tours; under neither of which descriptions the above church could have come.

<sup>3</sup> As all monasteries included within their precincts a church as the central and most-valued part of their institution, and to which all the rest was but subsidiary, the terms "monastery" (minster) and "church" easily became convertible, and were used synonymously where there was no need to draw a distinction between them. To make a grant to, or to endow the church of a monastery (as Ethelbert did with regard to the church of S. Augustine's monastery, and as Offa in the present case), was to endow the monastery itself with a view to the maintenance of its church services; to be buried within the monastery implied, unless a locality were specified, to be interred in the monastic church. This frequent application of the term "monastery" to a "church," and the fact of monastic churches being in general larger than others, seem to have led to the name "minster" being used to designate any large church, which again has given rise to so many places being called minsters, especially in the south of England.

<sup>4</sup> As an evidence both of the general conviction of ancient writers that it was invariably in the churches of cathedrals and *monasteries* that kings and nobles at this period were buried, and also of a current belief, a few centuries ago, that there was at this very time a *monastery at Bedford*, and its church used as a royal burial-place, it may be stated that Leland, who wrote in the reign of Henry VIII. (*Col.* iii., p. 81) "out of a MS. in Merton College Library, mentions '*the monastery of Bedanford*, near the river Ouse, as the place where the body of S. Ethelbert was preserved,' though (as Bishop Tanner remarks) most of our other historians and writers of saints' lives with more probability report that holy king to have been enshrined at Hereford. Perhaps (he adds) Ethelbert's name is there put for K. Offa's, *who was buried here at*

taking it for granted that, according to all precedent, he would be buried *within some monastic church*—adds, “This *monastery* was ‘the church at Bedford’ for which he designed the several donations mentioned in Spelman, but which it evidently never received.”

The document alluded to seems to show that for some cause Offa felt a special interest in this monastery—an interest which perhaps led to his burial there, for it states that at the council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 799 (*i.e.*, 798), Archbishop Athelhard declared that it had been Offa’s order that no less than *one hundred and ten manses* should eventually be given to the *church at Bedford* (“*ecclesiæ quæ sita est apud Beodford*”); the very extent of the grant proving conclusively that it was made to a conventual “church,” *i.e.*, to a monastery. If Alhmund,<sup>1</sup> his constant attendant in late years, and the senior abbot, as it would appear, of his realm, was, as is suggested, Abbot of *Bedford*, and if accordingly it was *from the Bedford monastery* that Offa had transferred to S. Alban’s “the five manses” which Alhmund gave to him, then there might be sufficient reason in these facts both why Offa might desire to be buried<sup>2</sup> there under the guardianship of his friend, and also why he might wish to make, not merely some compensation<sup>3</sup> to that monastery for the alienation of its property, but even some addi-

Bedford.” This Ethelbert was “the youthful king of East Anglia treacherously murdered, it is said, by Offa, in 793, whilst he was enjoying his hospitality as the suitor of his daughter Ethelthryth, at Sutton, near Hereford.” It was in the cathedral of Hereford that he was buried. As illustrating the custom of the time with reference to tombs and monuments, it is related (D. H. *Hereford*, pp. 12, 14): “Either in real or affected remorse for his crime, and as an act of satisfaction, Offa raised a costly *monument* over the grave of his victim, and bestowed large gifts on the cathedral,” which henceforth became the church of S. Mary and S. Ethelbert. “In circ. 830 a Mercian nobleman, Milfrith, hearing of the great reputation enjoyed by the *tomb*, and the marvels wrought there, erected a *church of stone* in place of the former one, which had probably been of wood”—an instance of the gradual supplanting during the ninth century of the larger and more important timber churches by those of stone.

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Alhmund*.

<sup>2</sup> Just as two hundred years later, as will be related in the next section, Archbishop Oskytel was buried, probably within the very same precincts, under the protection of Thurkytel, “Abbot of Bedford,” and “because he was abbot there.”

<sup>3</sup> Offa was notorious for seizing to himself monasteries and monastic properties, and *at times* making “capricious compensation” to those bereft by him. Thus he wrested Bath Abbey from Bishop Heathored of Worcester (781), but afterwards bestowed many grants upon the diocese (Dioc. Hist. *Worcester*, p. 19).

tional grant as "soul-scot" in consideration of his interment therein.

But even without any such evidence of the existence of a monastery<sup>1</sup> at Bedford at this period of Alhmund and Offa, it would be impossible, having due regard to the custom of the time, to suppose that upwards of a century could elapse after the conversion of the district to Christianity without there being a monastery of some sort at what must have been even then its chief town.<sup>2</sup>

### 5. *Luton and its Five Manses.*

This monastery at Bedford at *the time of its erection* being the nearest apparently to Luton, it seems only reasonable to infer that any land at the latter such as the Five Manses—whether with or without any similar but smaller institution upon it—which it was deemed desirable to make over to a larger foundation, should have been given to it in preference to any more distant brotherhood.<sup>3</sup>

As will be seen elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> there is reason to think that before being thus granted to any monastery they were the possession of some bishop (deriving their name, Bishopescote, from that fact), and also that, having formed, prior to that period, part of the Royal Estate of Luton, they had been given by some early Christian King of Mercia to one of the first bishops, if not to the very first bishop, of the diocese.

They would have been a very suitable, sufficient, and natural grant from the king at that period for the support of the bishop and his staff of clergy while engaged in converting, baptizing, and instructing the king's own men and those of the neighbourhood, and also as furnishing a station<sup>5</sup> where, when passing on to

<sup>1</sup> Though but little can be gleaned from the scanty records of the succeeding period, yet that little would seem to confirm what has been said concerning the above monastery (Part IV., *The Later History of the Bedford Monastery*).

<sup>2</sup> The only other town or *vill* in the county of whose existence at this period there seems to be any *record* is Luton (Lygetun), though perhaps it may be taken for granted that such places as Sandy (Salinæ) and Dunstable (Durocobrivæ), formerly Roman stations, if not also Biggleswade, Shefford, etc., were villis of some sort. Dunstable, however, finds no place in Domesday Book.

<sup>3</sup> It was at a much later period than this that the custom arose of endowing monasteries with lands at a great distance away from them.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix G, *Bishopescote*.

<sup>5</sup> So King Egfrid of Northumbria gave to Cuthbert on *the day of his consecration* (685) the village of Crayke as a halting-place in his journeys to and

other parts of his enormous diocese, he would probably leave one or more priests and others to carry on the work of evangelization.

If not previously, yet on the removal of the See to the distant Lichfield, c. 670, where it was liberally endowed by King Wulfhere, the centre of the bishop's operations being henceforth Staffordshire instead of Leicestershire, the bishop may well have thought that the continuation and completion of the work at Luton would be better effected under the fostering care of a neighbouring monastery than by any superintendence that he could give from such a distance. That "the Five Manes" passed into the hands of *some* abbey is clear, and if the conjecture as to their site be admitted, they would certainly seem to have been, in still earlier times than that of Alhmund, in the possession of a bishop, and that almost as certainly the bishop of the diocese, both from the evidently early date of the name of the manor (for at no period after that of Alhmund could it have been appropriately attached to it), and from the fact that there were probably not more than five or six other sees at the time, and these both at a remote distance and for the most part in other kingdoms.

The abbey, whether at Bedford or elsewhere, to which the manses were given, would no doubt erect upon them, if such were not already in existence, a "Lesser Monastery"<sup>1</sup> or cell, together with a church,<sup>2</sup> providing also probably a few more priests

from York, and here S. Cuthbert is said to have established an abbot and monks (Bright, 341).

<sup>1</sup> Such as S. Hilda erected at Hackness, thirteen miles from her monastery at Whitby, in 680 (Bright, p. 331). Attached to which latter there were also many other cells. In like manner in later times Dunstable had a cell, or small monastery, at Rokesac, or Ruxox, in Flitwick, with a chapel dedicated in 1170; and Woburn had one at Leighton at least as early, 1169.

<sup>2</sup> Probably of timber, of which there was an abundance in the district, though a scarcity of building-stone. "Celtic churches (in England), after the time of the Saxon occupation at least, were almost invariably constructed of mere timber framework, covered with 'wattle and dab' and thatched with reeds. This was the character of the buildings (even) at Iona, and also of those which Aidan erected at Lindisfarne; and no doubt also of the great majority of the churches which were built by the bishops and priests who went forth from Lindisfarne into Northumbria, *Mercia*, and *Essex*" (Cutts, *Dict. of the Ch. of England*, p. 32). As in Wulfhere's days, and previously, the missionaries to the Midlands were either Celts, or trained by them, they would naturally follow the usual mode of building churches and monasteries which was pursued at Lindisfarne. But the majority even of *Saxon* churches and monasteries, in the earlier times especially, were built of timber, though perhaps of a more substantial character, and roofed with shingles of wood

and teachers than hitherto, "the Five Manses" being quite sufficient for the support of such, though not for a large establishment.<sup>1</sup>

We may fairly therefore, it seems, picture to ourselves during the latter part of the seventh century as erected<sup>2</sup> somewhere on the

where attainable. Exceptional buildings of stone, however, were sometimes erected, as by S: Ninian ("Candida Casa") at Withern; by Bishop Wilfrid at York, Hexham, and Ripon; by Queen Ermenild at *Stone* in Staffordshire, the material giving rise to the name of the spot; by Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (684); by Abbot Ealdhelm at Bradford-on-Avon (c. 700), this church being still in existence (*vide* Gardiner's *Student's Hist. of Eng.*, p. 51), but these were all monastic churches. "Most of the smaller Saxon churches were of wood, such as the wooden church of the village of Dulting, wherein S. Ealdhelm died (709), afterwards rebuilt of stone by a monk of Glastonbury; that at Wilton, superseded in 1065 (a year before the Norman Conquest) by a stone church (Freeman, ii. 520); and the wooden chapel, built before the Conquest, outside the east gate at Shrewsbury, in which in 1080 Orderic Vitalis as a boy served mass, and instead of which his father began to build a church of stone, the nucleus of a fresh abbey (Ord. Vit., v. 14, xiii. 45; Freeman, iv. 494; Dr. Bright, p. 150, note). "We gain some notion of the extremely humble aspect of Aidan's own church at Lindisfarne by observing that when Finan arrived (651) he found it desirable to build a church 'suitable to the episcopal see' (Bede, iii. 25), and constructed it, in the Scotie fashion, not of stone, but entirely of hewn oak, with a covering of reeds, for which a later bishop, named Eadbert, substituted sheets of lead" (*ibid.*, p. 173). One pre-Norman timber church yet survives at Greenstead, Essex, "the sole representative of this class of churches. Its nave is composed of the trunks of large oak trees, split or sawn asunder" (Dr. Bright, p. 150). It is still the custom in parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, *e.g.*, at Pakefield, near Lowestoft, to thatch the churches with reeds as well as with shingles.

<sup>1</sup> From Bede, who always uses the term "familia" for a "hide" (Bright, *E. E. C. H.*, p. 164, note), and from others, we learn something of the extent of the original endowment in land of some of the early monasteries, *e.g.*, each of the twelve portions of land given by King Oswy, according to his vow, for the founding of twelve monasteries, contained ten families (iii. 24), one of these portions being that at Whitby, where Hilda was abbess (and from whence issued five bishops), her former property on the Wear having been only one family (iv. 23); Wilfrid's land at Stamford, ten families (v. 19), and at Ripon, thirty, both of them given to him by King Alcfrid (*ibid.*); the abbey land at Wearmouth, seventy (*Hist. Abb.*, 4); and at Jarrow, forty (*ibid.*, 6); (Bright, *E. E. C. H.*, p. 164, note). Wulfhere gave Bishop Chad the land of fifty families to build a monastery at Barrow-upon-Humber (iv. 3).

<sup>2</sup> It is an interesting circumstance that many of the early Saxon monastic churches were built upon the sites of *British sacred places*, which such bishops as S. Chad and Wilfrid (both of them for a time diocesans of the district now called Bedfordshire) took pains to ascertain and recover if possible. As the *British Christian* community, if the British of this part of the country ever really became Christians, had dwelt so close at hand as Lymbury (Lygean-

Five Manse at Luton a small monastery<sup>1</sup> or college where the blessings of industry and civilization, as well as of religion, were conspicuously exhibited amidst those who had been hitherto wont to value or enjoy little else save war and plunder, and where, in its little wooden or wattle church, Christian teaching and frequent services gradually leavened the minds and manners of the early inhabitants of the district. From its schools, too, probably issued many a young priest and missionary, ministering at the various crosses and chapels in the several clearings and hamlets, first of the estate and afterwards throughout the neighbourhood.

And it may be that for a hundred years and more the Abbots of Bedford, or whoever were the possessors of Bishopescote, had periodically visited their dependent monastery at Luton, not requiring even then probably a journey of more than twenty miles, and helped forward the good work there, until Abbot Alhmund in an evil day and from some unrecorded cause either withheld his own personal attendance or neglected to furnish his proper con-

burh), it is quite possible that the site of the earliest Saxon church was chosen as having been that of a British church. If this latter were the case, such a fact, taken in connection with the further supposition that the whole of the hamlet had originally been the endowment of that British church, may have furnished a reason for its selection by the king as a gift to the newly introduced Anglian church. Many of the lands granted by the Kentish Royal family to the Saxon Church of that kingdom seem to have previously formed part of the endowments of the earlier British Church (Dioc. Hist. *Cant.*, p. 15). Canon Jenkins (*ibid.*) considers that there is sufficient evidence to prove that "the Church in Britain, as elsewhere in the west, was endowed with *real* property, and that when the Roman temples and basilicas were appropriated to Christianity their 'grant' carried with it the possession of the lands connected with them;" which, again, "on the Saxon Conquest were reoccupied by a new form of idolatry, and became for the most part the residences of the Kentish kings." "The remarkable surrender of all these residences one after another to the Church from the time of Æthelbert," seems unaccountable, he says, except on "the supposition that it was rather a restitution of what had originally belonged to the Church than an actual endowment *de novo*." Something of this sort, if we could be assured that the people of the district had become Christian at the date of the Saxon inroad, might be supposed to have been the case with regard to Bishopescote.

<sup>1</sup> It is of course possible that instead of a community of priests and others, only one mass priest was located there and a "baptismal church" built, but from the seemingly early date and the extent of the grant of land, as well as from its distance from headquarters and the amount of the work to be effected, it appears much more likely that a somewhat larger establishment would be very early erected.



tingent to one of the king's expeditions.<sup>1</sup> The penalty for the neglect of the fyrd<sup>2</sup> or levy was always severe, and "by way of reconciliation," Alhmund, knowing probably that Offa would be glad at that moment to receive any land near at hand that he might make it over to his new abbey, resigned into his hands the Five Manses at Luton belonging to his monastery. And so these lands, in all probability with a small monastery and its church upon them, passed from the jurisdiction of Alhmund to that of Willigod, the first Abbot of S. Alban's, and from what was no doubt "the rule" of S. Columba and his simple Celtic system to something approaching more nearly the severer rule of S. Benedict. Along, too, with its "temporalities" (the manses with the buildings and serfs upon them) and its "spiritualities" (the tithes and offerings of the district), passed, of course, what was of more moment, the spiritual care and instruction of the people of Luton, and probably of many adjoining districts as well. The church of Bishopscote, however, would no doubt continue to be, as it must now have been for some three or four generations of worshippers, the "mother," and practically "the parish church" of Luton.

How long this connection with S. Alban's lasted can only be conjectured. Presumably the invasion of the Northmen a little short of a century afterwards (A.D. 870) in great measure severed the tie—the Danish custom at that time being to destroy every monastery and church and to appropriate to themselves any convenient land they could seize. Even after the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, made a few years subsequently (879, or rather, perhaps, 886), the Danes, who were then allowed to retain all the lands on the east and north sides of the river Lea, gained from the abbey, if the conjecture as to their site be correct, half of the Five Manses, but while able to domineer over the whole neighbourhood from their adjoining camp at Ravensburgh Castle,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix H, *Offa's Expeditions*.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix I, *Neglect of Fyrd*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a somewhat similar name, *Ravenshill*, attached to a place near Worcester, which marks the temporary abode of the Danes there, as the name *Ravensburg*, "the fort of the Ravens," was meant to commemorate their permanent residence in this neighbourhood, the name Ravenshill "recalling the day when their black flag (with a raven painted or worked upon it) floated on its crest, while their savage hordes were carrying fire and sword into the cathedral city" (Dioc. Hist. *Worc.*, p. 26). Two other like names mark their sojourn also in a different part of Beds, viz., "*Ravensden*" and "*Ravensholt*" ("the wood of the raven"). now corrupted into "Renholt" (Dr. Prior).

it is hardly to be expected that they would have given up,<sup>1</sup> *until compelled*, any land they had seized just over the border.

Whatever the cause of the severance may have been, it is to be noted, that after their grant to S. Alban's, we never again hear of "the Five Manses" as *such*, nor indeed of the abbey possessing any land whatever in any part of Luton either at the time of the Norman Survey<sup>2</sup> or in the previous reign of the Confessor. As will be seen however elsewhere, we do find in ancient documents of the abbey which profess expressly to recite all Offa's grants, where the name Lygetun (Luton) might naturally have been expected to be found—the charter mentioning it being still extant—not this name indeed, but, in the place of it apparently, that of a certain hamlet in Luton (Bishopscote), and that hamlet rated in Domesday exactly at what in ancient times was an equivalent term<sup>3</sup> for Five Manses, viz., "Five Hides;" and also in another deed the record of this very hamlet, along with other lands, having been at some time *lost to the abbey*.<sup>4</sup> There can be little

<sup>1</sup> That they either did not resign at once that part of Biscot south and west of the river, or else that after the conquest by Edward the Elder (919) they were deprived of that on the other side, some thegn being put in possession of the whole, seems deducible from the fact that in the reign of Edward the Confessor the whole hamlet formed but one manor in the possession of one proprietor (Domesday); so that if the parts were ever separated they must at some time previous to this have been rejoined, and that S. Alban's lost *all* on both sides of the stream, and not merely that assigned to the Danes by the treaty, seems evident: (1) *perhaps* from the number of the hides, viz., five, given apparently as an equivalent for the Five Manses, *i.e.*, for the whole of Biscot, (2) from its being recorded that they had "lost Bishopscote," and not merely a part of it, and (3) from the fact that at the Domesday Survey they possessed no part of it whatever.

<sup>2</sup> The only land which the abbey is stated in Domesday to have possessed in the county of Beds was one Hide in Stotfold. Yet other lands therein had very lately been given to them; as, *e.g.*, Studham, by Oswulf (1053-1065), which had, however, perhaps been granted away (*Gesta Abb.*, i. 391); and immediately preceding the Norman Conquest (1066) lands in Harlington, Sundon, Streatley, and Caddington by Eadwine of Cadendune, to be inherited after the death of his son Leofwine (Add. M. Paris (Luard), pp. 30, 33). In the latter case the Conquest probably interfered with the reversion of the estate by the dispossession of the son.

<sup>3</sup> Part IV., *Manses and Hides*.

<sup>4</sup> Just before the Danes began to ravage Mercia, Beorred, its unworthy king, seized (in 868) on the lands of many religious houses on *pretence* of driving out the Danes (whose nominee he became), retaining some as crown lands, and bestowing others on his commanders (Dug., *Mon.*, ii. 92), while, on the other hand, Bishops Eadberht and Aelhune, in this same century,

doubt therefore that Bishopscote (Biscot) was the name by which in ancient times the "Five Manses at Lygetun" were known.<sup>1</sup>

granted away church lands to purchase protection from the Danes (D. H. *Worc.*, p. 25). From their situation, however, it seems more probable that the Five Manses were among those lands which were taken violent possession of by the Northmen.

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Additional arguments in support of three conjectures made in Chapter II.*

## CHAPTER III.

## ANGLO-DANISH TIMES (A.D. 919-1066).

1. *The earliest recorded Church at Luton.*

It was not until the reign of Edward the Elder (901-925), when the building and endowment of private and manorial churches, with burial-places attached to them, had become more than ever necessary, owing to the destruction by the Danes of so many monasteries and their dependent churches, that now, for the first time, it became customary,<sup>1</sup> even upon the part of kings and nobles, to erect churches independent of monasteries, and served by secular priests, upon their various manors and estates.

By this time the Five Manses or hides, which had been originally designed for the service of God and the maintenance of a church upon the Royal Estate, were probably no longer so applied, but had fallen (in part at least) into private, if not into Danish hands. The old wooden church itself, if not dilapidated by age or demolished by the Danes, was likely to be both in size and position unsuited to the requirements of later years.

King Edward and his family were piously disposed. "Three of his daughters embraced a religious life."<sup>2</sup> He himself in 909 erected upon one and the same occasion three new bishoprics. In the *Saxon Chronicle* he is emphatically styled "the Builder," from the number of churches which he built.<sup>3</sup>

Re-conquering from the Danes in 919<sup>4</sup> the entire district now called Bedfordshire, and recovering<sup>5</sup> at the same time the full

<sup>1</sup> Appendix J, *Private Chapels*.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, i. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Parker, *Gloss. of Archit.*, i. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Part IV., *The Danes*.

<sup>5</sup> King Alfred for fifteen years before his death, in 901, had nominally by the treaty with Guthrum recovered to his kingdom the western portion of the Luton estate, but whether it were he or Æthelred, the Ealdorman of Mercia, who enjoyed the crown lands of Mercia, it is not easy to determine. Probably Æthelred, as there is no doubt that this part of the country was included in his territory or sub-kingdom; and, if so, he would have retained it until his death in 912. On that occasion Edward evidently, when he assumed the government "of London and Oxford and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto"

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extent<sup>1</sup> of the Royal Estate at Luton, Edward may well have felt called upon to erect an enlarged and more stately,<sup>2</sup> as well as a more conveniently situated structure for divine worship.

(*A. S. Chron.*, a. 912), took this portion of Luton into his own hands, and held it for the following seven years. In 919 he would naturally reunite to it the eastern and dissevered portion of the original estate, so making the two parts one township again.

<sup>1</sup> If the Royal Estate extended before the invasion of the Danes as far as it did in later times, as presumably it did, then, both during their ascendancy and, according to agreement, after the Treaty of 886 (*vide* Part IV., *The Treaty of Wedmore*), it had been curtailed of all that part of the present parish which lies upon the east and north of the river Lea. The loyalty to the king of the men of Lygtun (Luton) in repulsing the Danes with great slaughter in 917 (*A. S. Chron.*, M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, i. 443) shows that the town itself, being evidently within the English boundary, was then, as for centuries subsequently, situated upon the *western* side of the stream; and also that it had previously to that period been restored by the Danes to the king's dominions, according to the above treaty. These facts afford a forcible argument in favour of both the Royal Manor house itself and any Manorial church built upon the king's demesne, and consequently of any allotted residence and glebe for the king's chaplain (as the priest of the church would virtually be), being also on the western side.

Though it is not actually stated \* that King Edward ever visited Luton, yet it is recorded (*A. S. Chron.*, a. 919) that he came into its immediate neighbourhood, "remaining thirty days at Bedford," less than twenty miles distant. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the loyalty of the people of Luton, and the effective service they rendered to him on that occasion, supplied a special inducement to him both to erect a new and grander church among them, and also to endow it more liberally than usual. It is, however, more than probable that he visited his Royal Manor either on his journey northward to Bedford or during his stay there.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a stone church, and, if so, very likely the earliest of its kind in the whole county, unless Offa's chapel at Bedford were an exception. Although sundry large churches and cathedrals had at various times before this period been built or rebuilt of stone—as, *e.g.*, the Cathedral of Worcester, rebuilt by Milfrith, a Mercian nobleman, c. 830, and the still earlier monastic abbeys and churches of Bishop Wilfrid—yet this, it seems, was the earliest period in which country churches of stone built upon private estates became at all common, and even then, probably, only those erected by the greater nobles and ecclesiastics were of that material. The rather peculiar expression used later on (*Gesta Ab.*, i. 122), that the old church upon the king's demesne was "thoroughly levelled with the ground" (*ipsa funditus terra coaquata*), seems to point to a stone rather than to a wooden structure. That some of the early Saxon stone churches survived till a considerable time after the Norman Conquest is well

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\* Florence of Worcester, indeed, states that both Edward and his army, after the raid in 917, fixed their residence in Luton for a while. This is clearly a slip in transcription (Appendix K, *Error of Florence of W.*).

The site which he would naturally choose for such a building would be upon his own "demesne" and adjoining his own residence—a spot which would appear to have been, also, as might have been expected, near the centre of the estate, as well as close to the town. We are distinctly told, later on,<sup>1</sup> that it was "*upon the king's demesne*" that "the old church" (*i.e.*, in all probability some edifice built just about this time) had been erected.

And if it may be supposed that the custom had already begun—the date of the origin of which is quite uncertain, but a custom<sup>2</sup> acknowledged to have been in vogue a short time later, *viz.*, of endowing churches with a house and glebe on the occasion of their dedication—then Edward may be credited with having granted to the church at Luton that valuable property which the parish church is subsequently found to possess, and which is expressly recorded<sup>3</sup> to have been given to it "*at its first foundation.*" The community of the district had lately lost the Five Mansees just referred to. Perhaps it was as an equivalent to them for this loss, as well as in recognition of their services, that the grant made, now or whenever it was made, was that of another five hides or mansees, situated in a different part of the Royal Estate, and near to both the king's manor house and to the church. Five hides, probably between 600 and 800 acres, a distinct manor in the days of the Confessor, "with a village community in serfdom upon it," were at any period a truly royal gift to a secular church, this being one of the largest endowments of land<sup>4</sup> known to have been granted in

known. One of them—that at Bradford-on-Avon, built by Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne (705-709), two hundred years earlier than the date ascribed above to the church at Luton—is still in existence (Gardiner's *Student's Hist. of England*, i. 51, where an illustration of it is given). On a coin of King Edward there is a rude representation of a building (no doubt a church) with a central tower, evidently, therefore, constructed of stone (Ingram's *Sax. Chron.* ; Appendix L, *Lygetun and its Church*).

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, i. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix M, *Early Endowment of Churches*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, i. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Leighton Buzzard, like Luton a Royal Manor church, was endowed with four hides ; but this church was held, we know not how anciently, by the bishop of the diocese (at first Dorchester and afterwards Lincoln) as part of the emolument of his see. On account of its value it was subsequently converted by Bishop S. Hugh into a prebend in the Cathedral of Lincoln. Lingard (*A. S. Church*, p. 399) can find in Domesday but one church, and that quite exceptionally endowed—*viz.*, Bosham in Sussex—which had a larger endowment of land than that of Luton. But this had formerly been a *monastic*

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Saxon times to any manorial or parochial church. The extent of the gift almost necessarily implies that there must have been some special reason, such as that suggested, for so large a grant, at whatever period it was made.

Edward, however, survived the attack upon Luton only a few years. The church, therefore, may not have arisen there during his lifetime. His successors were Æthelstan (925-940) and Edmund (940-946), kings who were constantly passing laws for the repair and restoration of sacred edifices, for the more liberal maintenance of the clergy, and for the support of divine services, and who also were especially wont to urge their richer subjects to build churches upon their estates, even ennobling those who did so. It is therefore scarcely credible that if a church at Luton was not already in existence, either the one or the other of these princes should long refrain from setting the example of erecting such an edifice upon this the most extensive and richest Royal Manor in Bedfordshire, or even from having a settled and endowed priest located at Luton.

Thus we read that a legislative assembly held during Æthelstan's<sup>1</sup> reign, under Archbishop Wulfhelm, at Grateley, in Hants, 928, made many enactments for the support of religion, *e.g.*, that *tythes* should be strictly paid, not only upon crops, but also upon live stock (Spelman, *Conc.* i. 396 and 408; Wilkins, i. 205); for the payment of *church-shot* (church-rates for the repair of the minster church), and for provision against violation of churches and the profanation of Sunday. This was accompanied with an injunction from the king to the royal stewards for charging every crown estate (Luton?) with a certain eleemosynary contribution (Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 143).

"Another constitution (says Soames), probably of this time,

church (Birch). In the time of Edward the Confessor it possessed no less than 112 hides, which under the Conqueror were reduced to sixty-five (*Dom.*, i. 17).

<sup>1</sup> "A religious prince, and eminently liberal to monasteries." Among his grants to religious foundations in all parts of his kingdom we find those to S. Paul's, London, of the manors of Aston Bury (Caddington Major), and of Caddington or Provenders, Beds (Caddington Minor), of Sundon, Beds, and Yardley, Herts—places all within a few miles of Luton. In 938 he restored Beverley Minster, York, which had been destroyed by the Danes in 867, making it collegiate, with privilege of sanctuary (Giles's *Bede*, p. 237, note); and in East Anglia, Bury S. Edmunds, as it was now called in memory of the martyred king. He founded also several new religious houses in the west of England.

attests the continuance of an anxiety,<sup>1</sup> long prevalent, for the *foundation of village churches*.<sup>2</sup> The dignity of thane or gentleman was open to everyone possessed of a certain property, provided with the usual appendages of wealth, and admitted among the royal officers. But then one of such person's qualifications was a *church upon his estate*. "If a churl thrived so as to have *five hides* of his own land, a *church* and kitchen" (the latter for his own household alone, and not, as was usual, for ten families of freemen to cook and eat together), "a bell-tower" (not a church-belfry, as it is often interpreted, but a hall, with bell to summons to meals), "a seat" (*i.e.*, a judicial court for the tenants), "and an office in the king's court, from that time forward he was esteemed equal in honour to a thane" (Johnson's *Trans. of Spelman's Concil.*, i. 406).

## 2. *Conjectural date of the Dedication and Endowment of Luton Church.*

In support of the probability that it was Æthelstan, rather than his father, who founded the church (although perhaps in recognition of the same event), or who at least completed and endowed it, it is to be noted that of him alone among all the kings who owned the manor, is it recorded that he actually did reside for a time at Luton. For it was here that he held a *National Witenagemot*<sup>3</sup> or Parliament, in the seventh year of his reign, on 12 Nov., A.D. 931. This meeting seems to have been the most fully attended, at least by the nobility, of any on record.<sup>4</sup> No less

<sup>1</sup> There was another early encouragement given to church building, though its date is not known—wrongly, however, attributed to Archbishop Theodore, whose special work was the organization of the episcopate, not the establishment of parishes. It was that whoever built and endowed a church was permitted to exercise hereditarily the patronage of it, giving rise to the saying, "*Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus*" (Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 21).

<sup>2</sup> "There can be no doubt that such a law as this had a great effect in increasing the number of country churches. It seems to have been passed in furtherance of the *designs* of Archbishop Theodore, but it is almost the earliest certain notice that we have of the progress of parish churches under the Saxon kings" (Churton, *Early English Church*, p. 232).

<sup>3</sup> Appendix N, *Witenagemots*.

<sup>4</sup> Kemble remarks (*Anglo-Saxons*, ii., p. 200): "The largest amount of signatures which I have yet observed (at Witenagemots) is 106; but numbers varying from 90 to 100 are not uncommon, especially after the consolidation of the monarchy." The reference which he gives for the number 106 is that of *Luton itself* (*Cod. Dipl.* 353), which, however, he has miscounted, for there are



than a hundred names of princes, high ecclesiastics, and chief civilians are given as witnessing and confirming a grant of the king to one of his thegns. The assemblage summoned to be present on this occasion consisted of two Welsh princes, the two archbishops, all the seventeen bishops, fifteen ealdormen (probably their full number also), and fifty-nine ministri (thegns)—exactly one hundred in all, besides the king. It is difficult to suppose that Æthelstan, with his reverence for religion, would have chosen such a place as Luton for their gathering, had there not been a somewhat handsome, capacious stone edifice there for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries. May it not even be conjectured that Luton was chosen on that occasion as the place of meeting, not simply for the purpose of a gemot being held, but also for the solemn consecration of a new church there, whether built by the king's father or by himself? If so, we may, it seems, with confidence conclude that it was the occasion also of its endowment,<sup>1</sup> which in all probability had to be confirmed by

but 101 signatures, including that of the king; and this case of Luton is mentioned by Bishop Stubbs as seemingly the highest known. The next greatest number found is 92 (*C. D.*, 364), including the king's name, at a gemot held at Winchester, 934, where were present the two archbishops, *four Welsh kings*, seventeen bishops, four abbots, twelve ealdormen, and fifty-two thegns. Kemble, indeed (*A. S.*, ii. 200), mentions one document, in two parts (*C. D.*, 219, 220), which he says was signed by 121 persons, doubting, however, whether all the signatories were members of the gemot. The numbers in these *two* (connected) charters are (*not*, as he reckons them, 121, but) 102 and 65 respectively; his number of 121 being arrived at by his adding these numbers together, and then deducting the names of those (46) who apparently signed both charters. The subject of contention before the gemot on that occasion was certain lands claimed by a monastery—"a case of disputed title." As very many of the signatures are those of priests and deacons, the number of clerics amounting, not, as Kemble reckons, to 95, but to 88, it is evident that these were present at the trial to make oath to the property in dispute, and having heard also the decision arrived at, were naturally called upon to sign the deed which embodied it. This they would do, not so much as members of the gemot—which technically, perhaps, all who were present could claim to be, though their names, except on such an occasion as the present, would appear upon no document—but merely as witnesses to the authenticity of the deed.

<sup>1</sup> These conjectures are supported by the fact that it was especially for the dedication of Cenwulf's new abbey at Winchcomb, Glos., that a gemot was held there by that Mercian king in 811 (Kemble), and also that it was on the occasion of a gemot held at Abingdon only six years later than that held at Luton (937) that Æthelstan made a large grant of land to the abbey there. The account of the proceedings on that occasion are still preserved. At the conclusion, "the archbishops, bishops, and abbots solemnly excommunicated any

some witan. There is unfortunately but the one document remaining which alludes to the meeting at Luton,<sup>1</sup> and that merely contains a grant to the king's faithful thegn, Wulfgar, of nine hides of land ("*novem cassatarum*") at a place which the natives call Hamme (Ham) in Wiltshire. Yet if all the transactions of that gemot, and the grants<sup>2</sup> signed on that occasion could who should disturb the grant, to which all the people present exclaimed, 'So be it,' 'Amen' (Kemble, *Saxons in England*, "Witenagemots").

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place at which the witan was held as given in the charter is LEOWTON, which both Bishop Stubbs (*C. H.*, i. 126) and Birch (*Cart. Sax.*, ii. 677) assign without hesitation to Luton. Kemble, however, apparently because the grant of land made at it was situated in Wilts, hastily interpreted the name (*Cod. Dip.*, vi., p. 301, App.) as "Lewton, Wilts." But though there is a "Lotton" in that county, such a place as "Lewton" is not to be found there. On further thought he seems to have corrected himself, and in his *Saxons in England* ("Witenagemot," a. 931) definitely concludes that it was held at "Luton in Beds." In the grant, too, the place of signature is expressly described as a "*town extremely well known to all*" ("*in villa omnibus notissima, quæ Leoptun nuncupatur*"), a description which, though no doubt strictly appropriate to Luton in Beds after the transaction of 917, and also as being a very ancient royal manor, where it is likely many a witenagemot had previously been held, although no record of such meeting exists at present, yet which cannot be supposed to be applicable to any of those places now called by somewhat similar names. Not one of these is, like Luton in Beds, mentioned in any of the Chronicles. It is not to be overlooked, either, that Luton must for many years previous to this have obtained considerable notoriety from the very fact of the boundary line of the Lea between the English and Danes passing through the township for some miles. To but few persons in the present day does the modern name of the "*Lea*" suggest that of the town of "*Luton*," or *vice versâ*; but to those who spoke Saxon, especially if acquainted with the neighbourhood, the mention of the "*Lyga*," as the Lea was called, would naturally call up to remembrance, or at least easily associate with itself the chief town upon its banks, one which derived its name from it, "*Lyge-tun*" or "*Lygtun*," and this latter, again, would as readily recall the former. As the one name became modified in common speech in one direction, so did the other in another direction, though both dropping the hard-sounding letter "g"; hence the divergence from "*Lygetun*" to "*Leowton*," and finally to "*Luton*," and from "*Lyga*" to "*Line*," as in the twelfth century, now the "*Lea*." This latter change has taken place also, in quite modern times, in the case of "*Ly-grave*," now "*Lea-grave*," where is the source of the river.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the extremely few Saxon deeds relating to places in Bedfordshire is one dated 926, just five years before this witan; but the place where it was executed is not mentioned, though it was also probably on the occasion of some gemot, being signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, four ealdormen, one discifer of the king, and eight thegns. It is a confirmation by this same Æthelstan of a purchase made from a Dane by a thegn named Ealdred for £10 of *Five Manses* in Chalgrave and Tebworth (Part IV., *Chalgrave, etc.*).

be rescued from oblivion, one is tempted to think that both the consecration of the church of Luton and the grant to it of the five hides with which it was endowed "at its foundation," might be found among them, or at least alluded to in them, with *possibly* the name of the first of that long succession of priests who, from having a definite sphere, endowment, and tenure, might rightfully be entitled parish priests, though probably not so designated till a little time later. As it is, however, we can recognize in the extant grant only one person, beside the king, in any special way connected with the town or district, viz., Wyntige (Winty), the bishop of the diocese (Dorchester), of whom, however, little more than his name is known.

### 3. *Development of the Parochial System.*

In the following reign (A.D. 944),<sup>1</sup> a law was passed, requiring both "the king (EDMUND) and the bishop" (probably meaning by this Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, though the principle would be generally applicable),<sup>2</sup> to *restore the Houses<sup>3</sup> of God on their respective domains*. These had presumably lapsed into ruin in consequence of the Danish invasions, and the ownership of their sites fallen to the Crown or bishop. In Edmund's reign also it was that the non-payment of tithes<sup>4</sup> and other church dues upon the ground of recognized religious obligation first became punishable by excommunication, *i.e.*, exclusion from the benefits of the religious services to which they refused to contribute. Another of his laws related to the *repair of churches*:<sup>5</sup> "We have also ordained that every bishop repair the houses of God in his own district" (*i.e.*, the public baptismal secular churches of the diocese, built by him or his predecessors as missionary and preaching stations, and therefore to be supported by him out of the funds

<sup>1</sup> Spelman, *Conc.*, i., pp. 421, 424; Dioc. Hist. *Canterbury*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Kinewold of Worcester a little before the middle of this tenth century restored the monastery of Evesham, which had been ravaged by the Danes (Dioc. Hist. *Worc.*, p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> As this probably had special reference to *religious houses* and their churches, it may have led to the restoration of the monastery at Bedford, the site of which is likely to have fallen back into the hands of the king. But the law was evidently not fully carried out, as seen by the transactions of the following reigns.

<sup>4</sup> Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

at the bishop's disposal), "and also *remind the king* that all God's churches be well-conditioned, as is very needful for us." It can hardly be conceived that a Royal demesne such as Luton could have been left without a well-provided and comely church while such enactments were being discussed and passed.

Another law was passed a few years subsequently (A.D. 970), during the reign of EDGAR, which is looked upon by Selden, Blackstone, and Selborne (*A. F. and F.*, pp. 173, 220), as the real foundation of our modern parochial system, and which, besides evidencing that the number of secular and manorial churches was increasing, in all probability directly affected the priest of the Royal Manor church of Luton. It was that anyone<sup>1</sup> who had a church upon his "boc-land" (bookland) or private property, *with a burial-place*,<sup>2</sup> might give one-third<sup>3</sup> of his own *tithe* to that church—the remaining two-thirds to go, as hitherto, to the old minster or conventual church to which the district belonged. If there were no burial-place, then all was still to be sent to the old minster.

There is, of course, no means of knowing whether S. Alban's Abbey had been receiving the tithes of Luton up to this period; but this may be fairly inferred; and also it may be conjectured that the priest<sup>4</sup> of Luton now first began to receive some part of

<sup>1</sup> Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 167; Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> The permission then granted soon became the general custom, and very shortly after the whole of the tithes were, as a rule, until the Norman Conquest, given to the parish priest, thus virtually constituting him a rector, instead of being all or in part sent away for the support it might be of a distant monastery.

<sup>3</sup> "The priest, it seems, had not yet a freehold tenure of his office, and, with regard to his emoluments, probably stood very much in the position of the later vicars appointed by monasteries, who generally received a third of the tithes" (Selborne).

<sup>4</sup> There is a special reference to priests serving in royal or manorial churches or chapels in the Supplement to Edgar's Laws (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, i. 271): "Then will I, that these God's dues (the tithes, etc.) stand everywhere alike in my dominion; and that the servants of God, who receive the moneys which we give to God, live a pure life, that, through their purity, they may intercede for us with God; and *that I and my thanes direct our priests* to that which the pastors of our souls teach us, that is, the bishops" (Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 221). In the same reign an additional step was taken with regard to tithes, the payment of them being made compulsory. "If anyone will not then pay the tithe, as we have ordained, let the king's reeve go thereto, and the bishop's, and the mass priest of the minster, and take by force a tenth part for the minster to which it is due" (*Ibid.*, p. 220).

that tithe, in addition to the other offerings and dues pertaining to his "shrift-shire"<sup>1</sup> or district.

Two other legal enactments, of only a little later date, though not perhaps bearing more directly upon the history of Luton than on that of other churches of the period, yet as affording an additional reason for concluding that every *Royal* Manor at least must have had a church upon it at this time, ought not to be omitted here or overlooked. They supply also interesting evidence of another special development at this period of the parochial<sup>2</sup> system, besides giving the early history, if not the origin, of many church dues and customs, some of which, after an existence of at least nine hundred years, still prevail in the parish of Luton, as elsewhere.

Thus, in a legislative assembly held in 1008 during the reign of ÆTHELRED "THE UNREADY" (at Eanham (Ensham), Oxon),<sup>3</sup> the duty of erecting churches in all parts of the country, *as well as upon the king's lands*, was pressed upon landowners ("ecclesias namque per loca singula ædificate, in Dñi subsidio Cunctipotentis, nec non et regis terreni," Soames, p. 182); and the times and seasons stated at which church dues ought to be paid, viz.,

<sup>1</sup> "The circuit within which the priest exercised his shriving" (Selden, Selborne, p. 223). In Archbishop Theodore's *Penitential* (668-690) the priest's assigned sphere of duty, "such as Selden truly says there must always have been" (Selborne, p. 118), is called his "province" ("provincia"); in later times, his "Shrive-shire;" eventually his "parish"—a title originally, as in Theodore's time, applied only to a bishop's district or diocese. From this latter fact being overlooked Theodore is credited with founding the parochial system, and even with mapping out the country into parishes. "The completion of the diocesan system (says Selborne, p. 122) must come first. That was Theodore's work."

<sup>2</sup> The strictly parochial system can hardly be said to have begun until Edgar's reign (c. 970); it took many centuries before arriving at the present completeness, and "it was not," as Lord Selborne remarks (*A. F. and F.*, p. 295), "until the necessity for episcopal institution, and the right of the bishop to supply a vacancy in the church of which a layman was the patron, after a certain delay, had become settled, that the modern parochial system was fully established." This latter did not take place until the Lateran Council (called by Selborne "the Third," by Perry "the Second") in 1179-80, the decrees of which were soon afterwards received in England, as in other parts of Western Christendom.

<sup>3</sup> A duty, evidently from the frequent allusions to its neglect in public deeds, left still unfulfilled in at least backward places. "Under Canute the land had rest. Old churches were repaired, and new churches erected in every direction."

plough-alsms to be paid within fifteen nights after Easter, tythe of young by Whitsuntide, of the earth's produce at All-Hallows (November 1st), Rome-fee (Peter's pence) at S. Peter's mass (June 29th), and light-shot (for lights upon the altar) thrice in the year. Soul-shot was to be paid at the opening of a grave, and in case of interment without the district (shrift-shire) in which the deceased had regularly gone to confession, the monastery of that district which had the *pastorship of it* was nevertheless to claim soul-shot (Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 180).

Again, it was enacted (at Haba) in 1014, in the same reign, that a penny, in either money or kind, should be paid for every plough-land (hide), in addition to the old plough-alsms, and another penny by each member of a congregation—the origin, it may be, of Easter offerings.

The *mode of tything*, too, is here alluded to, viz., to “surrender the produce of every tenth acre, as the plough traverses it” (“sicut aratrum peragrabat decimam acram”), all the land being cultivated in common, and the produce of each tenth slip, and consequently of each tenth acre, being reserved for the church—the priest's portion being free of service and taxes,<sup>1</sup> and his strips probably ploughed by the common ploughs in return for his services, without his contributing oxen to the manorial plough-team.

There seems to be no further direct allusion in any existing document<sup>2</sup> to the town of Luton itself, any more than to its church, for at least a hundred years after the casual notice of the Witenagemot being held here in 931. In the days of CANUTE, however (1017-35), or very shortly afterwards, *if* Chauncy's<sup>3</sup> account could only be trusted, Luton Church is definitely mentioned as existing; for he states that “Ann, the wife of Robert Hoo,

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Part IV., *Places in Beds mentioned in Pre-Norman Records*.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Antiquities of Herts* (1700), p. 510. It seems too probable that the whole of the early pedigree of the Hoos, as given by Sir H. Chauncy, is purely imaginary. No documents are referred to by him, and none are known to exist of that date relating to the family. Their earliest *authenticated* connection with Bedfordshire seems to be that of a charter granted, 20 Ed. I. (1292), to Sir Robert Hoo, where he is described as “of Hoo and other estates in Beds.” His name occurs, too, in a roll of arms t. Ed. I., as “Sire Rob't de Hoo Beds”: “quartile de argent e de sable, a une benche de or” (Blaydes, *Vis. of Beds*, xi.). Though his chief manor was that of Knebworth, Herts, yet as he probably derived his family name from Luton Hoo, it may be assumed both that his family were Saxon, and that they originally resided in Luton.

'a famous man in the days of Canute,' was buried in the parish church of Luton." The exact day of her death is given by Chauncy, but, alas! the date of the year in which she died, the only point of interest, is not mentioned!<sup>1</sup> By late Saxon laws,<sup>2</sup> only those who had led eminently holy lives were buried *within* churches, and then only within what was named "the porch,"<sup>3</sup> an expression, nevertheless, including "the ambulatory," or "portico," or chapels around the altar. Ann Hoo's burial, however, either within the church itself, or within even its precincts, if any such interment ever took place, would prove that the church of Luton had, by this time at all events, the right of burial granted to it by the bishop—a privilege of much importance no less to the people than to the priest,<sup>4</sup> and one which, whether exercised or not on this occasion, we may well suppose to have been attached to a Royal Manor church from its foundation. But even had it not been so from the first, there is no room for doubt but that long before the Norman Conquest there was sure to have been a churchyard or burial-ground around a church with such an extensive parish attached to it.

#### 4. *Sites of the Manor House and Saxon Church.*

Wherever, therefore, the site of that Saxon church may have been, it is not impossible that there some relics<sup>5</sup> of ancient times

<sup>1</sup> If the account had been derived from some monumental stone this omission would not have been surprising, for Saxon tombstones seldom or never mentioned the year of the death, but only the name, age, and day of the month. If however, such a stone had been in existence in Chauncy's days, he could hardly have failed to allude to it.

<sup>2</sup> "Right is that no man be buried within a church unless it be known that in life he was well pleasing to God, that through that he be deemed worthy of his resting-place" (*Synodal Decret.* 29; Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 121, f. 27; Soames, p. 236, note).

<sup>3</sup> "Porticus" is the word used by Bede for the *chapel* of S. Martin, in which, on each side of its altar, were laid the bodies of King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha, the chapel itself forming one of "the radiating chapels" within the apse of the church of S. Augustine's Abbey, and encompassing the high altar. The word is constantly used both by him and others for various chapels in the aisles and other parts of churches.

<sup>4</sup> Just before the Norman Conquest burial fees were of more value than the tithes to rural priests.

<sup>5</sup> All movables of any value, probably even the altar, would naturally be removed to the new church mentioned when the old was deliberately taken

may be found. There seems to be no tradition whatever about this church or its site, nor any record to indicate its position beyond the assertion<sup>1</sup> that it was built upon the king's demesne, and early in the twelfth century "thoroughly levelled with the ground." As it has yet to be determined where any part of the king's demesne<sup>2</sup> lay, it must still, as far as this clue is concerned, be merely a matter of conjecture and inference as to where the church stood. There would appear, however, to be much ground<sup>3</sup> for fixing its site near to the present "Bury Farm Homestead," "Luton Bury," as it used to be called. For wherever the royal manor house was, there, close adjoining,<sup>4</sup> on the king's demesne, was sure to have been "the manor church." The manor house or farm itself could never have been situated anywhere but *near the town*, which no doubt sprang up, as usual, close to it, and the

down and not violently destroyed. But stone coffins and other signs of interment of such persons as the king's reeves, the rectors, and other chief men of the parish, in Saxon or early Norman times might be met with. Among the *Angle* tribes, while still Pagan, cremation was the predominating practice; burial the more general custom among the *Saxon* (Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 467), but after the introduction of Christianity cremation entirely ceased (J. Romilly Allen, *Monumental Hist. of the British Church*, p. 205).

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, i. 113.

<sup>2</sup> The king's demesne—*i.e.*, what he held in his own hand, and cultivated by his reeve—was very extensive for demesne land, being four carucates (c. 480 acres) arable, scattered, presumably, for the most part through the different open fields of the parish. But there was an equal number of acres of meadow and grass land belonging to the manor, and though it can hardly be supposed that they were all held by the king, many of them doubtless lay around the manor house as well as along the river and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Arguments deduced from the history itself have been advanced in a previous note (§ 1) in favour of the town, manor house, church, rectory, and glebe all being on the western side of the river, which would reduce within narrow limits the possible area in which the manor house could have been situated. When from this, again, are deducted the hamlets upon that side—Leagrave, Limbury, Biscot in part, and West Hide, each evidently early separated from the central township, and distinguished by Saxon names, and also the minor manors of Dolowe (Dallow), belonging to the church (as will be proved) in Edward the Confessor's day, and Farley, granted away from the chief manor in the middle of the twelfth century—it would seem that scarcely any spot is left for it except Bury. Documentary evidence will also presently be given that the *rectory land* was not merely on the western side, but that it adjoined the present Bury Farm—a strong argument that the church was there also, and if the church of the manor, then the manor house itself.

<sup>4</sup> As in the similar instances of manor churches at Flitwick, Westoning, Tingrith, Milton Bryan, Maulden, etc.



name "Bury"<sup>1</sup> seems to point almost unmistakably to the place where it was situated. The church is expressly stated to have *not* been upon the site of the present church, nor, being, "on the king's demesne," could it have been *in* the then town. No more natural or more central position for the manor house can be named, nor could any more convenient site for the church have been chosen at that period than that of Bury.<sup>2</sup> There seems, indeed, very little doubt that "Luton Bury" was the seat of the chief manor of the parish, and that the church was in immediate proximity to it.

### 5. *Parish Priests of Luton.*

And if a church existed at Luton (either at Bury or elsewhere) for any length of time, it may be confidently assumed, from what has been already said, that there was also a succession of ordained priests to minister therein. And this can be proved to have been the case during at least a considerable portion of the later Saxon or Danish period.

The advowson, or right of presentation to the church, belonged, we are told, "to the king, because it had been built upon his demesne;" and Morcar, the priest, we read, "held the church in Edward the Confessor's time." We are probably not wrong, however, in surmising that it was by Canute, or by one of his two sons who succeeded him, rather than by King Edward, that the *Saxon* Morcar was appointed; for of Edward it is stated that he "endeavoured to root out the English clergy and supply their place with Normans." If this conjecture be correct, the commencement of Morcar's incumbency of the rectory would date back at least twenty-five years previous to the Norman Conquest. In any case, even without reference to Edward's policy, Morcar's tenure of office may well have begun about that time. Though we know not the history, or even the names, of any of his predecessors, we

<sup>1</sup> Appendix O, *Bury*.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest notice yet met with by the writer of any reference to either of the three existing Burys at Luton is in the Exchequer Decrees, 29 Eliz. (1586-7), when a "Bury-hill," probably "Little Bury," or Buxton Hill, is mentioned as belonging to George Rotheram; to which is added that up to that time it had been nothing but "heath and waste," and that the farmers of How (Hoo), Farley, and the Brache used to have common there, but that it had lately been brought into cultivation.

have this interesting and suggestive record<sup>1</sup> concerning them, that "parsons of the church had bought lands" and added them to the church lands of the parish. As the term "parsons" must include at least two or three individuals, we deduce from it, not merely that Morcar was certainly not the first parson or rector of Luton, but also that the series of rectors thus incidentally alluded to, reached back, presumably, to the beginning of the eleventh, if not some way into the preceding century. The recorded history of the church of Luton, as far as its clergy are concerned, would thus seem to extend backward at least to the time of King Sweyn's incursion (1010), when S. Peter's Church at Bedford was burnt and the whole country ravaged. The *series* of rectors no doubt reached far beyond this date, though it would be idle to expect any earlier or further allusion to any members of it.

Morcar's incumbency (whenever it commenced) brings us back to the point whence we started, viz., to the earliest direct documentary mention and first explicit account of the parish church of Luton—that found in Domesday.

#### 6. *The Rectorial Estate—its extent and value.*

The Conqueror's Survey states that the "arable land" (no doubt at that time in open, *i.e.*, unenclosed fields) belonging to the church was "six carucates" or "ploughlands" (about 720 acres arable), each carucate containing, it is supposed, about 120 Norman acres—enough, *i.e.*, to employ during the year six team of oxen, each team consisting of eight head. One of the carucates was "in demesne," *i.e.*, kept in the rector's own hands, but cultivated for him, as part payment for their holdings, by the eleven villeins, or free tenants, who dwelt upon the estate and "held the other five carucates," and by the "four bordars," or cotters, and the "three serfs," or slaves, whose huts clustered round the rector's parsonage. This latter was clearly now, though not so named in the record, a secular manor house, no less than a religious sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb. i.*, p. 115: "Et postea, succedente tempore, aliz terræ a Personis ecclesiæ acquisitæ sunt; et sic ecclesiam, cum totâ terrâ in eleemosynam semper ab omnibus habitam esse." The expression "ab omnibus," of itself, also clearly implies a series of rectors of some considerable length.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that all parsonage houses and their offices, as well as all churches and churchyards, were temporary asylums to which homicides and others could flee for refuge.

### III.] RECTORIAL ESTATE—ITS EXTENT AND VALUE. 41

was a "wood," too, upon the estate, sufficient to provide beech-masts, acorns, and roots, etc., for fifty hogs—the timber being probably used free of payment for all domestic and agricultural purposes by any of the tenants.<sup>1</sup> No mention is made of any meadow land, but it can hardly be supposed that there was none whatever on the manor, especially as this included land on the banks of the river. Heath, common, and marsh, whatever their extent, would not have been reckoned. The rector owned, besides, a mill,<sup>2</sup> worth 10s. yearly,<sup>3</sup> a valuable adjunct to a manor, as all its tenants had to bring their corn to be ground at it, and to pay toll to the lord.

The value of the rector's land, including the services of his villeins, etc., was thirty shillings per annum. The whole, together with the mill, was rated at *Five hides*.<sup>4</sup> The tithes, dues, offerings, etc., amounted to twenty shillings more, so that the total value of the benefice was "3 lbs. of silver per annum."

<sup>1</sup> The tenants had also the right of free commonage upon the Royal Manor.

<sup>2</sup> The importance of this statement of Domesday in the argument for determining the locality of the rectory lands will be seen further on.

<sup>3</sup> As this is rather above the average value of the mill of a small manor at this time, it is probable that the tenants of neighbouring manors where there was no mill, such as Caddington, Toddington, etc., brought their grain to be ground here. (There is no allusion in Domesday to any windmill in Beds.) The tenants on the Royal Manors of Houghton (R.) and Sewell, including Dunstable, though there was a small mill (occasionally worked?) at Houghton, as well as on those of Luton and Biscot, would naturally bring theirs to one of the six of the king's mills at Luton, the average value of each of which was as much as 16s. 8d.

<sup>4</sup> Its being thus *rated* in the Survey, instead of being declared to be held in free alms, is a confirmation of the inference to be drawn presently, that it was the William mentioned in Domesday who first constituted the rectory a military fief, and so subjected it to taxes. So long as it was held, as it had been from time immemorial up to near this period, in free alms, it is probable that no secular tax whatever, except "the triple obligation," was laid upon it. The land of the clergy was free from Danegeld. As this tax, instituted by Edward the Unready, was a charge of 2s. per hide—the hidage being the basis of taxation both long before and for some time after the Norman Conquest—the parson of Luton, if subject to it, would have had to pay 10s. yearly (equal to £40 of present money) for this tax alone. Under Richard I. the hidage disappears, but the carucage takes its place, the normal tax being laid on the carucate instead of on the hide, and each carucate containing a fixed extent of 100 acres (Hoveden, iv. 47; Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 582).

<sup>5</sup> This, according to Airy (*Digest of Domesday*, pp. 20, 21), must be multiplied by eighty to give its present value, which would be £240 per annum.

### 7. *The Rectorial Lands—where situated.*

In what part of the parish the rectory lands were situated is nowhere definitely stated, nor are there any lands to which that title has been attached within the memory of man. As will be seen, they passed some seven hundred years ago into the possession of S. Alban's Abbey, and for the last three centuries have been in the hands of laymen, who, except for the special purpose of claiming exemption from payment of tithe, have had no interest in preserving the tradition of their having formerly belonged to the church.

Their position, however, seems clearly marked out in the grant<sup>1</sup> made by Henry II. (c. A.D. 1156) to the foreign hospital of Santingfield, of the lands of Farley and Whippersley (Stockwood), where Farley is described as extending "*up to the land of the church of Luton.*"<sup>2</sup> Hence the *rectory* estate (for no land was yet assigned to any vicar) must have abutted somewhere upon Farley.

The only estate in the parish contiguous to Farley of any such extent as six carucates (c. 720 acres arable), is that which is now known as "*Dallow Manor*," but which in former times bore successively the names of "*Dolowe*," "*Dollow*," and "*Delowe*." This, however, must be understood to include, besides "*the Manor Farm*" and other admitted portions of the manor, sundry lands which will be mentioned presently, the greater part of which can be proved to have once belonged to it. Yet, even independent of its situation, there are many reasons for believing that this manor of Dallow represents the larger portion of the original rectory lands as described in Domesday.

The words of the grant clearly determining that "*the church land*" was in immediate proximity to Farley at once dispose of any possible claim that could be made in favour of any *distant* manor or farm.

<sup>1</sup> Grant by H. II. of Farley and Whippersley to Santingfield in Picardy: "*Sciatis me dedisse . . . hospitali de Santingefield . . . terram de Farleya juxta Lectonam usque ad terram ecclesiæ de Lectona, et usque ad terram Richardi, filii Wulwardi; et usque ad terram Gaufridi, mercatoris, et totam terram de Wyperleya usque ad viam de Presteleya et sicut via dividit usque ad Harpenden*" (Dug., *Mon.*).

<sup>2</sup> The expression "*up to the land of the church*" evidently implies that at that period that land was not in slips scattered throughout the Royal Manor, but was compact enough to present a definite boundary line—in fact, that it was a distinct estate or manor.

They leave, in fact, only two lands to be considered besides that of Dallow, viz., those of Buxton Hill<sup>1</sup> to the north-east, and of Chaulend (taken by itself and alone) in the far west, these being the only other lands in the parish adjoining Farley; Whippersley bounding it on its other side. That it was neither of these lands may be unhesitatingly concluded from the following considerations:

First, of *Buxton Hill*.

These lands, besides being in the township of Luton and forming part always of the manor of Luton, have never been known to be a distinct property or holding. They are not extensive enough, by many hundreds of acres, to represent "the church land." Unlike all rectory land, they have been, from time immemorial, subject to all manner of tithes. There is no authority whatever to connect them at any time with S. Alban's Abbey, which unquestionably possessed the rectory land for many centuries. Neither were they ever known in ancient times to have had a mill attached to them, as undoubtedly was the case with the church land.

And the same may in great measure be said with regard to (Mr. Crawley's) *Chaulend* (in Luton).

It is within Luton township; it is not extensive enough, of itself, to represent the rectory land, being only 161 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches; it is never directly asserted to have, at any time, been connected with S. Alban's, though it possibly may have been, as is presently suggested; and it has never had any mill attached to it. Though declared exempt from great tithe in 1844, it was formerly subject to both rectorial and vicarial tithe.

Its peculiar position, however, on the extreme western boundary of Farley, and abutting also on Dallow for about an equal distance (i.e., for about half a mile), when viewed in connection with the description of the boundary of Farley, as given in the above grant, in which only *three* properties are mentioned as *touching* it, viz., those of the church, of Richard, and of the merchant Geoffrey, raises an interesting question, and one bearing directly upon our subject, as to which of these three proprietors it was that owned it.

It seems natural to conclude that the description of the boundary would commence at either end of the land, and proceed regularly to the other end. As "the land of the church" was that

<sup>1</sup> Called in a deed of 1586, "Buxton's Hill."

which is first mentioned, and as it is clear, too, from what has been just stated, that the lands on the east (Buxton Hill) were not the church lands, the inference seems plain that the description begins, *not* with the eastern end or boundary, but with the western, and consequently that some part at least of the church land abutted upon this latter boundary, as well as upon the northern, where, it will be seen, the greater portion of it lay. If so, then Chaulend originally formed part of "the land of the church of Luton."

And this derives some confirmation from a fact, alluded to in its proper place in the history, viz., that Abbot Norton, in the year 1272 (*i.e.*, about a hundred years after the rectory land had come into the possession of the abbey), is said<sup>1</sup> to have cleared the abbey estate of a claim which was made to a pathway and common pasturage in the copse of *Badesho* in Luton. Though it is easy to err in identifying modern with mediæval names of country places, yet, in the present case, as all the wood within the boundary of the *present manor of Dallow* seems ever to have borne some such name as that at present, Rhyndeale, Rundle, or Runley wood, while at Chaulend there is a large wood still called *Bagdell's* or *Badgerdell* wood—which is but a slight modification after six hundred years of a name written in Latin as "*Badesho*" and "*Baddesho*"—it seems to be a not unreasonable inference that that is the wood described. Consequently, at that time, Badgerdell wood formed part of the abbey's property; and if so, then, by implication, all the land lying between it and Dallow, and no doubt all the rest of Chaulend as well, belonged to the abbey. Also, as the abbey is never known to have possessed any land in this part of the parish except in connection with Dallow manor, *i.e.*, with the *rectory land*, the presumption seems to be strong that this wood<sup>2</sup> originally formed part of the Dolowe or *church land*.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, i. 478, where, however, the transaction seems wrongly assigned to the year 1278 (*vide* Chap. VII.).

<sup>2</sup> No doubt Chaulend woods were more continuous in ancient times than they are at present; yet, if Chaulend formed part of the rectory land, its whole area of 161 acres could not well have been wood, as that probably would have exceeded the total extent of the original wood of the rectory. This latter, according to Airy's estimation, would have been about 150 acres. Though the position of the many remaining woods in Chaulend, and of the adjoining copses in Dallow, suggests that it was in this direction that the rectory woods lay—and there would be a difficulty in finding room for them all within the present Dallow manor—yet there must have been, even at the time of Domesday,

If this latter be admitted, two points, closely connected, seem to require elucidation, viz., why Chaulend was ever subject to payment of tithe, and why it is never found at any time to be included by name in the Dolowe manor.

For though "the impropriate or rectorial tithes" of Chaulend are said in the tithe book for 1844 to be "either merged, or the lands free of them," and the tithe commissioner seems to have stated as the grounds of his decision that they had for so many years<sup>1</sup> ceased to be demanded or collected that they could never again be claimed; yet that the lands were not at one time exempt is clear from the fact that for some years, both previously and subsequently to the dissolution of S. Alban's, "*the Challney*" rectorial tithes were always leased (and eventually were sold (in 1599)—Challney in the deed of sale being stated to be the same as Chaulend) along with the Luton rectorial tithes under the common name of "Luton tithes." The ignorance concerning the reason of the exemption of the lands seems to have arisen merely from the tithes having been merged before the memory of the generation of 1844. The Wingates purchased them from the Crown. The last mention met with of their being in the possession of any member of that family is at the death of J. Wingate, 1643. In 1740 they were in the family of Crawley, being then made the subject of the marriage settlement of J. Crawley. There can be little doubt that when that family also acquired Onyions and Chaulend from the representatives of Zachary Neale, Edward Symonds, and J. Copping, who owned them in 1707, some member of it speedily merged the tithes with the rent. That Chaulend was thus subject to tithes for two centuries and upwards is sufficient evidence that it had been so for many generations previously. The early history of the town land is not recorded. It may be sufficient, however, to account for its being—unlike rectorial lands in general—subject to tithes, by merely supposing that when-ever it was parted with by S. Alban's, the abbey for its own benefit (as being the receiver of the rectorial tithes of the parish) may have imposed tithes upon it as a condition of the sale.<sup>2</sup>

sundry clearances in them, which again will help towards accounting for the six carucates of arable land.

<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the whole appraising and collecting of the tithes at Laton had been for many years previous to this period very unequal and irregular.

<sup>2</sup> Something of this kind seems to have been not unusual with the abbey, as in the instance of Abbot Warren, c. 1194, related subsequently (Chap. V.).

That it is subject to *vicarial tithe* is considered elsewhere. The anomalies in the incidence of this tithe on other lands in the parish, as, *e.g.*, on the vicarage grounds themselves, remove all difficulties connected with its imposition here.

A very early separation of Chaulend from the rectory land might account for its never being mentioned as part of the manor of Dolowe. No early court roll of the manor is known to be in existence. It may be added that there is nothing in the relative position of Chaulend, or in the lie of its ground, at all adverse to its having originally formed one property with Dolowe; perhaps very much the reverse.

Neither Buxton Hill, nor Chaulend, by itself, being then capable of representing "the church land," there remains but the *Dallow Manor*.

This, unlike either of the other lands, has been from at least the year 1290 recognized as a distinct manor of itself—even as the rectory land was practically, though not so named, at the time of the Domesday Survey, and even before it.

Its nominal acreage at present is 455 acres, 3 roods, 39 perches, but to these much more has undoubtedly to be added, as, *e.g.*, the 53 acres, 3 roods, 8 perches, of Mr. Macnamara's, distinctly stated in certain documents to have formed part of the manor; 3 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches of Dallow mead, with two other small pieces, 1 acre, 2 roods, 28 perches, near the river, and 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches, on S. Ann's Hill, of which evidence is presently given that they also belonged to the manor. There are, besides, other extensive lands, most of them definitely connected by name with the manor, but only their value (and that a considerable one), and not their extent or locality being given, to be counted; and, finally, the 161 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches, of Chaulend have seemingly to be added. All this, together with the evidence that the abbey on more than one occasion parted with some of their Luton property, seems fully to justify the opinion that this manor of Dallow was at one time of sufficient extent to have been the rectory land.

It has never been known to pay tithes of any kind.

It unquestionably belonged to S. Alban's from the remotest times (1290) up to the date of that abbey's suppression in 1539, and no other manor or farm can be proved to have been in their possession at that latter period.

Moreover, although the modern manor farm and the whole



bulk of the modern manor lie at a distance from any stream, yet the manor, until recently, owned certain fields on the banks of the river Lea, where there is evidence to prove that the abbey, as the rector in still earlier times, had a *mill*.

It seems reasonably certain,<sup>1</sup> then, that Dallow Manor, with the above-mentioned additions, is the modern representative of the old rectory land, and that in describing in his grant the boundaries of Farley—as the parish of Caddington adjoined it on the west and Whyppersley on the south and east—Henry II. began, as was natural, by naming first the furthest lands to which it extended, viz., the largest holding, forming indeed half the boundary, viz., that “of the church of Luton” (Chaulend? and Dallow), on the extreme west and north; then the two lesser holdings, included now in the rather indefinite designation of Buxton Hill. The first of these latter would still be somewhat out in the country, though tending towards the town, viz., “the land of Richard, the son of Wulward,” who, from there being no allusion to his having any special occupation, may well be supposed to have been, as most men were in those days, a husbandman—a free tenant probably of Luton Manor—and the other, where perhaps it might naturally be expected to be found, nearest the town, “the land of Geoffrey, the merchant.”

At “the Dallow Manor Farm,” then (of modern days), it may well be concluded, stood the parsonage, homestead, and tithe barn, of the early rectors, close enough both to the King’s Manor House, if that is now represented by Bury Farm, and to the Manor Church, to render unnecessary any nearer residence for the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix P, a, *Dolowe Manor*, where further arguments are adduced in favour of Dallow having been the rectory land. Only two estates are found in 1844 exempt *ab antiquo* from tithe, viz., Dallow and Farley (with Whyppersley). Of these, Dallow was declared in 1698 to have been exempt from time immemorial; whilst Farley, from being described in the grant by Henry as extending “up to the land of the church of Luton” could not possibly have been the church land itself. This of itself ought to be abundant proof that Dallow, the only other exempt land, was the original church or rectory land. As Lord Selborne remarks (*A. F. and F.*; p. 96) the term “exempt” is itself hardly a correct one to be applied to rectory land, as such land, never having been liable to tithes, cannot properly be said to be *exempted* or freed from them. Rectory land, in the nature of the case, is incapable of being liable to an impost of the kind, as, being the property of the rector, whenever or however acquired, the whole produce (or rent, if let out), and not a mere tenth or tithe of it, as well as the soil itself, belongs to the incumbent. On other lands he has a claim or charge only to a tithe.

parish priest. Here Morcar and his many predecessors, and his successors also for a hundred years, probably continued to live and bear rule, while they served the church of the Royal Manor.

#### 8. *Morcar, the last of the Saxon "Priests of Luiton."*

MORCAR is the only Saxon rector of Luton whose name has been handed down to us. From his name, which was a very unusual one<sup>1</sup> except in the well-known Mercian noble family, and from his appointment to that which was doubtless the richest church in the county and a Royal Manor church, it may be inferred that he was a person of birth and position.<sup>2</sup> Like most of the Saxon priests, it is not improbable that he was a married man. He possessed, too, some property of his own in Battlesden and Pottesgrove, and therefore perhaps was a Bedfordshire man. Whether immediately after the Conquest (1066), or in the fatal year of 1070, he was deprived of his benefice, like so many of his compatriots, especially among the richer and higher clergy, or whether, bending to the storm, he was allowed to retain his office and its emoluments until his death, there is no means of knowing.

But in 1086, twenty years after the Conquest, and at the date when Domesday was compiled, his name no longer appears as holding either this church or his property in Battlesden and Pottesgrove, but in place of it, in each case (and as holding besides the neighbouring Royal Manor church of Houghton (Regis), and also the manor of Totternhoe, Beds, together with lands in Bucks and Glos.), that of a Norman, one of the Conqueror's officials, "WILLIAM THE CHAMBERLAIN."

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that, with one exception—that of Earl Harold's man—Morcar the priest and Morcar (Morker) the earl were the only two of the name mentioned in Domesday, though certain distinguished persons bore the name previously.

<sup>2</sup> Saxon clergy of all orders substantially ranked with the nobility, if not higher. The oath of an earl was equal to that of six ceorls, or peasants; but that of a priest was equivalent to the oaths of 120 ceorls. The lowest priest was looked upon as a mass-thane, *i.e.*, as a noble or knight of religion, and was of the same degree and honour as a world-thane (Knight; Palgrave, *Engl. Com.*, pp. 164, 165). A "regular" priest, however, seems to have taken precedence of a "secular," and a deacon of a monastery to have been counted equal to a secular priest.

III.] MORCAR, LAST SAXON "PRIEST OF LUTON." 49

During the above interval, perhaps in 1076, the Bishop's See, or seat of the diocese to which Luton had been attached for near two hundred years, was removed from Dorchester in Oxfordshire to Lincoln, and a new cathedral erected there ; its founder, however, Bishop Remigius, dying the day before its consecration.

## CHAPTER IV.

NORMAN TIMES (A.D. 1066-1154). WILLIAM I.—WILLIAM RUFUS—  
HENRY I.—STEPHEN.

1. *William the Chamberlain, Rector.*

THIS William is described in Domesday as "holding the church with its lands, etc., of the king," *i.e.*, in capite,<sup>1</sup> by feudal tenure or military service. By a decision of the Council of Cloveshoo, as early as A.D. 742, in the days of Ethelbald, King of Mercia, churches and monasteries—their incumbents and inmates—had been declared free from all taxes and *secular services*,<sup>2</sup> and although this does not seem to have been strictly acted upon as regards every parish church, yet Luton, it is expressly recorded, had been held "from its foundation in free alms."<sup>3</sup> Now, however, the church and its lands had become a fief of the crown. A somewhat similar change in the tenure of bishoprics and abbeys had been made by the Conqueror 'himself early in his reign (1070), on the plea of

<sup>1</sup> "In 1085" (the year immediately preceding the Domesday survey) "the alarm excited by the prospect of a fresh Danish invasion caused attention to the defenceless state of the country, and no doubt gave a considerable impulse to the *completion* of the feudal division of the land in the country, with its military and other incidents, including a liability to perform annually forty days' service when the king required it" (*Hist. of English Institutions*, p. 16).

<sup>2</sup> In the carucage of 1198 (9-10 Ric. I.) the freeholds of the parish churches are untaxed. "Libera feoda ecclesiarum parochialium de hoc tallagio excipiebantur." (Hoveden, iv. 46; *Select Charters*, p. 249; Stubbs, *C. H.*, ii. 172.) Vide Appendix Q, *Freedom of the Church from Secular Service*.

<sup>3</sup> Except the triple obligation of attending the king in war and helping in the repair of bridges and fortresses, from which no one was free—this obligation being looked upon as inherent in the position, and the fulfilment of it as the mark and proof, of a freeman.

<sup>4</sup> "King William placed under military rule all the bishops and abbots who held baronies, and who, aforesaid, had held *in puris et perpetuis elemosynis* (excepting always the 'Trinoda necessitas'); enrolling the same in his Exchequer, with the number of men-at-arms which each should furnish in time of war" (Roger Wendover). "That is to say, finding these ecclesiastics seized of hereditaments which, if in the hands of laymen, would, under the new law of the land, have supplied warriors, he required them to provide, like laymen, for

their possessors being barons of the realm, but William the Chamberlain<sup>1</sup> is charged with having by his own act "turned the liberties of the church into a military fief," and so subjected succeeding rectors, as well as himself, to a share<sup>2</sup> of "the service of half<sup>3</sup> a knight's fee"—the providing, *i.e.*, half of the maintenance in the field of a fully-armed soldier for forty days annually when the king went to war—a tax finally commuted by Henry II. (1159) into an annual money payment ("scutage") of 20s. for each knight's fee.

Although the part he took against the church was so unlike the exigencies of the commonwealth" (Thomas Cobbe, *Norman Kings*, p. 364).

<sup>1</sup> The "last William" ("ultimi Willelmi") mentioned in the verdict of the jury, 1138-9, as having thus wronged the church, can only refer to this William, and not to his successor; and the fact of his holding the church from the king at the date of the survey (1086), shows that the change had taken place before that time, *i.e.*, in the days of the Conqueror, and not under pressure during the tyrannical reign of Rufus—although it was not until this latter period that the feudal system was fully developed and established in England.

<sup>2</sup> For the church and its lands, as will be seen presently, were only a part of the fief.

<sup>3</sup> "Knight's fees were determined by rent or valuation rather than acreage, and the common quantity was really expressed in the twenty librates, the twenty pounds' worth of annual value, which until the reign of Edward I. was the qualification for knighthood" (Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 265). As "the customary service of one fully-armed man (for forty days) was for *each five hides*" (*Ibid.*, i. 262), it seems strange at first sight that William and his successors, who held even other lands besides the five hides of the rectory, should only have to render the service of half a knight's fee, to provide, *i.e.*, only half the maintenance of a man-at-arms. But the value of the whole rectory (land, tithes, etc.) being only £3 per ann., *i.e.*, according to the above estimate, less than a *quarter of a knight's fee*, the service of a half knight's fee was more than could be required for the church alone. It was no doubt rendered for the whole property, including that of the church, which we shall find was held from the earl by William's immediate successor, and evidently by himself also, though not definitely so stated, viz., "lands in the soke of Luton and in Houghton" (including the revenues of the church there), "Battlesden, Pottesgrove, and Hertswell in Bucks," all of which, therefore, together must have been estimated at £7. As, however, the value of these lands, *exclusive of those in the soke of Luton*, only amounted to about £3 2s., viz., those of the church of Houghton, half a hide, valued in Domesday (though inadvertently omitted by Airy, *Digest*, p. 72) at 12s.; Battlesden, half a hide, 5s.; Pottesgrove, 1 hide, 15s.; and Hertswell, 2 hides, 30s.; *i.e.*, four hides in all, we gain the interesting information that the remaining lands, viz., those "in the soke of Luton and in Houghton" (*exclusive of the church land there*), must have been rated at £3 18s., an amount which shows that they were of considerable extent, *i.e.*, according to the above valuation, of about five hides or more.

that of the great body of those (Thomas à Becket, *e.g.*) who enjoyed its revenues, and though designated merely a chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> yet there can be little doubt that William was also a clergyman. The so-called "king's chamberlains" being members of the Exchequer, were invariably, it seems, in at least "minor orders" and tonsured, and so could canonically hold church preferment, though not able until further ordination to perform all the functions of a parish priest. The office of chamberlain<sup>2</sup> was not infrequently a step to a bishopric itself. From William's position in the county it seems very probable that he was one of the auditors of the accounts of the Vice-Comes or Sheriff of the county—an office, the holders of which, equally with certain other members of the Exchequer, bore the title of chamberlain.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy, in support of the presumption of his having been an ordained clergyman, that he was given by the Conqueror two *churches* (Luton and Houghton Regis), and also the properties of two *Priests* (of Morcar at Battlesden and Pottesgrove, and of Ulmar at Hertswell in Bucks). This looks as if he were regarded by the king as a "clerk," at least, *i.e.*, in minor orders. Possibly, on his preferment,<sup>4</sup> especially as he was a pluralist, he was

<sup>1</sup> Airy (*Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire*, p. 72, note) is evidently led astray by this very title when he speaks of William's holding the churches of Luton and Houghton as "an early instance of *lay-impropriation*."

<sup>2</sup> The king's servants were *secular* clerks, and consequently, though frequently appointed to bishoprics, were never appointed to abbeys. They were merely tonsured, only taking priest's orders when appointed to bishoprics (Freeman, *W. Rufus*, i. 242).

<sup>3</sup> We read in Domesday of one other Chamberlain in the county of Beds, apparently a king's chamberlain also, viz., Thurston, who held about seven hides of land in a different part of the county, in Campton, Sandy, Pavenham, and Toddington. He probably executed much the same office as William of Luton. There was also another "William the Chamberlain" mentioned in Domesday, and one of some distinction, who held lands in Middlesex, and is considered by Riley (*Memorials*, p. 3) to have been mayor and coroner of London, as well as chamberlain (Loftus, p. 86). A still more renowned "William the Chamberlain," and one often associated with Earl Robert of Gloucester, appears in history a little later than this, William de Tankerville, "Hereditary Chamberlain of Normandy." A younger branch of his family settled in England, and took the title belonging to the family office as a surname, "Chamberlain" (*Rot. Hund.*, ii. 269); as did also the family of William the Chamberlain of Luton (*Rot. Hund.*, i. 7).

<sup>4</sup> A canon had to be passed in 1125, and therefore apparently in William's day, "That clergymen (*i.e.*, those in minor orders) who have *churches or benefices*, be *deprived* of them if they refuse to be *ordained* (*i.e.*, to proceed to the diaconate or priesthood), though their bishops invite them to it, that they may

advanced to the office of the priesthood. There is reason to conclude that he was also a married man—a fact which would not until some years later than this, however, have hindered him from being ordained.

Whether priest or no, he was given by the Conqueror the Five Hides of the Rectory of Luton, with all the tithes and offerings of the church, and the people of the township had thereupon put over them, as was the case in so many other large parishes, a pastor, who, although he might be able, equally with a Saxon priest, to say the divine offices in the language of the Church's formularies of the day, probably could not hold converse with a single native of the place.

If Chauncy's early history could be trusted—which is very doubtful, as there seem to be no local documents of the period—there occurs, probably during this William's time, the last notice of an interment in the old Saxon church, viz., the burial of another member of the Hoo family, Sir Thomas, son of the preceding Ann, which, according to Chauncy, took place in "the church of Luton, 19 Oct., 1118."

Sundry changes affecting the manor of Luton appear to have taken place previous to William's death, although the exact date of that event cannot perhaps be determined. Before it both the Conqueror, who enjoyed the revenue of the manor for some twenty years, and his son Rufus, seem to have passed away, as also the first Norman noble who became lord of the manor, Geoffrey, Count of Perche. Henry I. also, after having kept it<sup>1</sup> in his own hands for several years, had apparently bestowed part of it,<sup>2</sup> together with the lands held by William the Chamberlain

live more at liberty." Several instances occur of such deprivation amongst the incumbents of Bedfordshire churches a little later on. "There is no question, however, that even actual laymen held benefices, employing vicars for the service. This grievance continued long. Bishop Grosseteste set himself against it" (Perry, i. 211).

<sup>1</sup> Appendix R, *Revenue of the Manor of Luton temp. H. I.*

<sup>2</sup> The granting away from the Crown any of the royal manors or demesnes was considered to be prohibited by both Saxon and Norman law, but this law was frequently violated throughout Norman and later times. The Conqueror himself, a year before his death (1087), granted the manor of Luton to Geoffrey, Count of Perche—of whom O. Vitalis (675 D. and 890 B.) gives the very highest character (Appendix S, *Geoffrey, Count of Perche*)—and who died in 1100, the year of Henry's accession to the throne. How soon after this Henry made part of it over to Earl Robert is not known—perhaps on the occasion of his marriage, or more probably after his advancement to the earldom.

in Houghton, Battlesden, Pottesgrove, and Hertswell, upon his first-born but illegitimate son Robert,<sup>1</sup> whom he created Earl of Gloucester.

## 2. *A New Church.*

It was some time during Earl Robert's possession of his fee at Luton that the old church having been completely taken down (*funditus terræ coequata*) a new one was erected, not upon the old site, but upon Robert's land, "upon the Earl of Gloucester's fee." No doubt the population of this the chief market-town<sup>2</sup> of the neighbourhood was fast increasing, for Luton is described by the historian (M. Paris) as being at this time "abundantly filled with parishioners" (*parochialibus copiosa*), and probably the central population was gradually spreading away from the vicinity of the old manor-house and settling along the road to S. Albans. The earl apparently granted a large area of nearly three acres for a church and its burial-ground. Here he himself, in all probability, with the help of the tenants of the manor, built the new edifice; erecting it, it is natural to conclude, very much in the style of architecture then prevalent. If this was effected, as is suggested

Henry II., as will be seen, took advantage either of this grant having been a violation of the law on the part of his grandfather (Knight), or else of the treaty of Wallingford (1153)—which enjoined that all royal grants of estates during Henry's or Stephen's reigns should be cancelled and the lands restored to their former proprietors—to resume the manor of Luton (1155), which Stephen had seized and then granted away again. A year or two afterwards we find this king himself alienating another part of this same manor by giving away Farley to a foreign hospital (*Rot. Hund.*, i. p. 4); and later on his son, Richard, granting the remainder of it to Baldwin de Bethune, Earl of Albemarle.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix T, *Robert, Earl of Gloucester.*

<sup>2</sup> It would seem that just up to this period there had been only three market-towns in Bedfordshire, those of Luton, Leighton, and Arlesey. Henry I., at the commencement of his reign, when he built Dunstable, encouraged settlers by granting a market to the town; and before its close seems to have given one to Biggleswade. The date of those at Shefford and Potton is not known. Toddington did not have one till 1218, nor Ampthill till 1219. These towns, with the exception of Arlesey, Shefford, and Toddington, where they have ceased to exist, but with the addition of Bedford (the date of whose market is unknown, no notice of it occurring in Domesday), Harold, and Woburn, form the nine market-towns of the county at the present time. Other villages, however, such as Aspley Guise, Blunham, Silsoe, Marston, Melchbourn, Odell, Sundon, Warden, and Westoning (*Lysons*, p. 6), have, at times, had markets, as shown by their respective charters.



elsewhere, between the years 1121 and 1131,<sup>1</sup> we may fairly suppose that the structure<sup>2</sup> exhibited—provided the stone employed admitted of it—along with the chaste simplicity and massiveness of earlier times, some richness of detail. Of what form or extent this church was there is no certain evidence, yet doubtless the present church, though a good deal extended in area, is built chiefly upon the same site, if it be not even composed of some of the same materials.

Whether the original design included a central tower, transepts, or aisles, such as most of the larger churches of the period *eventually* possessed (few of them, however, besides conventual churches,<sup>3</sup> having transepts or aisles when first erected), cannot, perhaps, be definitely determined.

<sup>1</sup> These years were part of the period of the "Transition" from early and plain to later and richer Norman architecture, with finer masonry. Earl Robert, from his position and his extensive possessions, must have been familiar with most of the best and latest examples of architecture both in this country and in Normandy; in which latter country, the birthplace of the prevailing style, the art was naturally in a more advanced state. Building was one of his favourite occupations, and having ample means he indulged his taste in erecting and embellishing both churches and castles in each of these countries.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix U, *Conjectures as to the Architecture of the Norman Church.*

<sup>3</sup> Norman *parish* churches when originally erected appear to have been in most cases simply rectangular edifices, consisting of a nave and short chancel, with or without a tower at their junction, to which were *gradually* added, beginning usually on the south side of the church, successive parts such as transepts and aisles, according to the increasing requirements of the parish. In many cases, however, though not probably in that of Luton, a change of style in architecture succeeded so quickly that, before the original design could be fully carried out, a new style was in fashion, and was made to supersede the earlier. A few Norman churches, even of considerable size, but seemingly of a rather later date than that of Luton, were built—as the church of Iffley, near Oxford, erected in the reign of Stephen—in two or three compartments, divided by elaborately ornamented arches, and, though with a tower at the junction of nave and chancel, yet without transepts or aisles. Milton Bryant and Upper Gravenhurst are instances of simple rectangular Norman churches, consisting merely of a nave and chancel. The rectangular east end of the former, also of Norman construction, still remains; that of the latter has been rebuilt of late years, but the chancel arch with its zigzag ornament survives. The only ornament at Milton Bryant is the billet, with the exception that a single pillar, attached to a peculiar projection from the south wall of the chancel, has a cushioned capital. The walls of both nave and chancel, composed apparently of field stones with quoins of some other stones, the chancel arch, with its roll-billets, and several windows are also early Norman. The church was evidently erected near the beginning of the reign of Henry I., some twenty years perhaps before that at Luton. Instances of Norman churches in the

There are no indications of Norman work, and therefore no part of Earl Robert's building, visible, or at least distinguishable, in the present church. Any remains, if still existing and *in situ*, could only be looked for in the piers at the crossing and in the arcades of the nave; but these latter must, in that case, have been pierced later on, for Transition arches on the south side and Early English on the north, and both of them eventually modified into Decorated arches with corresponding piers.

The most ancient recognizable parts of the present church are the Transitional<sup>1</sup> arch and piers leading from the south transept into the south aisle of the nave. These, apparently, were not erected until some fifty years, more or less, after the foundation of the church. They are of at least some twenty years earlier date than the next succeeding part, viz., the corresponding Early English arch and piers between the north transept and the north aisle. The existence of each of these arches, with their piers, necessarily implies the existence, at the same periods, of transepts, either those of which the present are remnants, or previous ones. The present west walls of each of these transepts seem, however, to bear evidence of their having been built at the same time as the adjoining arches and piers. The existence of these latter, also, of course, implies *contemporary aisles*, probably with low "lean-to" roofs, corresponding with the height of the arches themselves.

These gradual and successive additions seem strongly to suggest that the church began simply, as the more ordinary custom was, with a nave and chancel, and followed the usual development

county which had central towers are S. Peter's and S. Mary's, Bedford, Threligh, and Blunham. Norman towers, whether central or at the west end, were generally broad and square, being therein very unlike most examples of Saxon towers, such as Clapham, Beds.

<sup>1</sup> So lately as 1893, in repairing one of the buttresses supporting the wall of the north transept, the jambs and other fragments of a Transition doorway (now carefully preserved in the parvise over the north porch) were discovered. As it is natural to conclude that this doorway stood in the usual and favourite place, viz., in the south wall, towards the west end (the west entrance itself having probably a Norman doorway), its discovery is to some extent a corroboration of the existence of a Transition south aisle. The only other place where such a doorway was ever found, and that only in extremely rare cases—as in Old Shoreham church, Sussex (*Our Parish Churches*, p. 35)—was in the west wall of the south transept. In this wall, which apparently still exists in the case of Luton, there is no appearance of its having ever contained a doorway. The existence of a Transition south aisle is a strong argument against the likelihood of there having been an earlier Norman south aisle.

as the needs of the parish, or the appearance of the fabric, required.

There are some slight indications, however, that the original building may have contained a *tower* at the junction of the nave and chancel. Such are the great thickness of the present *western* piers at the crossings, and certain details connected with them; though it is possible that their size and peculiarities may have arisen from their having been merely the two piers of the chancel arch. Nor does it seem beyond the bounds of probability, especially if the distance between the actual arcades of the nave may be taken as an index of unusual breadth in the Norman building, that there were originally Norman transepts also. In this case, the question might arise—Did the central tower fall, like so many other early Norman towers, and, crushing the south transept, if not more, necessitate its re-erection so soon, and lead to the addition of the south aisle?

Whatever may have been the intention of the founder (Earl Robert), or the extent of the work accomplished by him, however, there is no evidence that more than a nave and chancel, which in the nature of the case must be taken for granted, was erected during his time.

The church, two years after the advowson had been granted to him, passed (1138), along with the rest of his interest in Luton, out of his control; and, fifteen years later (1153-4), became the property of the abbey of S. Alban's. Any further building (if any were needed) may well have been suspended during the turbulent years of Stephen's reign, when the lord of the manor and the rector supported the rival causes; and, apparently, nothing was done then, nor until far into the time of Henry II.<sup>1</sup> Then, probably, a good part of the present south transept and a south aisle to the nave, together with the uniting arch and piers, was erected; the north transept and the north aisle not being added until the last decade of the reign of King John, or the first of Henry III.

<sup>1</sup> There was so much of overlapping of styles at the period of passing from one to the other, and so much variety in the time when a new style, or a modification of one, were introduced into any particular part of the kingdom, that there is naturally a good deal of divergence of opinion amongst architects as to when the period of transition either commenced or ended. Parker (*A B C of Gothic Archit.*) places the period of Transition from Norman to Early English as ranging between 1160 and 1195 (H. II. and Ric. I.), T. Roger Smith (*Archit. Gothic and Renaissance*, p. 21) postpones its commencement to the reign of Ric. I., 1189.

Earl Robert, having built the church, evidently made it over to the parish, to take the place of the old church. The advowson of the earlier church had not been granted to him along with his fief. King Stephen, however, to whom it belonged, apparently recognizing Earl Robert's interest in the new building, and probably at his request, made a definite grant of the advowson to him, and ordered that he should be publicly invested with it<sup>1</sup> at Luton; and this was accordingly done before many witnesses.

### 3. *William the Chamberlain, the younger.*

But by this time, apparently, William the Chamberlain, the elder, as well as most of his generation, had died off. It was now nearly seventy years since the Conquest, and another William, also a Chamberlain, had appeared upon the scene. He was evidently a son of the former,<sup>2</sup> and of like spirit, and is distinctively described as "a layman, and a married man, living at Luton." He probably succeeded to his father's possessions at Totternhoe and in Gloucestershire; and certainly held Priest Morcar's lands at Battlesden and Pottesgrove, and Priest Ulmar's in Hertswell, Bucks. But though a layman, he also claimed, "hereditarily," the rectory of Luton,<sup>3</sup> its spiritualities no less than its broad acres, and being upon the spot, "took violent possession" of them.

It is *possible* that William may have considered the *churches* held by his father to have been attached to the office of chamber-

<sup>1</sup> When David, Earl of Huntingdon, only a few years before this (1113-1124), conveyed the advowson of the church of Bolnhurst to the Abbot of Thorney, he plucked a twig and gave it into the abbot's hand, "per quamdam virgam in manu tradidit" (Dug., *Mon.*, ii. 602).

<sup>2</sup> This second William is nowhere definitely stated to have been the *son* of the former William, but from the history these two facts may fairly be deduced: first, that there were *two* successive Williams, both called Chamberlains, one being so named in *Domesday*, and the other in the *Gesta Abbatum*, in which latter work an expression is made use of which evidently alludes to a former William, viz., "till the time of the *last* William the Chamberlain," the one probably a clerk, and legally appointed to Luton church by William I., the other an intrusive layman in the reign of Henry or Stephen, who was finally ejected; secondly, both from the expression which the latter William used, that he held the church "hereditarily," and from the fact that he succeeded to other property of the former William, that he was the *son* as well as heir, of the William mentioned in *Domesday*.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention made at this time of his father's church of Houghton, but William the younger seems, from the subsequent history, to have taken possession of that also.

lain, as perhaps some of his other possessions were ; or have thought, that as the church of Luton had latterly been held as a "military fief," that it descended to him as heir, like all secular fiefs, subject only, on the death of a (former) tenant, to the payment of a relief, livery, or fine, to the feudal lord. The case was an anomalous, and doubtless a novel, if not an unique, one. The true solution, he being a layman, and therefore incapable canonically of holding a benefice, would have been for the patron to have nominated a successor to the elder William, and for that incumbent to have paid the *church's share* of the knight's service. The account, unhappily, of what took place on the occasion is so ambiguous that it is difficult to decide what really happened, especially as the exact time of the transaction is not mentioned. But it would seem that on some special occasion, probably that of the death of the earlier William, Earl Robert received, as feudal lord, from the younger William, not merely the accustomed "service of half a knight's fee," but also a sum of ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.). The historian<sup>1</sup> states that this latter was given for the express "purpose of *reducing* the church and its lands to military service," but which, under the circumstances, can only mean *perpetuating* it as a military fief, and almost implies that the earl understood the purpose, and was a consenting party ; but this view of the earl's conduct seems completely contradicted by later expressions of the same writer. It is possible, however, that he was circumvented and deceived in the action. It may have been that he received the ten marks, understanding them merely as the payment of the "relief" or fine for the lands of Luton, Houghton, Battlesden, Pottesgrove, and Hertswell, which both the Williams successively held of him, without any reference to the church ; but the donor seems to have intended they should be considered as confirming also to him the *church of Luton and its lands* as part of the military fief. So long as he continued to pay the full "service of half a knight's fee," which included payment for the church and its lands, this would seem to be a fair contention on William's part. As, however, this William is accused of "unjustly seizing the church," "taking possession of it by violence," "making the free lands of the church a military fief," (and in consequence of their being

<sup>1</sup> "These lands (of the church), as well as *the church belonging to the fee of the Earl of Gloucester*, were violently reduced to military service by one William, the Chamberlain, who had given to Earl Robert ten marks for this purpose" (*Gesta Abb.*).

so, claiming exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop,) it would appear that his claim to the church and its possessions was not long admitted, and that he resorted to force to secure them.

The earl, however, "feeling," as the historian says, "the unreasonableness of the church being a military fief, and intending hereby to restore the church to its former freedom," with the consent of King Stephen granted the church "*in free alms*" to a kinsman of his own, no doubt also a Norman, one of the king's chaplains, "Gilbert de Cymmay, clerk," and together with the king<sup>1</sup> presented him to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, the diocesan, "to grant him the church and admit him parson thereof."

The bishop, though acknowledging the illegality of William's position, replied that he was "unwilling to remove him except in a legal manner, and accordingly appointed a hearing. William did not appear, but sent a message that he would not appear before the bishop<sup>2</sup> about a church which he did not hold in free alms, but *hereditarily* for military service. Another hearing was fixed, but nothing done. The bishop,<sup>3</sup> unwilling to condemn an absent man, and in order that William might have no excuse, appointed a third meeting in the town of Luton where William lived." Ecclesiastical pressure, in the meantime, was being brought to bear upon the bishop himself, for during the interval he received orders from the Bishop of Ostia, then legate in England, to inquire "whether the land held by William belonged to the church of Luton, and if it did, to restore the church with the land to its ecclesiastical rights."

<sup>1</sup> Institution to benefices by the bishop only came into use in England after the decree of the National Synod of Westminster, 1125, rectors previously to this period merely receiving investiture from the patron. Archbishop Anselm (1093-1109) tried in vain to introduce the custom of episcopal institution, and Pope Alexander III., still later, complains to Archbishop Becket (1162-71) that the clergy accept churches without even the consent of the bishop. This latter requirement was another of the enactments of the above synod (Perry, *S. E. C. H.*, p. 210). So this was a very early instance of application for episcopal institution and of compliance with the new law—a law not generally acted upon until after the third Lateran Council, 1179 (Selborne).

<sup>2</sup> Luton, though a royal manor ("terra regis") was not a "villa regia," where the king had a royal seat or palace, and where he held the whole manor in his own demesne. If it had been so, its church could have claimed, as a "free chapel," exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop.

<sup>3</sup> A contemporary writer, the author of *Gesta R. Stephani*, condemns the bishops of his day, naming especially the *Bishop of Lincoln*, as being cravenly timid of offending bold evil-doers, and as refusing to give protection to anyone.

The king also intervened in the matter, for "when the day for the third hearing came, William, as usual, did not appear; but a king's writ having been issued to the people of Luton to ascertain the real truth about the church, and to find out if the land belonged to it, and a like precept having come from the bishop, it was certified and sworn to by all, that, *from the first building (a primâ fundatione) of the church, Five Hides in Luton were given to it in free alms, and other lands afterwards acquired by the parsons*<sup>1</sup> of the church; and so the church with all the land was always held by all of them (*semper ab omnibus*) in free alms, till the time of the last William the Chamberlain, who turned the liberties of the church into a military fief."

Upon this verdict, which established that neither the church nor its lands formed part of a hereditary fief, and that therefore William, not having been presented to the former, had no right to either of them, he was dispossessed,<sup>2</sup> and the church seized by

<sup>1</sup> It was by no means unusual for "those who possessed houses or lands," when they became either clergymen or bishops, or at least at their death, provided they were unmarried, to cast them, as it were in imitation of the early Christians, into the common stock of the Church, only instead of selling them, adding them to the endowments of their own church or cathedral. Probably Morcar had done so, or had intended to do so with his lands, whether inherited or bought, in Battlesden and Pottesgrove. On the other hand, laws connected with the peculiar tenure of their land being almost nil, clergy receiving the freehold of their glebes were often led to alienate them to their own families. Those who saw bishops and abbots during the period of their office doing almost what they liked with the *lands* of their sees and monasteries—often settling their families free upon them—and even doing much the same with the churches in their gift, might not unnaturally infer, especially if they had reclaimed their glebe-land from marsh or waste, and erected buildings thereon, that they also might dispose of them how they pleased, while they held office. "It was only in the tenth century that the idea of hereditary descent of personal honours, offices, and lands arose even among laymen. The priests then soon began to transmit, and to claim as of right to transmit, their benefices as heirlooms, and to portion their children out of them" (*Norman Kings*, p. 370). The rectory of Whalley descended for centuries from father to son until 1186, when it fell into the hands of a monastery (Dioc. Hist. *Lichfield*, p. 57). Giraldus Cambrensis complains greatly of the same custom being rife in the Welsh Church. There was a great effort on the part of the Norman incumbents to do the same, and many instances are on record of parishes descending for generations in the same family. Another of the canons enacted at the Westminster Council (1125) was, "That no one challenge (claim) a church or prebend by inheritance from his father, or appoint his own successor to an ecclesiastical benefice."

<sup>2</sup> As the trial had nothing to do with the rest of the "lands in the soke of Luton and in Battlesden, etc.," William was left in possession of these. No

the bishop; who, upon Gilbert applying to be put into possession of the church, now freed and vacant, still demurred, referring the matter to a meeting to be held shortly at Oxford. Here, June 22nd or 23rd, 1139, in the presence of Archbishop Theobald and many bishops, both home and foreign, all that had been done in the matter having been related and exhibited, Gilbert, by the united judgment of all, was at last put in possession of the church, with its lands and all other appurtenances.

#### 4. *Gilbert de Cymmay (1139-1154) and his Vicar, Geoffrey.*

It does not appear, however, after all, notwithstanding Earl Robert's good "intentions," and his acknowledgment of the church's right of freedom, and even his grant of it to Cymmay "in free alms," that anything whatever was done at this time in the way of enfranchising the church from feudal service. This was probably owing to the fact that previous to Gilbert's being put into possession, the earl having revolted from King Stephen (1138), and taken the leadership on the side of his stepsister, the Empress Matilda, his estate at Luton was confiscated, and the whole vill or township of Luton, with all the fee therein of Earl Robert (including evidently, from what follows, that of the church, *i.e.*, the right of feudal dues and service from it, if not the advowson also), was given to Robert Waudari,<sup>1</sup> one of the king's adherents.

Gilbert could not by any means be induced to hold the church and its lands, they having been given to him in free alms, from the new feudal lord, the supplanter of his kinsman; but yet was left in undisturbed possession of them. "After sixteen years<sup>2</sup> of quiet

allusion is made to the church of Houghton, but as it must have stood in much the same position as Luton church, it was probably included in, or at least covered by, the same decision; and William, if he had seized that church also, was seemingly, as being a layman, deprived of it as well.

<sup>1</sup> No doubt one of Stephen's Brabant or Breton mercenaries, so many of whom he rewarded either with the confiscated estates of his opponents or with crown lands. Queen Matilda constantly sent over from Boulogne and Normandy bands of foreign mercenaries, whom Gervase calls "hunger-starved wolves." William of Ypres, Stephen's able but unpopular minister of state, was the chief leader of the Brabants, Alan of Brittany of the Bretons. According to the treaty of Wallingford, just at the close of the reign (1153), all of them had to disgorge their acquisitions and leave the country.

<sup>2</sup> There is clearly some inaccuracy here on the part of the historian. Sixteen years after William's being put in possession, which was certainly not earlier than 1139, would bring the time down to 1155, *i.e.*, during the reign of



occupation he fell sick of a dropsy, and being given over by the physicians, was visited frequently by Robert de Gorham," 18th Abbot of S. Alban's (1151-66), a kinsman, singularly enough, of Robert de Waudari, "who opened to him his desire to have the church of Luton." To this Gilbert consented; and accordingly made over all his rights in the church to Nicholas, Archdeacon of Bedford (1145-81), and "forthwith to prevent further application of every kind," with the consent both of the archdeacon and of Robert Waudari, "presented to the church and inducted as his substitute (*in personatum substitui fecit*)," as was permissible<sup>1</sup> and not infrequent in those days, a nephew of the abbot, named Geoffrey.

#### 5. *The Abbot of S. Alban's obtains the Advowson.*

Gilbert de Cymmay and his son William (for, notwithstanding all the stringent laws against clerical wedlock,<sup>2</sup> Gilbert was a married priest) both became monks of S. Alban's; and the former dying soon after, Abbot Robert, considering that Waudari's grant from Stephen gave him only a temporary right (for the treaty of Wallingford, November 6th, 1153, had decreed that "the estates which had been seized by intruders were to return to the lawful owners, who had enjoyed them in King Henry's (I.) reign"), betook himself to William, the second Earl of Gloucester, who had succeeded his father Robert in 1147, and "never ceased importuning him till he got him to confirm to the church of S. Alban's for ever," not merely "the church of Luton," but "all that William the Chamberlain held of his fee in the soke (or manor) of Luton, and in Herts-welle, Badesledune and Potesgrave, by the same service of half a knight's fee, as William the Chamberlain used to perform to his

Henry II., whereas all the transactions recorded in this chapter, as they received the confirmation of Stephen, must have taken place during his time. Fourteen years would be about the time.

<sup>1</sup> Thus at Cranfield in 1247, and again in 1267, "vicars" (as they were called) were regularly instituted on the presentation of the rector, as on other occasions on that of monasteries. The retiring rector generally retained a certain good proportion of the income. The chief object of the present nomination was evidently to bar for a time any other appointment (by Waudari?) to the rectory, until the abbot could obtain the church for his monastery.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix V, *Marriage of the Clergy*. Gilbert was, probably, under the circumstance of the patronage henceforth being in the hands of the abbey, the last of the clergy of the parish who was a married man for four hundred years.

father," Earl Robert. For this grant,<sup>1</sup> however, the abbot had to pay the earl the rather large sum of 80 marks (£53 6s. 8d.). After a while, the earl for 30 marks more (£20), given to him by the same abbot,<sup>2</sup> "remitted the church from being a military fief," and laid his grant upon the altar of S. Alban's.

The consent of the king, however, being required for all this (as well as that of the bishop of the diocese, of the archbishop and of the Pope) the abbot, through the interest of Balderic de Sigillo,<sup>3</sup> clerk, got him to confirm the grant; but at the king's

<sup>1</sup> A condition, however, was attached to this grant, viz., that "the wife" (as she is here called, but from what follows she was evidently at this time the widow) of William should hold all her dowry lands for life of the church of S. Alban's, rendering to that church the accustomed service, *i.e.*, her proportion of the half knight's fee, the abbey having to render the whole to the earl, who still claimed to be chief lord of the fee; and that after her decease, the abbey being then in possession of all, was (as a matter of course) "to render the same service," *i.e.*, to provide the whole. This part of the agreement, however, by the abbot's further purchase soon after, quickly came to an end. The abbot also, at the desire of King Stephen and of the earl and others, permitted the widow to hold not only her dower, but also all the other land which her husband had held, though "neither he nor she had any title to it." The woman, however, did not long survive, and so all speedily came into the hands of the abbey. That the abbot did not deal harshly with William's family is apparent from this, that many years afterwards, temp. Edward I. (1272-1307), we find (*Rot. Hund.*, i. 7) a *William Chamberlain*, evidently a descendant of the earlier two Williams who had exercised the office of chamberlain, and hence, as customary, taking the title as a surname, holding half a hide in Battlesden of S. Alban's Abbey, "in pure and perpetual alms," free of all rents and taxes—this being land, originally belonging to Morcar, held successively by both Williams, and purchased, as above, from the earl. The account of the widow's dower (Otho, D. iii.) is quite illegible.

<sup>2</sup> The deed of this second grant is still extant (Otho, D. iii., p. 115), entitled "Release by W. Earl of Glouc. for xxx marks of the service of half a knight's fee of S. Alban's Abbey in the parishes of Luyton and Houghton, formerly claimed by him;" "the service" being further particularized there as that "which W. Camerarius used to do to my father for the fee which he held of him in the manor of Luyton, in the town of Hoghtune, and in Hertewella, and in Badelesdona, and in Potesgūa." There are two confirmations by King Stephen—one of the above gift of Earl William (Otho, D. iii., p. 116a), the other purporting to be a gift from himself of the church of Luton only, *in perpetual alms* (*Ibid.*, p. 118b). It is difficult to understand the necessity of the latter. It is dated from Dunstable, the witnesses being Earl Simon (of Huntingdon and Northampton) and Richard de Lucy. (App. to Grant and Confirmation of the Church of Luton to S. Albans.)

<sup>3</sup> From his name or title evidently "clerk of the *signet*," or "clerk of the king's chapel," as they were also called (Gardiner, *Student's Hist. of England*, i. 116), "being the king's secretaries and men of business, the majority of whom

#### IV.] ABBOT OF S. ALBAN'S OBTAINS THE ADVOWSON. 65

desire he had to give two parts<sup>1</sup> of the said church (apparently, *i.e.*, of the tithes, dues, offerings, etc.) to the said Balderic—the third part only of these, it seems, remaining to Geoffrey, the parson's vicar—and the land (five hides) to one who had evidently been acting as Geoffrey's substitute or curate—as mass priest—"Adam, clerk of the said church."

Having now got possession of the advowson of the church—which, at that period, carried with it almost complete control over both the church and its possessions—Abbot Robert, with the consent of the convent, appropriated its revenues, as soon as they should be free, together with the church of Houghton,<sup>2</sup> and all its appurtenances, and all the lands which William the Chamberlain had held in Luton, Houghton, Hertswell, Battlesden, and Pottesgrove to the cellarer of the abbey.<sup>3</sup>

The profits from these were to be employed chiefly in providing for pilgrims (to S. Alban's shrine), travellers and guests—one great

only entered the lower orders, without any intention of becoming priests or even deacons," a member of the "Curia Regis," and probably also, from his after history, another of the king's chaplains. Baldrich became Archdeacon of Leicester (1158-1189). A Nicholas de Sigillo was Archdeacon of Hunts much about the same time (1155-1184). Richard de Capella ("Regis Capellanus," as he is styled by Eadmer), Bishop of Hereford, 1120-27, is designated by Malmesbury (*Pontif.* iv.) "Clericus de Sigillo." A Robert de Sigillo, a monk of Reading, was Archdeacon of London, 1140, and became Bishop of London, 1141-51. He was one of the witnesses to the charter of Henry I. to Dunstable, *c.* 1135. "Bp. Roger, the Justiciar, had in Henry's reign formed the clerks of the Royal Chapel into a body of secretaries, or royal ministers, whose head bore the title of Chancellor" (Green, *Short Hist.*, p. 93).

<sup>1</sup> The historian adds that these two parts were "to be held of him in chief" (*principaliter de eo tenendas*), without specifying distinctly whether they were to be held of the king or of the abbot. Though this is sometimes taken to refer to the former, yet, as the church was no longer a military fief, and the abbot had become the owner of the church and its property, it must, it seems, refer to the latter.

<sup>2</sup> This rectory seems to have come into the possession of the abbey, as part of the holding of William the Chamberlain of the fee of the Earl of Gloucester, the *advowson* itself being evidently given in along with that of Luton, as appears by the "Charter of Confirmation by K. Stephen of the gift by William E. of Glos. of the Churches of Luyton and *Houghton* and of the land which W. Camerarius held" (Otho, D. iii.). Appendix X, *Houghton Church*.

<sup>3</sup> It was at this time becoming customary in abbeys to allot certain revenues from churches or lands to each office-bearer of the convent, that he might know how much he might reckon upon as the income of the year. In Henry II.'s confirmation of this very grant, some churches are assigned for the clothing, and others for the kitchen of the monks.

reason for the original erection of S. Alban's upon the old Watling Street road having been for the refreshment of the two latter. But "with that portion (viz., the land) which Adam, the clerk, held" he ordained that "two priests of good life, to be chosen by the convent, should be for ever maintained,<sup>1</sup> to perform divine service in the same church of Luton."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though the land was to be for the support of the two priests, yet, as will be seen in the sequel, the demesne was to be held and the rents of the tenants to be received by the abbey, and provision out of the proceeds to be made for the priests; but whether they were to have any definite amount of emolument or fixity of tenure, or whether they were to be monks of the abbey or secular priests, is not stated. Nor is there anything said as to where they were to reside, whether at the rectory manor house, elsewhere in the parish, or in the abbey itself—a point of some interest in connection with the subsequent vicarage house.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix Y, *Approximate Dates of the Events related in Chap. IV.*

## CHAPTER V.

EARLY PLANTAGENET TIMES (A.D. 1154-1216).

HENRY II.—RICHARD I.—JOHN.

1. *Seizure of the Church by Henry II. and its subsequent Restitution.*

BUT the abbot was not long left in quiet possession even of the advowson of the church. For Henry II. on his accession "inquiring after the crown demesnes," so many of which had been alienated during the last reign, ordered by proclamation (1155) that whatever "demesnes"<sup>1</sup> (*omnes terræ quæ in dominium*) should be made out by oath of his men to have ever belonged to his predecessors should now be restored, and be for ever preserved in the demesne of him and his successors." "A jury of the king's men, misled," says the historian (*Gesta Abbat.*, i. 122), "by the authority"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This claim upon the part of the king, and his resumption of the manor of Luton, which clearly followed, as will be seen in its subsequent history, are a plain proof that Luton was crown property in its highest and truest sense. Grants of all other lands, such as the king's private property, forfeited estates, or folkland, when legally made, were not revocable except for just cause; but here the manor, inclusive of the church built upon its demesne, was claimed on the ground that, being crown property, of ancient demesne, the grant of it by Stephen to Waudari, or even of the advowson of its church to Earl Robert, if not also, by implication, its original gift to the earl by Henry I., was itself illegal. "The alienation of any part of the original royal demesne" ("the crown lands," *Stubbs*) "was prohibited by law; and although this restriction was often violated" (as it had been in the case of Luton by the Conqueror as well as by Henry I.), "it was also at other times taken advantage of by the king, and made a pretext for resuming the illegal grants of his predecessors. It was in this way that Henry II. on his accession recovered for the crown all the estates (with the exception only of those acquired by the Church) that had been alienated in the preceding times of confusion, whether by Stephen or by his own mother, the empress" (*Knight*, i. p. 581). "William the Conqueror," says Freeman (*William Rufus*, i. 349), "sold the royal demesnes, and if offered a higher price, resold them, making void his bargain."

<sup>2</sup> "Antiquorum assertionibus provocati," translated as above in *Bib. Top. Brit.*, iv., No. 26, but probably the title "antiquorum" does not relate to the age but to the rank in life of the authorities, like the similar scriptural expression,

of older men, returned on oath that the church of Luton belonged to the crown " (or rather *had* belonged to the king <sup>1</sup>) "from ancient times" (*antiquitus pertinuisse*), "being informed by many persons that the old church had been built upon the royal demesne, and therefore was in the king's gift, but *that* being entirely taken down, the present one was erected on the Earl of Gloucester's fee." If the fact of the old church having been built on the king's land had of itself given to him the right of presentation to it, then the erection of the new one upon Earl Robert's fee would in like manner have given to the earl an equal right to the presentation to the new. But it is clear from this very claim on the part of the king that it was not the mere fact of the existence, or the erection of the old church, upon his demesne, but that of its having been endowed by one of his predecessors, which constituted the title—a matter of some little interest in connection with its earliest history. Unless, then, Earl Robert had made a free gift of the new fabric to the parish, or furnished a separate endowment, and so constituted a second parish within the manor, a difficulty would naturally have arisen about the transference of the old rectory lands and the tithes and offerings of the parish to a new church and to a new rector. This, of course, could not have been effected without the consent of the patron of the old church, to say nothing of that of the incumbent, who, if not appointed to the new church, would be dispossessed thereby of both his office and his means of subsistence. It is most probable, therefore, that Earl Robert made a free grant of the new building to the parish—this henceforth taking the place of the old, and becoming the parish church.

His partial claim, however, to the advowson seems to have been soon recognized by Stephen, the acknowledged patron, who, seemingly at his request, and with apparently unusual publicity and ceremony, made it over to him and "invested him with it." It may, perhaps, be conjectured that the occasion for this was not merely the erection, completion, or dedication of the new church, but the death of the first Norman rector, the elder William, who, as has been stated previously, there is some ground for thinking died just about the period of the earl's receiving the advowson.

"the *elders* of the people"—the term "*meliores et antiqui homines*" being at that very time the mode of designating "Englishmen of most account in the district," "*þa yldestan*," as they would have been called among themselves (Freeman, *N. C.*, v. 739).

<sup>1</sup> An additional evidence to the antiquity of the foundation of the church.

The seizure of the vacant rectory with the sacred offices attached to it by the "layman," William the Chamberlain, may, perhaps, have quickened a desire in Earl Robert to possess the power of ejecting him from so anomalous a position.

This fact of Earl Robert's investiture, King Henry ought to have learned and taken into account, and also the fact that Stephen had afterwards confirmed the advowson to the abbot. Instead of this he seized<sup>1</sup> the church into his own hands, by Richard,<sup>2</sup> Archdeacon of Poitiers, dispossessing the two clerks, Balderic de Sigillo and Adam, of their portions, though not touching, apparently, that of Geoffrey, the parson's vicar, who, it may be presumed, was thus left to minister alone in the church. At the importunity, however, of the abbot, who pursued the king to London,<sup>3</sup> the church was restored to his custody, till the matter could be investigated; but applying in the meantime to Archdeacon Richard for his interposition in behalf of the abbey, he had "in his dilemma" to consent, "though not strictly conformable to the canons," to make over to him the two parts held by Balderic and Adam.

"Not long after this," the abbot going again in person to the

<sup>1</sup> So the matter is viewed also by the editor of Walsingham (Dr. Luard). "King Henry seizes the church of Luton on *pretence* that it was his demesne" (Marginal note, *Gesta Abb.*, i. 123). It will be observed that the king gives no excuse for seizing also, as he did, Houghton Church. In this case he claims the *church*, while leaving untouched the *manor*—also a royal manor—granted by his grandfather to the Zouches.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix Z, *Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers*. This deed does not seem to be extant, but there is a writ from the king to the Bishop of Lincoln to take the churches of *Luyton* and *Houghton*, with their liberties ("cum libertatibus suis"), belonging to the Abbey of S. Alban's, into his hands (Otho, D. iii.).

<sup>3</sup> As the abbot's first application to the king is said to have taken place when Henry was in *London*, and that it was "not very long afterwards," when the king was at *Clarendon*, that he granted him the church, the dates of these two transactions are clearly fixed. The first must have occurred in 1157, between April 7th, when Henry landed at Southampton on his way to *London*, and May 19th, when he was at S. Edmunds; and the latter in the following year (1158), when, after being at Carlisle on June 24th, he passed thence through Gloucester to *Clarendon* in Wilts, probably in July, and onward to Woodstock and Portsmouth, whence on August 14th he sailed for Normandy (Chron. and Mem., *Gesta Regis H. II.*; *Outline Itinerary of H. II.*, by Stubbs, ii., App. I., cxxix). This was Henry's first visit to *Clarendon*, and he was not there again for many years. The dates are of importance in connection with the king's grant to Santingfield, in the spring of 1156, of the adjoining manor of Farley, which is said therein to have extended "up to the land of the church of Luton."

king, Henry being then at Clarendon, "by entreaties and promises, intermixed with threats of law and the martyr's (S. Alban's) vengeance, prevailed on him to give and confirm<sup>1</sup> the churches of Luton and Houghton, with all their appurtenances, in free and perpetual alms to the then abbot and convent of S. Alban's."

What actual settlement was finally made with Archdeacon Richard is not recorded in the *Gesta*; but the titles<sup>2</sup> at least of three deeds on the subject are extant, one of which, dated 1172, would seem to imply that some compromise was at last effected between him and the abbey. It is more satisfactory to find that in the following year (1173) some compensation was made to Adam, "the clerk of Luyton," who had been deprived by the archdeacon of his extensive farm of land; the abbey agreeing to pay him, as long as he lived, a hundred shillings a year. About this time, therefore, the land may be supposed to have come into the actual possession of the abbey.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that a copy of Henry's grant may be included in a series of confirmations by him, chiefly it would seem "of the Earl of Gloucester's gift," preserved among the Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus., Otho, D., p. 111, but which have been so injured by fire as to be only in part legible. Two of these were witnessed by Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, as "Chancellor;" therefore their date must be between 1158 and 1162. There are also in the same volume three confirmations, by Archbishop Becket (1158-1174), Archbishop Richard of Canterbury (1174-1185), and Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (1186-1203). That of Archbishop Richard confirms "the gift of the Earl of Gloucester," that of Bishop Hugh seems to have reference especially to the church of Luyton.

<sup>2</sup> It is unfortunate that one of the most valuable of the old MS. Books of the Abbey of S. Alban's (Nero, D. iii., Brit. Mus.) should have been so injured by the fire in the Cotton Library at Westminster, 1731, that in many parts little except the titles of the deeds there transcribed, which alone are written in red ink, can be deciphered. From page 110 to 119, there are a series of documents relating to Luton church, but in very few instances is the whole deed legible. Of the three above deeds, the first seems to be a "Letter of Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, as to two parts of Luton church." The second, a "Deed between Rich., A. of P., and the Abbot of S. Alban's, about two parts of Luton church," in which the words occur, "alter utrum permutatis," which seem to offer an alternative. The dates of these two documents are not legible. The third is dated 1172, kal. March, being a "Deed between Ric. A. of P. and S. Alban's Abbey as to a portion in Luyton Church which belonged to the Archdeacon." The deed relating to Adam the clerk is dated 1173, S. Cecilia (Nov. 22), and seems to be letters patent of the Bishops of Exeter and Worcester arbitrating in the suit between S. Alban's Abbey and Adam, the clerk of Luyton—the abbey to pay Adam c<sup>s</sup>. per ann. as long as he lives, by the hand of their cellarer for the time being.



## 2. *An unsuccessful Lawsuit.*

But besides his difficulty with regard to the advowson and the manor farm, the abbot had a small lawsuit on his hands also connected with his new acquisition, and in which he was not so successful. For "a dispute arose (*Gesta Abbat.*, i. 118) between him and one H., called a 'conversus,' or lay brother 'of the hospital,'<sup>1</sup> touching a little piece of land<sup>2</sup> *anciently* given to the church in

<sup>1</sup> The date of this lawsuit is of interest, but no hint of it is given. It must, however, have taken place before 1166, when Abbot Robert died. *Farley* had been granted to Santingfield in 1156, for the purpose, no doubt, of erecting a hospital thereon, and this had probably been established without delay—so that H. may have been a "brother" of this hospital. But the term "a lay brother" applied to him suggests that there were "clerical brethren" also in his hospital. There is no reason to think that there were any of the latter at Farley ("the master" would hardly be reckoned such), where all, probably, were indigent men, without means or land. Another hospital, however, was founded in the parish about this period (by Archbishop Thomas à Becket), which, as will be seen in a subsequent section (*Parish Hospitals*), could not have been erected until after 1162. If H. belonged to this, as we are almost driven to conclude—and it had doubtless clerical as well as lay brethren, and its members, as the object of the institution was not eleemosynary, but the charitable waiting upon the sick, might well have possessed some little property—this lawsuit must have taken place after this latter date, *i.e.*, between 1162 and 1166, which will therefore give us the extreme limits of time between which this other hospital was founded. H. could hardly have been a member of S. John Baptist's Hospital for lepers at Luton, even if it were founded as early as this. Nor, from his contending with the Abbot of St. Alban's, can he well be supposed to have belonged to any hospital such as that for leprous men at S. Julian, founded (1119-46) and governed by the abbey; nor, for the same reason, to the abbey itself, if that could come under the designation of a hospital. Yet it must not be overlooked that on two other occasions a "*Geoffrey de Hospitali*" is mentioned in the *Gesta Abb.* as being a witness on behalf of the abbey to deeds signed, respectively, at Luyton in 1276, and at S. Albans, 1280—both, however, referring to matters at Luton; and a Hugh de Hospital is a witness to another Luton deed, dated at Luyton, 1329 (*Add. Chart.* 12,739).

<sup>2</sup> This piece was probably claimed by the abbey as one of those said to have been given and added to the rectory lands by various early (Saxon) parsons. If a ten-acre piece of land could have been called "little," there is a piece of that extent curiously interposed between Farley and Dallow, yet differing from each in being subject to both rectorial and vicarial tithe (No. 1322 on the tithe map), and not until lately attached to either farm; now, however, having its boundary marks obliterated, and being made to form part of the "Well-house field" of Dallow. To the origin of this field some such history is probably attached. It is more likely, however, that the "portiuacula" was some little detached piece, a mere slip, perhaps, in the open fields.

free alms ; and the case having been more than once heard before the king's justices, it was at last referred to a jury at Luton, who, being bribed, according to the historian of the abbey, by H., made a false return that the land never belonged to the church ; and so he kept possession of it, but (adds the writer, seemingly consoling himself with the thought) he soon after came to an untimely end."

### 3. *Parish Hospitals.*

As exhibiting one phase of religion in the parish at this period, it seems well to relate here what is known of the three charitable institutions just alluded to, two of which were founded therein at this very time. "The word hospital, vulgarly 'spital,' was used," says Cutts (*Dictionary of the Church of England*), "in a wider signification in the Middle Ages than with us ; it was appropriated (1) to houses built at popular places of pilgrimage, and along the high roads leading to them, to afford *temporary* shelter and food to the poorer sort of pilgrims ; (2) to houses intended for the treatment of *sickness and disease* ; and (3) to houses for the permanent maintenance of a *certain number* of poor persons, often with some condition of peculiar trade or locality. In some cases, however, two or more of these various charitable objects were combined in the same foundation."

(1.) Of the *first* kind he mentions as examples three at Bury S. Edmunds, one without each gate, all founded and endowed by abbots of S. Edmund ; one at Reading, which combined two objects—the third of the above, for twenty-six poor people, and the first, for the entertainment of strangers and pilgrims—founded by an abbot of Reading ; and one at the gate of Fountain's Abbey for poor persons and travellers. To this class he might have added many houses which were founded close to some port, or on some high road, for the convenience of travellers of all degrees. At both Portsmouth and Southampton there were such religious hospitals, "Godde's Houses" as they were called, at both of which Margaret of Anjou lodged, and at the latter fell sick of smallpox on her way to be married to Henry VI. in 1445. If, along with its other objects, Farley, after the example of its parent at Santingfield, included this of providing a temporary halting-place for travellers, then this first, as well as each of the other classes of hospitals, was represented, and its functions were performed, by one of the institutions in the parish.

(2.) The *second* kind is described as having a "hospital staff,"

consisting of a community living under monastic vows and rules, generally including a prior and a number of brethren (one or more of whom were priests) and sisters educated and trained for the treatment of sickness and disease, who devoted themselves to the service of the sick as an act of religion. S. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, which was of this kind, consisting formerly of a prior and canons under Augustinian rule, is still in existence, though under an altered system. The buildings were generally "a great hall divided by arcades into a centre and aisles, in which rows of beds were arranged, with a chapel at the end of the hall and open to it, so that all the patients could join in the services; the apartments of the brethren and sisters and other buildings being arranged round the courtyard, of which the hall and chapel formed one side" (Cutts).

There can be little doubt from the mention of "sisters" in connection with it, that of this kind was "the House of God<sup>1</sup> of *the B. V. Mary and S. Mary Magdalene* of Luton," of which even the name has passed from the memory of the inhabitants of the parish. This hospital, of considerable interest on account of its founder, is only known—beyond the evidence supplied of the site of a building, and the name (Spital Wood) attached to a certain spot or wood—by a deed (*Add. Charters*, 28,882), hitherto allowed to rest in obscurity, dated Tuesday after the Feast of All Saints, 5 Edward IV. (1465), and witnessed by the Venerable Lord Wenlock, Thos. Hoo, Esq., Magister John Lammer, vicar of Luton, J. Ackworth, Esq., and others, being a commission to a certain brother to collect alms for the hospital, and recounting therein the number of indulgencies granted by popes, archbishops, and bishops to those who become benefactors to it.

Among the names of these prelates occurs that of "S. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury," whom it names as *the founder*. This fixes the date of its foundation within eight years at the outside (1162-70),<sup>2</sup> and practically within still narrower limits. It is strange, however, that there is no mention in the deed of a prior or other head, but only of "brethren and sisters." The community was nevertheless no doubt under Augustinian rule, and the object of the institution that most charitable one, the treatment of sickness and disease. As to its site, there can

<sup>1</sup> Appendix AA, *Hospital of SS. Mary and M. Magdalene*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* close of preceding section (*An unsuccessful Larusuit*), where reasons are given for limiting its date to between 1162 and 1166.

be but little hesitation in accepting Davis's (p. 96) conclusion. "About half a mile from Falconer's Hall, on the footway to Luton," he says, "there is a wood called Hassex, where stood a hospital. When this wood was cut down, the discovery was made of the place where the building stood. It had been built of rough flints and surrounded with a square ditch. On the west side of this is *Spittal-wood*, now called Spittlesey (or Spittalsea) Wood, formerly 'Spittal Wood,'<sup>1</sup> the name of which has evidently been taken from the hospital before mentioned." If this was its site, Hassex Wood probably represented the land immediately attached to the hospital, though the name of the other wood seems still more definitely to show that it also formed part of its possessions.

Under this class must be included *hospitals for lepers*,<sup>2</sup> though it does not seem known under what system or systems these were carried on. "Leprosy" was so common in these islands during the Middle Ages that there were, according to Sir George Simpson, ninety-five large leper houses in England, besides a number in Ireland and Scotland, where there were traces of leprosy until near the close of last century;" and of this kind of hospital also there was an example at Luton. For though nothing further seems recorded about it, there is an evident allusion to its existence in the following passage:<sup>4</sup> "In 15 Ed. I., 1287, a commission was issued to R. de Boylaund and Rob. de Crevequer to deliver the gaol of *Bedford* of Nicholas le Heyward, who was put in exigent after the last eyre for burning the house of Richard Attewynche and for the binding of the *lepers of the Hospital of S. John Baptist, Lutton* (Index: Luton, Lutton, Beds), that since surrendered." As the rising ground to the north in Leagrave, near

<sup>1</sup> It was seemingly from their residence at or near this hospital that one family at least took its surname of "Atte Spital," as, *e.g.*, that one represented on an existing brass, without date, but early in the fifteenth century, of Hugh atte Spetyll, Alicia, his wife, and their eldest son, a priest. Several other families or persons derived their names in the same way from special places within the parish. Besides the "de Hoos" and "de la Hides," we have Thos. atte Hay (haie, a hedge) (12 H. VI., 1433), J. atte Dene (dell, a hollow) (1340), W. atte Brom (1313), J. atte Park (1377).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix AB, *Hospitals for Lepers*.

<sup>3</sup> Among the victims of this disease in the fourteenth century was King Robert Bruce himself, who died of it in 1329, after leading a secluded life for ten years at Cardross Castle. He caught it on his return to Scotland, after campaigning in Ireland in aid of his brother Edward, and whilst besieging Berwick-on-Tweed, then notorious for the number of its leper population.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, Ed. I., 1281-92.

the junction of Leagrave and Limbury, is still called "Spital Hill," and no other hospital is known to have existed there, it may well be concluded that here, far apart from other residences, once stood that very merciful institution, "the Hospital of S. John Baptist for lepers," and with, no doubt, a chapel attached to it.

There was also a hospital for lepers in the adjoining parish of Dunstable, dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen, but when or by whom founded, or how governed, is not stated (*Extracts from D. Chartulary*, p. 158, *Bib. Top. Brit.*, No. VIII., where the appointment of a chaplain to it is mentioned, and his permission to celebrate mass there except on the festivals is recorded). This, like many others, owing to the diminished prevalence of the disease, had probably ceased to exist before the seizure of the hospitals by Edward VI.

There were two such hospitals connected with S. Albans. That of *S. Mary de Prez* contained thirteen leprous women, who seem from the first to have been very poorly provided even with food. Richard, a monk and keeper of their church and hospital (*custos* and chaplain), which had been founded between 1183 and 1195, charged the abbey with having neglected to provide what the charter required, and accordingly in 1235 obtained from it seven *corrodies* for the increased maintenance of its inmates. As illustrating how these hospitals were supported, beyond the small doles of the institutions which founded them, we read that S. Prez was given by one benefactor the rectorial tithes of Wing in Bucks (thus reducing that church to a small vicarage), ten shillings pension from the tithes of Filgrave, and the rectory and vicarage of Tenby in the county of Pembroke, granted by Duke Humphrey. This hospital was one of those dissolved by Wolsey in 1526, to add to the endowment of his new college at Oxford, but on his attainder it fell into the king's hand, yet made no part of the monarch's new endowment of Christ Church (Newcome, p. 476).

The items of the revenue of *S. Julian's* hospital for male lepers at S. Albans are still more interesting, amounting on the whole in 1507 to £41. 8s., and including portions of tithes from the Bedfordshire parishes of Flitton £2. 6s. 8d., Astwick 10s., Henlow 16s., and Streatley 10s. (Newcome, pp. 477, 478). Henry I. granted a penny a day out of the Exchequer for the use of this hospital. The number of the inmates does not seem to have been limited, but in 1344 the house had not more than three at once, and sometimes but two, and often only one. There were, nevertheless, five priests always resident, the senior being called "*Rector capellæ Juliani*." As the

hospital and church were built close to the highway leading to London, they were probably used as much by leprous travellers and pilgrims as by leprous residents (Newcome, pp. 56, 57).

(3.) But there can be little doubt that Luton also possessed the *third* kind of hospital. "This *third* kind<sup>1</sup> had usually a little chamber for each inmate, with a common hall for meals, and a chapel for united worship. There is an interesting survival of this kind of hospital at S. Cross, Winchester," an institution much indebted to Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, just mentioned, when he became Bishop of Winchester. "Thirteen (the number of our Lord and His apostles) was a favourite number in such foundations. They were usually under the care of one or more clergymen, who were under the Augustinian rule; and there were always special statutes for regulation of the discipline of the alms-folk, who were regarded as forming a religious community. They wore a uniform habit, with frequently some distinguishing badge on their gowns." Farley Hospital<sup>2</sup> at Luton was evidently of this kind, under a master (magister or custos), who, in all known instances, was a clergyman. How many brethren<sup>3</sup> there were seems nowhere stated, only one brother, Richard Pecok, is mentioned in W. Wenlock's will. Nor is the exact object of the hospital known, though, as it was a branch of that at Santingfield, its purpose was probably much the same. This would seem to have included, besides the support of sundry aged or infirm "brethren," the affording some amount of hospitality to pilgrims and travellers, as at the parent hospital of Santingfield and at S. Cross, where every passer-by or visitor who chooses to demand it receives bread and ale even to this day. That there was a *chapel* attached to Farley Hospital is evident from the frequent allusions to one; as in 1347, when "chantries" there are spoken of; in 1392, when W. Wenlock, the master, orders in his will one torch to be for the chapel of Farley; in 1431, when relics are stolen from the "Hermitage of Farley," and in 1584, when G. Rotheram requests to purchase "the farm of the chapel of Farley."

As King Henry is said, in one of the confirmations of the grant to Farley, to have founded the hospital there for the sake of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, etc., and as one of

<sup>1</sup> Cutts.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix AC, *Farley Hospital*.

<sup>3</sup> They are, however, spoken of as "the master and brethren," as in Fines, 3 John, 1201-2.

the charges made against W. Lachebury, the master, was that he had *diminished the chantries*, it is evident that, besides any duty such as that of attending to strangers and the sick, one service expected of the inmates was that of praying for the souls of the royal founder and of his family. Some clause to the same effect is to be found almost invariably in all charters to such like institutions. It was this which at the Reformation furnished the pretext for their destruction and appropriation by the crown, as being an encouragement of superstitious practices.

Though little is known about the institution, there was evidently a hospital of this third kind at Hockliffe, which, according to Bishop Tanner, was in existence as early as the reign of King John. "The custos, or master, and brethren of the hospital of *S. John the Baptist at Hockliffe*," had the presentation to the parochial cure of Hockliffe church from 1228 (if not before) till at least 1477. As in 1483 the advowson is found in the hands of Dunstable Priory, it seems probable that, being but slenderly endowed, it, like so many other institutions at this same period, had fallen into decay, and been absorbed into the priory.

The *Hospital of S. John Baptist at Bedford* was also of this description. "It was founded<sup>1</sup> in 1280 by Robert Parys, for a master and two or more brethren, priests, who were to pray for the soul of the founder and others, and likewise for the reception and support of decayed freemen of the town of Bedford. Many years before the Reformation the hospital had ceased to be occupied according to the directions of the founder; and it appears by the surveys made of chantries and hospitals in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., that the hospital and parish church of S. John had long been consolidated, and that there was no minister in that parish with the cure of souls but the master of the said hospital." The value of its revenue at that period was, *i.e.*, apparently of the rectory and hospital combined, £26 9s. 0½d. (gross?), according to *Valor Eccles.* (vol. iv.), but according to Speed £21 0s. 8d. (net?). Some of the houses and lands belonging to the hospital seem to have been granted away by the crown, but, so early as 1552, upon a suit which took place after the first grant, it was determined—a singular instance of exemption—that the hospital did not come under the description of superstitious establishments intended to be abolished by the statute. It con-

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, pp. 48, 49.

sequently survives to the present day. The hospital which adjoins S. John's Church has been long appropriated as the rectory-house, the brethren receiving a weekly allowance.

*S. Leonard's Hospital, Bedford*, also on the south side of the town, was of a similar character, being founded before the year 1302 by a townsman of Bedford. A record of that date<sup>1</sup> calls it "the poor house of S. Leonard, in which were *six* freres, chapleynes, wearing a religious habit" (*Rolls of Parl.*, i. 154). Its value in 1535 was, according to *Val. Ecs.*, £16 6s. 8½d. (gross?), according to Speed £10 6s. 8d. (net?).

Of this class, too, was the Hospital of *S. John Baptist at Toddington*,<sup>2</sup> founded by Sir J. Broughton by licence from King Henry VI. in the twenty-eighth year of his reign (1449-50), for one master, or chaplain, and three poor men. The said king also granted the founder leave to assign a revenue of £8 per annum to the nunnery of S. Margaret's, Deptford, and that the said nuns, when this hospital was built, might grant the said revenue of £8 per annum, and also 100s. yearly of their own, to the said hospital.

The number of hospitals suppressed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was 110. The only three recorded either in *Val. Ecles.* or in Speed, as existing in Bedfordshire at that period, are Farley and the two at Bedford just mentioned. That at Toddington, however, must have been still in existence, as there is frequent mention made of J. Mylward being its chaplain, as in 1535 (*History of Woburn*, pp. 44, 46); and also its name is to be found in *Cal. to Certificates of Colleges, Hospitals, and Chantries* (Record Office). It was dissolved by the Lord Warden Cheney without the king's licence. It was seized in consequence by the crown, but afterwards granted to the Cheney family.

#### 4. *Modification of Abbot Robert's plan.*

The intentions of the abbot that the land should be devoted to the support of two priests would not come into force, under any circumstances, as neither the need nor opportunity would occur for putting them into execution, until the resignation or death of Geoffrey. Before that time arrived his uncle, Abbot Robert, had probably passed away, for he died October 20th, 1166, and *nothing more is ever heard of this part of his plan*. His successor,

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Dug., *Mon.*



Abbot Symon, got the king to sanction by charter<sup>1</sup> in 1176—a deed witnessed by the late Archdeacon Richard of Poitiers, now Bishop of Winchester—all the rest of the arrangements, viz., that the profits of the two churches, Luton and Houghton—to which was now added those of the church of Pottesgrave, given by Walter Blanchfront in the interval, and probably before the death of Abbot Robert—should be assigned to the *refectorarius* or cellarer of the abbey, as Newcome interprets the term, *ad sustentationem coquinae hospitum*.

As this deed has no special reference to Luton, but is a confirmation of all the various properties of the abbey to their several uses, no inference can be drawn from it that there was any vacancy in the church at this particular time, or that its full revenues had now fallen into the hands of the abbey. Geoffrey may well be supposed to have survived his uncle some five-and-twenty or thirty years, and so to have been alive at the period of the charter. When his death or resignation did occur, it seems that not two, as Abbot Robert had enjoined, but only one priest was appointed, and the evil custom of a temporary and stipendiary vicar,<sup>2</sup> re-

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS., Otho, D. iii.; Dug., *Mon. Ang.*, ii. 228; Clutterbuck, *Herts.* i., App. 5, 6. Confirmed by Rich., Abp. of Cant., 1174-84. This charter was also confirmed both by Ric. I. in 1198 and K. John in 1199, and again, a few years afterwards, in the reign of Hen. III. (1218), by a bull of Pope Honorius III. (Appendix AD, *Confirmation of the Churches of Luton, etc.*). Neither in this charter, nor in the confirmations of it by Richard and John, are the various lands obtained at the same time as the two churches of Luton and Houghton distinctly mentioned as being assigned to the cellarer. And by the special position, in the body of the charter, occupied by the passage which evidently alludes to them, for otherwise they are entirely omitted, viz., “*terram de Luctuna in Bedfordschire*,” it might have been inferred that they were not employed for the purposes ordained by Abbot Robert, and were only here confirmed to the abbey as part of their possessions. But that this would be an incorrect inference is clear from the exact statements in the Privileges of Pope Clement III. to S. Alban’s only a few years later than the charter (between 1187-1191), viz., “*Ad sustentationem hospitum, ecclesiam de Potesgrave et ecclesiam de Luttona, cum ecclesia de Hoctuna, et cum totâ terrâ quam Willelmus Camerarius tenuit in soca Luttoniæ, et in villa de Houtona, et in Hertanella et in Badelesduna, et in Potesgrave; et cum omnibus terris et decimis et quibuscunque rebus ad eas pertinentibus, sicut Regis Henrici Charta testatur*” (*Gesta Abb.*, i., Appendix C, from Cotton, Nero, D. i., fol. 15). It will be observed, too, that it was the cellarer who was ordered to pay Adam’s portion for his loss of the land.

<sup>2</sup> In cases of this kind, when the church was not too far removed from a monastery, one of their priests was generally sent out when required; but though Luton was only ten miles from S. Alban’s, yet as Abbot Robert had

movable at the will of the abbot, and therefore without any permanent interest in the church or parish, was adopted, at least for a few years.

5. *Abbot Warren imposes a Tithe upon his Demesne at Luton.*

But an event happened, during the incumbency either of Geoffrey or of the stipendiary vicar, connected, it seems, with the *demesne of the rectory land*, which must not be passed over. In 1194 Abbot Warren founded the cell and church of S. Mary de Pratis (Prez) near S. Alban's, for leprous women, and in his charter made a grant to it of certain tithes at Luton :

"Concedimus quoque eis totam *decimam dominii nostri de Luitona*, et ut habeant domunculum in curiâ nostrâ in qua prædicta decima reponatur; serviens etiam qui colliget hanc decimam, comedat cum familia nostrâ."

If by the "*demesne*" is here meant that of the rectory—the only *demesne*, besides that of Biscot,<sup>1</sup> which the abbey is known to have possessed at Luton at this time—it is difficult at first sight to reconcile this action of the abbot with the fact that no rectory land was subject to tithe, and his charging his *demesne*, therefore, with such a burden might seem to suggest that reference was here made to some other *demesne*. But it must be borne in mind that though there was not, and, in the nature of the case, could not be, any compulsory tithe imposed upon such land, yet that there was no reason whatever why the abbot should not allot towards the endowment of a cell founded by the abbey, or indeed to any other object, an annual tenth, or any other proportion of the profits of a farm there, or elsewhere, just as any private individual might give a tenth of his earnings or income to any object. This, in fact, was a common custom with monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

Along with the tenth of their *demesne* of Luton, the abbot also gave the whole tenth or tithe of the *demesnes* which *belonged to the*

evidently designed there should be two *resident* priests, the abbey seems to have followed out his intention, so far at least as to appoint one resident priest.

<sup>1</sup> If that at Biscot had been intended, it is almost certain that that name would have been definitely mentioned, as being a distinct hamlet.

<sup>2</sup> When Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham founded the church and hospital of S. Julian at S. Albans for *male* lepers, he endowed them with "the tenth part or tithe of the corn of the *demesne* of Streatley, but only with two parts of the tenth of the corn of Richard de Hoo's *demesne* (at Luton ?)."

*churches* (i.e., to the *rectories*) in their gift, after the death of the then incumbents, thus imposing for all future time a tithe upon the lands which their clergy held in their own hands, and which, like the rectory lands in Luton, were certainly hitherto exempt from all tithe—and this in addition to the tenth upon the value of their living yearly exacted by the Pope.

The chief interest, however, of the above passage consists in the fact of its being the earliest allusion met with (except in the confirmation of their charters by Henry II.), to their new acquisition of the rectory lands (obtained just about twenty years previously); and also as exhibiting the abbot, just at this period, speaking in such a way of their demesne at Luton as to show that in carrying out Abbot Robert's ordinance, that "the land" should go for the support of two priests, they did not understand that it was to be handed over to the two priests, as it had been to Adam the clerk, but to be retained in the hands of the abbey, and the priests to be maintained out of the profits of it. For the court (or courtyard), as well as the demesne, was clearly in the abbot's hands, and his "*familia*" dwelling there at his expense.

#### 6. *Baldwin de Bethune, Lord of the Manor.*

Baldwin de Bethune, the next subject who became lord of the manor, took so prominent a part in one of the chief episodes in the life of Richard the Lion-hearted, and his charter contains so much valuable information in connection with the church history of the parish, that a short account of him may fittingly find a place here.

He was the son of Robert V.,<sup>1</sup> advocate of Arras, who had been sent from the court of Flanders to Henry II. in 1177, and had also accompanied Louis VII. on his pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1179; and was himself lord of Choques,<sup>2</sup> in Yorkshire, being described also in an early deed of King Richard as "*Comes Betuna*," and in Hovedon as "*the advocate of Betune*." The earliest documentary notice, however, met with of his connection with England is in 1 Richard I. (1189-90), when the estima-

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Hovedon*, ii. 119, 192.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale (*Baronage*), followed therein by Burke (*Extinct Peerage*), styles him "*Earl of the Isle of Wight*" in his own right, but this must be a mistake, confounding him with Baldwin de Redvers, who was at that time earl of the Isle.

tion of his fief in the Honor of Arundel, in Sussex, amounted to £75.<sup>1</sup>

Although his name does not occur among those of Richard's attendants to the Holy Land, yet it is certain that he was present with him there—doubtless as a crusader—for he left Acre along with him on 9th October, 1192.<sup>2</sup> The homeward-bound fleet was dispersed by a storm, but the king himself, accompanied by Baldwin, arrived in a single ship at Corfu, though not until the middle of November. After some delay, Richard resolved to adventure his way home in disguise through the centre of Europe, in preference to running the risk of being captured by his enemy the King of France, if he followed the usual route through that monarch's dominions. Three galleys, or coasting vessels, were accordingly hired to carry him and his suite, consisting of some twenty persons,<sup>3</sup> to Ragusa and Zara, on the Adriatic coast. At the latter place, or, according to some accounts, rather more to the north, the king's ship was wrecked. But the party eventually reached Goritz, where lived Maynard, a nephew of that Conrad in whose murder Richard was accused of being a participator. A passport being needed, one of the king's pages was sent to request it for "Baldwin de Bethune and Hugh the Merchant, pilgrims returning from Jerusalem," unwisely tendering at the same time the present of a valuable ruby. "The present," exclaimed Maynard, "is that of a prince! He must be King Richard." The king, suspicious of danger, and having bought horses, fled in the night with about half of his followers, leaving Baldwin in charge of the remainder. He and his seven companions were immediately arrested, Maynard sending word to his brother, Frederick, of Richard's presence in the country. The prisoners were detained until the news arrived of the king's capture (27th December), when they were allowed to depart home.

No further mention seems made of him during the first eighteen

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's *Great Roll of the Pipe*, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> The authorities, with some trifling discrepancies between them, for the following account, are Hovedon, Brompton, R. Coggeshall, W. of Newbury, and M. Paris. See also Lingard, etc.

<sup>3</sup> They included the king's clerk, Philip, the priest (supposed to be Philip of Poitou, afterwards Bishop of Durham), Anselm, his chaplain, who told the story to the Abbot of Coggeshall, a few Knights' Templars, and his usual attendants. Their number seems to have gradually diminished, for when the king, being recognized at Freisach, had to flee with one solitary knight, and a peasant boy as interpreter, he left only six to be imprisoned.

months of Richard's imprisonment; but at the close of this period, on the king's going to Worms, 29th June, 1193, to hold a conference with the emperor with a view to obtaining his liberty, we find Baldwin present, having been summoned to meet him there.

And when, on the following 4th February (1194), the king was set at liberty at Metz, Baldwin was there again, and was considered of sufficient importance to be left, along with Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as hostages for the payment of the residue of the ransom. This not being forthcoming during the succeeding months, and other parts of the agreement still remaining unfulfilled, Baldwin and the other hostages were threatened with death. The queen-dowager Eleanor, however, having at last brought the ransom, Baldwin was sent to Richard to escort Eleanor, the Princess of Cyprus and the king's niece, and to deliver her, according to agreement, to the care of her other uncle, the Duke of Austria. Returning with her and her suite, on approaching the territory of the duke, the news of Leopold's death reached him, in consequence of which he conducted the princess back to Richard. On the 12th December of that year he is found with the king at Chinon, signing a charter there, as "Baud de Bethun," along with "Otho, son of the Duke of Saxony," as his sole co-signatory.

It was here, or at Rouen where Richard kept his Christmas, that, in all probability, the king, in gratitude, as is intimated in the deed, for Baldwin's loyalty and service ("*pro homagio et servicio suo*"), made a free grant<sup>1</sup> to him—a rare occurrence with this monarch—of the three manors of Luton, Wantage (Berks), and Norton (Northampton).

During the following year (1195) Richard's great admiral, William de Fortibus (in right of his wife Earl of Albemarle) died, and his widow, Haweis, and the earldom, were given by the king to Baldwin; but the exact date either of the death of Earl William or of the marriage of Baldwin does not seem to be recorded. As,

<sup>1</sup> *Carta Antiqua E. E.*, Nos. 27, 28 (enfolded now in No. 37), Public Record Office. There is no date of time or place attached to the deed, nor any definite conclusion to be derived concerning either of these from the signatures. As, however, it is entitled "Carta Baldw', Com de Betuna," and thrice over he is therein styled merely "Bald. de Betuna," it is clear that the grant was made to him before he became Earl of Albemarle, which did not take place until at least the following year; and as the grant was not likely to have been made until Baldwin returned from his captivity and subsequent mission, its date cannot be far from that here assigned to it.

in the confirmation by Baldwin of a fair at Luton and other privileges to Abbot John de Cella, he styles himself "Earl of Albemarle," and as the subject of the dispute mentioned therein would naturally come before him very shortly after his receiving the manor, it is very probable that the date of that interesting deed was some time in the succeeding year, 1196, or in the early part of the following year. It was evidently signed in England—presumably at the manor of Luton, five at least of the witnesses to it being inhabitants of Luton, though perhaps at S. Albans or elsewhere in the neighbourhood, sundry of the other witnesses being connected with the abbey; and after August 22nd in the latter year (1197) he is found continually abroad for at least a twelvemonth, either with the king, or being employed by him.

On the above date he signed at "Rupen Aurée vall" (Andely) a charter of Richard to Alan Basset, as "Baud' Com' de Aubemar" (Rhymer, i.); a little later, at Gulleton, a confederation between Richard and Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and on 17th October, at Rouen, an exchange of land between the king and the Archbishop of Rouen. In February of the following year (1198) he was sent to represent Richard at Cologne in the election of the emperor, Otho; and on 22nd August, at the king's newly-built castle, the Château Gaillard on the Seine, "Richard's masterpiece," he witnessed his confirmation of Basset's charter. This is the last occasion on which his name occurs during this king's reign, his signature not appearing to Richard's confirmation at Andely of the churches of Luton, Houghton, and Pottesgrove, to S. Alban's, on the following 3rd November. The king spent his Christmas at Domfront, and died, wounded by an arrow, on the succeeding 6th April, but Baldwin is not mentioned as having been present on either occasion.

Throughout the early part of King John's reign his name appears even more frequently, as either witnessing royal deeds or receiving grants, etc., for he seems to have been as much in favour with John as he had been with his brother Richard. Passing over instances of minor importance, his is the first signature, 2nd May, 1200, 2 John, to a treaty of peace between John and Philip of France (Rhymer, i., p. 118), and on 22nd November in the same year he was witness to the homage of William, King of Scotland, to John, at Lincoln. During the same year (Cart., 2 John, No. 60) the king made a grant to him and his wife Hawise, and their heirs, to enjoy the town of Heddune in Holderness for a free borough in as

V.] BALDWIN

full a manner :  
(1201-2) the val  
is set down (*R. reas*  
£25 (*ib.* 222), *at* to  
last, however, *he* gave him (Hardy, *Rot. de Liberati*, p. 33) permission  
1203 the king fair at Shalingford of three days' duration, with a change  
to have the market-day at Wantage from Sunday to Monday, a fair to  
of the held at his lordship of Skipton in Yorkshire, and also licence  
by to afforest his lands at Apeltrewyke for two miles in length, and  
likewise all his lands in Craven for the length of five miles.

Before the close of that same year (5 John, 1203, November 6th) King John arranged a marriage between Alice, the daughter of Baldwin and Haweis, and William, the son of William, Earl of Pembroke.<sup>1</sup> As Hawise's first husband did not die until 1195, Alice could hardly have been more than six or seven years of age in 1203; and as William Marshall's father did not marry until the autumn of 1189, the son could only have been at the same period thirteen years old. By the marriage contract Baldwin was to make over to William's father all his lands in England, though in recounting them only certain manors are mentioned, viz., Braborne, Sutton, and Kemesing, in Kent; *Luyton*, in Bedfordshire; Folesham, in Norfolk; Waneting (Wantage), in Berks; Savernstok, in Worcestershire, and Norton, in Northamptonshire;—saving the dowry of the Countess Haweis—thus omitting lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere. Some curious provisos are added, viz., that if Alice should die, William should have another daughter of Earl Baldwin, if God should give him one, with the same marriage settlement; or if William should die his younger brother, Richard, should marry Alice, with the same dowry. If, again, Earl Baldwin should die, William's father should have the custody of the lands for the benefit of William and Alice, or if he obtained any other property in England it should go to the same parties.

On 28th January, 1204, 5 John, at Lambeth, Baldwin obtained from King John a confirmation<sup>2</sup> of his grant to Santingfield of 45 acres in Luton, in pure and perpetual alms. This explains the entry in *Tax. P. N.*, 1291, that the master of Farley had

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 112, 113, App. AE, *Marriage Contract between Alice de Bethune and William Marshall.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 118, App. AF, *King John's Confirmation of Earl Baldwin's grant of land in Luton to Santingfield Hospital.*

lands in "Lowton" as well as, and as distinct from Lowton, those he held in "Farle."

In 13 John (1211-12), upon the collection of the scutage for Scotland, Earl Baldwin answered for fourscore marks for twenty knights' fees belonging to his Countess Hawisia that int, and fifty-two marks for thirteen knights' fees of the inheritance of Alice de Rumelli, her mother, wife of Alexander Fitzgerald. He died in the latter year, 1212 (M. Paris, p. 231), leaving Hawisia surviving who then gave no less than five thousand marks (Cart., 14 John, No. 19, Rot. Pip.) to have possession of her inheritance and dowries, and that she might not be compelled to marry again.

Twelve years after Earl Baldwin's death there is mention made<sup>2</sup> of one Ralph Pluket having held land in *Littegrave* (Leagrave), with a *mill*, of the gift of the earl. The king (Henry III.) now commits it to Richard de Gray for his support in the king's service, to be held at the king's pleasure, and orders the *Sheriff of Bucks*<sup>3</sup> to put him in full seisin of it.

<sup>1</sup> There is an entry of some interest in connection with Earl Baldwin in the *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, ii., p. 10, of the year 1225, wherein the king (Henry III.) forgives "Baldwin de Bethune" the scutage for his fee of one knight's service for the honor of Chokes for the Bedford army, on account of his being engaged in Ireland in the king's service, along with William, Earl Marshall. As this occurs thirteen years after Earl Baldwin's death, it would seem that he had a successor of the same name as himself at Chokes, possibly a son—perhaps by an earlier marriage, as his wife Haweis seems to have borne him no son (Burke),—or perhaps a nephew.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, ii., p. 5b, 9 Henry III., 1224. Besides giving us, as this document does, the first intimation we possess of the existence of this hamlet, and the earliest name under which it appears, we have also mention made here of what is unrecorded elsewhere, viz., of a mill therein. As almost invariably where the word "mill" occurs in ancient deeds, unless it be particularly described as a windmill, it has reference to a watermill, we have here, it seems, another instance—besides that of Houghton Regis (where the tithe of a mill was 3s. 4d., *Inq. Nonarum*, 1340)—of a small mill being worked upon the streamlet, which forms one of the sources, or affluents, of the Lea, though now generally dry in summer; the brook running from Houghton through a part of Toddington parish, and for a short space through Leagrave, and joining the river close to its perennial springs. If the mill was not upon this part of the streamlet it must have been upon the Lea itself, where it flows between Leagrave and Limbury, separating the two hamlets. In ancient times, as is well known, owing to various causes, there was a much greater flow of water in most streams. Was this mill one of the six belonging to the manor, mentioned in Domesday?

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the mandate being directed to the Sheriff of *Bucks*, *Littegrave* is assigned by the editor to the county of Bucks, but from 1135 until 1574 the two



7. *Geoffrey's Successor.*

There is no reason to suppose that more than one such vicar,<sup>1</sup> lately alluded to, was appointed between the time when Cymmaw's vicar, Geoffrey, died (whenever that event occurred), and that institution of a vicar by the abbey which led to the celebrated commission that finally determined the "ordination" and endowment of the vicarage. Two documents, apparently of just this date, which John give us, in all probability, the name of this one temporary vicar, viz., "Magister Roger de Luiton." In one of these,<sup>2</sup> in the earlier of the two, his name is found as one of the vicars made by the confirmation by Earl Baldwin (referred to previously), to Abbot John de Cella, of a fair at Luton and other vicars. No date, as has been stated before, is attached to this document, but, as the latter person only became abbot in 1195, and the vicarage was made over the manor to William Marshall in 1203-4, the vicar must be placed between these two periods, as its utmost date.

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Reasons have been already given for assigning it to 1196, early in the following year. In the other document<sup>3</sup> he is mentioned, almost casually, as holding from Reginald de la Zouche a small fee of 6 acres and 3 roods, together with a meadow, &c. That by the title "Mag. Roger de Lutuna" was the vicar, or priest, of Luton may confidently be inferred from the fact that this is the very title applied, in the contemporary *Dunstable Chronicle*, to "Mag. John de S. Albans," the vicar of "Perpetual Vicar of Luton" (and therefore probably the successor of this Roger), who died 1226.

exercised jurisdiction over the counties of Beds and Bucks conjointly (see *Bedfordshire*, p. x). Whether there were any mistake or not on the part of the king's clerk, there can be no doubt that the place referred to is Leagrave, Luton, both from the fact that Earl Baldwin had no land in Bucks, and from the fact that the manor of Luton, and because there is no place in Bucks with the name like that of Littegrave; and, also, that Littegrave is the very form of the name of the hamlet of Leagrave is found throughout the thirteenth century (*Chron. Duns.*, 1240, etc.).

Supposing Geoffrey to have survived his uncle the abbot twenty-five years, he would have been vicar in 1191, and "Mag. Roger de Lutuna" to have been stipendiary vicar twenty years later, till 1211, Mag. John de S. Albans may well have been nominated vicar at that date, which would be two years after Hugh Wells became bishop of Exeter, and the long controversy began.

*Windsorham's Chron.* i. 421. *Registrum Abb. J. Whethamstead.* 1198, 9 Ric. I., p. 10, A.D. 1198. App. AG, *Pedes Finium.*

8. *Earl Baldwin's Confirmation of the Abbey's Property and Privileges.*

The former of the two documents just referred to is of considerable interest in other respects besides that already mentioned. It gives us the first special allusion to the possession by the *abbey* of any *land* by the *river* side, and of a *mill-pool* (and, consequently, of a mill) there. Earl Baldwin states that there had been a dispute<sup>1</sup> between him and the abbot "concerning the mill-pool (or mill-dam) of the abbot, and concerning the fishing in the dam as far as the North Bridge." This notice, it will be observed, is within a lifetime, probably within thirty years, of the abbey coming into the possession of the *rectory land* with its *mill* upon the river, and along with the latter, no doubt, of some little land upon the banks. It is doubtless, therefore, to this *rectorial property*, and to the rights of fishing connected therewith "up to the North Bridge," that the above document refers—a possession, as it will be found, referred to again and again, as where Abbot Roger (1278) is said to have "purchased back the lease of common pasture in the Abbot's Pool" (*i.e.*, bordering upon it, upon one or both sides) "near the mill at Luton," and Abbot Richard in 1338 to have "repaired the mill of Luton." "The pasture" was doubtless "Dallow mead" (or "Dallow closes"), in later times consisting of 3 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches, forming part of the Dallow manor of the abbey, and being, like the site of the chief body of that manor, in the hamlet of Limbury. In the licence to alienate Dolowe manor in 1586 express mention is made of "a mill and free fishery in the water of Luton."

It gives us, besides, the names of certain lands in the parish, concerning the claim to which by the abbot the earl says he had also had a contention; but these it is difficult, except in one case, to identify with certainty. They are "the (*cultura*, enclosed?) cultivated land of Wngeheard (Wyngeheard, *Hearne*), the (arable) land of Waltun and of (Craulea) *Crawley*, and the copse as

<sup>1</sup> The earl candidly admits that on an inquisition of his own men and of neighbours, he found that the abbey had a full right to what it claimed in the matter of the mill, land, and fair, and also in the market as to 1 shop, 2 arcas (archas in MS.—chests, hatches, cells, enclosures?) and an indefinite quantity ("quodcunque, quocunque," *Hearne*) of stalls, and, as to the men of the abbot, all the liberties which they possessed when the manor was in the hands of the king. App. AH, *Text of Earl Baldwin's Confirmation*.

far as the road of the copse of Curegge." There can be little hesitation in deciding that the above "Crawley"—probably here first mentioned in any existing document—is now represented by "*Crawley Green Close*," 8 acres, 2 roods, 26 perches, on S. Ann's Hill, which has been immemorially free from rectorial tithe, and which on other grounds also is known to have belonged to Dolowe manor. Waltun was probably the adjoining lands, "S. Ann's Field," 9 acres, 1 rood, 36 perches, and "Tinpots Close," 5 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches, or at least the two names of the documents comprising the whole, while Wngeheard and the copse may be conjectured to have lain between these fields and the Harthill road, where there was evidently in former times one or more homesteads and orchards abutting on "the road." All the land on S. Ann's Hill up to the present *Crawley Green Close*, comprising 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches, is, like the above field, free from inappropriate tithe, and was all included, it seems, under the general name of "S. Ann's Close," valued at about £5 per annum in 1707, free also then from vicarial tithe (as rectorial land ought to be), and no doubt all forming part of the same manor.

This document contains also the earliest allusion met with to the time of the *Annual Fair* (recorded again 4 Edward III., 1330, *Plac. q. war.*, pp. 15 and 23), viz., on "the Feast of the *Assumption of the B. Virgin*"<sup>1</sup> (Aug. 15), an argument in favour of "the

<sup>1</sup> The fair was to begin, as was usual, on the vigil of the patron saint, and to be continued on the day itself and for six days afterwards. It was just the same, and connected with the same festival at Whaplode, where the church was likewise dedicated to S. Mary. The fair at Dunstable, granted to the *priory*, was in like manner to be held on S. Peter's day (*ad vincula*), to whom the church was dedicated (*Chron. Dun.*). "These fairs were a source of considerable profit to the owners, with their courts of 'pie-powder,' or court of pedlars and other manorial tolls" (Foster's *Whaplode*, p. 11). It seems nowhere stated when this fair at Luton was granted to the abbey, the above confirmation by the Earl of Albemarle being apparently the earliest extant allusion to it. But as the abbot when called upon to make proof of his rights, answers that his predecessors \* held a fair in the days of *King Stephen*, as well as in the time of *Henry II.* and *Richard*, and as the fair originally belonged to the lord of the manor, we are rather led to the conclusion that, as Earl Robert was unlikely to have given it to the parson of the church, it was most probably granted to the abbey by his son, Earl William, when he made over the church and sundry lands to it. Fairs were very frequently held on the festival of the *Assumption*—as in the three instances in the neighbouring county of Bucks,† in Muresley by charter, 1243, renewed to John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford

\* *Plac. q. w.*, p. 15.

† Lysons.

dedication of the church" being on that feast and not on any other festival in her honour. At the fair everything was allowed to be sold except gold and horses, tanned skins, and *men* (slaves), "who formerly used to be sold" (*qui antiquitus vendebantur*). The names of the witnesses to the deed are of some interest as being many of them connected with Luton. They were Ralph de Ho, Walter de Luton, Fulco de la Hyde, William Sisseverna, Laurence de Thebregge, Magister Alban, *Magister Roger de Lutuna*, Magister Roger de Eleswurde, Nicholas the Almoner (of the abbey), Philip de Sisseverna, John, the son of Gilebert de la Hide, Walter Bacun, and William de Walnunt.

Some of the latter are well-known persons. William Sisseverna<sup>1</sup> is described in the *Gesta Abb.* and by Newcome (pp. 99, 100) as a knight and steward (*seneschal*) of the manors and estates of the abbey, and the curator appointed by J. de Cella to superintend the restoration of the west front of the abbey; Lawrence de Thebregge (p. 99) as a knight of great eloquence and prudence, and John de la Hide as being the abbot's relative and to whom he gave 140 marks on his being knighted. Magister Walter de Eleswurde was probably the rector of Elesworth near S. Ives, and Magister Alban a priest perhaps connected with the abbey. The family of the Hoos, as appears from this and a preceding note, were now located at the Hoo, though the first definite account of their possession of an estate there does not occur for another hundred years. The family of "De Hyde" were also evidently acquiring property at the southern end of the parish, having fifty years later (1240) a chapel and resident priest thereon. Fulk himself is mentioned in the *Fines* (1195) as possessing half a mill there.

### 9. *Change of the Market-day from Sunday to Monday.*

Whilst Earl Baldwin was lord of the manor, in the fourth year of King John, 1202, the market at Luton,<sup>2</sup> which had hitherto

(lord of the manor of Luton also), who had a grant of another fair there on the Nativity of the B. Virgin; Haddenham, for three days, by charter, 1294, and Ivinghoe, 1378.

<sup>1</sup> He is one of the witnesses to a charter of the thirteenth century at Blenheim (*App. Hist. MSS. Com.*).

<sup>2</sup> Davis (pp. 4, 131) is inaccurate in ascribing the change to the year 1286. The account is given, *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 36, 4 John. "Hundredum de Flitte.

been held on a Sunday<sup>1</sup> from time immemorial, was changed and ordered henceforth to be held upon each Monday.<sup>2</sup> An incident had happened about thirty years before this period, in the reign of Henry II., probably in the presence (as it was close to the castle) of one just mentioned in connection with the church of Luton, William, Earl of Gloucester, which is accounted to have had great influence upon, if not to have been the origin of the movement in mediæval times, towards keeping the Sunday better. It is thus related by Giraldus Cambrensis: "King Henry (II.) being at Cardiff on Low Sunday (23 April, 1172) and having heard mass at S. Perian's Chapel, as he came forth, a man addressed him in English, saying, 'God keep thee, O king! Christ and His Holy Mother, John the Baptist and Peter the Apostle greet thee, and by me order thee to forbid all fairs and markets on the Lord's Day, and all unnecessary labour, and take heed that the sacred offices be devoutly administered, so shalt thou prosper.'" This movement towards a better observance of the Sunday is especially stated to have become popular during the reign of John.<sup>3</sup>

*Mercatum de Lutton (sic) remotum est de die Dominicâ ad diem Lune, et mercatum est comitis de Alba Marla, et ideo in mîâ (misericordia, i.e., the opponents of the change, the 'hundred' or the 'villata,' lost the suit), et sit per diem Lune."* The pleadings were held at Bedford during the three weeks from Michaelmas-day, 1202. The tolls of the fair and market together at Luton are estimated in Domesday at 100s.

<sup>1</sup> The Norman Conqueror named Sunday as a market-day in his charter to Battle Abbey (Dioc. Hist. *Chichester*, p. 77). It was still one of the two weekly market-days at Dunstable as late as 1286 (*Chron. Dunst.*), and therefore must have been so appointed by Henry I.

<sup>2</sup> The fact of the market being on a Monday, and belonging to the lord of the manor, is noted in *Plac. de quo War.*, 4 Ed. III., 1330, and it is especially mentioned (Newcome, p. 256) that it was upon a *Monday, being market-day*, during the earlier years of the abbacy of Thomas de la Mere (1349-67), that J. Moot, the cellarer of the abbey, was ignominiously pilloried by Philip de Limburi. Monday is still a market-day, but there is an additional and more popular market held each Saturday, and one also each Friday, the two having been ordained in 1872 (Davis, p. 16).

<sup>3</sup> A similar change of the day was made on the same occasion as that at Luton, at Potton in Bedfordshire, only that the day adopted was "*diem Sabbati*," Saturday. During the same year also changes from the Sunday to various days of the week were made in many places, particularly it would seem in the Midland counties, as in Northamptonshire and at Lichfield, Wolverhampton, etc. (*Abbrev. Plac.*). The following year at another of Earl Baldwin's manors, given to him along with Luton, that of Wantage, Herts, a like change was made from Sunday to Monday (Hardy, *Rot. de Liberati*, etc., p. 37).

Whatever the motive or object, or from whomsoever the local movement proceeded, the town of Luton was henceforth unquestionably benefited by the change, especially as both markets and fairs were generally held in the churchyards, even till a very late period.

#### 10. *The Manor of Biscot.*

At the dedication<sup>1</sup> of the restored Abbey Church of S. Albans (Christmas, 1115—Jan., 1116), Henry I. gave to Abbot Richard the *Manor of Biscot*, with the exception of land valued at 20s.—this latter, however, being purchased<sup>2</sup> from the king by the succeeding abbot, Geoffrey (1119-1135) for one hundred grass oxen.

That Henry should have selected for his grant this particular portion of his manor of Luton, in preference to any other part, agrees well with the theory (App. G., Bisshopescope) that Biscot had constituted Offa's original grant to the abbey. In this case the king's action would be but the restoration of the hamlet to its former use, and even to its former owners. And if the early history of the hamlet was made known to the king—and the abbey had the record of it in their possession—such a sentiment was not unlikely to influence anyone at that period.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, i. 68, "Manerium quod dicitur, Bisshopescope, quod datum fuit in dedicatione hujus ecclesiæ . . . exceptis viginti solidatis terræ." "Pretaxatam ecclesiam (S. Albani) rure quod Bissopescope appellatur, quod ad sokam Lutone et ad dominium regni fiscum pertinebat, dotavi" (*Plac. q. w.*, p. 8; M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), vi. Addit., p. 37). It would seem from the following entry in Hunter's *Mag. Rot. Scacc.* (p. 60), either that the abbot had to pay the king some thirteen years afterwards seven silver marks (£4 13s. 4d.) for the above grant, or that Henry sold to the succeeding abbot some other land in Luton (of which land or purchase we hear nothing) for which he had to pay that amount, or, which perhaps is the most probable explanation, that we have herein the *value* of the above oxen, and that this form of entry was merely the recognized way of acknowledging their payment by the abbot. "An' tricesimo (30 H. I., 1129-30) Abbas de Sco Albano redd' cōpoī de vij mā arg p' ūra q<sup>a</sup> rex ei dedit ī Loitona." There is also an entry difficult to account for in *Cal. Inq. ad quod damnum*, p. 232 (5 Ed. II., 1311-12), in which representatives of the abbot pay to the king 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) of rent for "Luton."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 78, "Emptio terræ in Biscote . . . viginti solidatas terras in Bisshopescope datis proinde et pertinentiis dicto Regi centum bobus pascualibus." We have here apparently the earliest occurrence of the abbreviated modern form of the name of the hamlet

Another reason, however, may have influenced Henry in his selection, viz., that as Biscot formed no part of the manor of Luton at the Conquest, but had been separated from it from time immemorial, in parting with it he was not granting away any portion of what would be considered the royal manor of ancient demesne, but only that which had been annexed within the reign of his father. However that may be, S. Albans a second time became possessor of the manor of Biscot, and, as it will be seen, a second time very speedily, and on that occasion, at least, of its own accord, parted with it.

For Abbot John de Cella, between 1199 and 1214 (*i.e.*, between King John's accession and the death of the abbot), apparently about 1211, made a grant<sup>1</sup> to Robert Fitzwalter of "ten librates of land" (land worth £10 a year), "chiefly in Biscot"<sup>2</sup> (*scil. Bisopesote, pro majori parte*), presumably therefore half a knight's fee. As at the date of Domesday, a little more than a century earlier, the total value of the manor was only £2 per annum (though it had been valued at £3 in the Confessor's time), this grant must seemingly have carried with it, making every allowance for a greatly increased value in the interim, a considerable portion of the hamlet. It was only just about fifty years previous to this period that the abbey let half a hide of land in Biscot in fee farm at 20s. per ann. At this rate the ten librates would have included the whole five hides of the manor. That which, in the grant, was beyond the bounds of the hamlet, was probably some near piece or pieces of land, which had formed part either of William the Chamberlain's holding, or of the rectory land. Deducting even largely for this portion, though it were the lesser portion, it must still be inferred that at least half of the hamlet was thus alienated. Newcome (p. 100) calls it "the church's estate of Biscot," but the expression made use of in the *Gesta Abbatum* is only "*de possessione ecclesie.*"

Fitzwalter was twice<sup>3</sup> deprived of all his possessions, though for the most part only temporarily; but whether Biscot was ever restored to him or to his son, or into whose immediate hands it

<sup>1</sup> The historian (*Gesta Abb.*, i. 225) assigns as a reason for the grant, "for the sake of peace, concord, and perpetual friendship;" Dugdale, as compensation for the expenses of a lawsuit in the matter of the wood of Northaw, in Herts; the deed itself (as quoted *Cotton MSS.*, Otho, D. iii., fol. 112), as being for a quit-claim for the said wood.

<sup>2</sup> App. A1, *Biscot*.

<sup>3</sup> In 1212 (*M. Paris, Hist. Angl.* (Madden), iii. 131) and in 1216.

fell, does not appear. It did not, however, continue long in the family.

Though the historian makes no direct mention of the manor itself in the grant to Fitzwalter, it would seem almost certain that it was included in it. Nothing further, indeed, is heard of the manor for the next eighty years. A deed<sup>1</sup> is then met with of Hugo de Philibton, conveying to William de Bereford (Beresford) £9 10s. of rent in Biscot, with service of all the tenants, etc., and an extent of the manor is set forth. Hugo, therefore, had evidently become possessed of Fitzwalter's estate or manor of Biscot; and after him, William Beresford, of whom there is an *Inquisitio post mortem*,<sup>2</sup> his rent from eleven free tenants at Biscot being set down at almost exactly the same amount, viz., £9 4s. 4d. This transference and possession of eleven free tenancies seem to imply either that the original manorial rights were conveyed along with the land, or that Fitzwalter, or one of his immediate successors, formed the latter into a separate manor.

That the abbey no longer, after the grant, possessed the manor, seems further confirmed by the following facts. That which remained to them in the hamlet is never again called "the manor of Biscot." In less than fifty years after the above "partition" "of the hamlet of Biscot," *i.e.*, in 1258, thirteen tenants of the abbey, in Biscot, in acknowledging that they had neglected for many years to attend view of frank pledge, etc., speak of the place wherein the court was held annually as being at Dolowe and not at Biscot—the deed of acknowledgment being signed at Dolowe also. When also an inquisition concerning their manorial court and the number of their attendants at it was made in 1286-87 (*i.e.*, during the time when Hugo de Philibton was in possession of his portion of the hamlet), the abbot is not asked by what warrant he holds his view of frank pledge, or court at Biscot, or in his manor of Biscot, but in Luton; and he acknowledges that six decenniers in the hamlet of Biscot come to his view, "de Luton."

<sup>1</sup> *Abbrev. Plac.*, 17 Edw. I., p. 217b, 1288-89, "Carta Hugonis de Philibton facta Willo de Bereford de ix lb. x sol. redd' in Biscot, simul cum omni servitio omnium tenentium predictū redd' redentium in dictā villā. Extent' fact' de predicto maffio de Biscote ob defectum solue' dicti redd'. Et judicium inde redditum."

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. p. m.*, i. p. 333, 20 Edw. II., 1297, "Willus de Beresford et Margareta uxor ejus Byscote £9 4s. 4d. redditus de 11 liberis tenentibz ibm. Beds."



When, in addition to these evidences, it is found that, only four or five years after the last mentioned events, in the *Taxatio P. Nich. IV.*, 1291, wherein the whole property of the abbey in the parish of Luton is meant to be comprehended, that property is described under the one definition of "the *Manor of Dolowe* with its members;" that in the *Dolowe Court Roll*, extracts from which of three or four years are still extant, 1454-57, the names and dues of the Biscot tenants are included; that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the abbey lands at Biscot are reckoned as part of Dolowe manor, and even when,<sup>1</sup> after coming into other hands, they seem to have been formed into a manor of themselves, and to have regained the title of the manor of Biscot, to have had their soc at Dolowe, *i.e.*, to be a minor manor to Dolowe, we seem forced to conclude that the abbey parted with so much of their manorial right in Biscot to Fitzwalter, that they had to merge their property there into what was perhaps then for the first time styled "the manor of Dolowe."

Besides the manor the abbey came into possession soon after the Conquest of *half a hide of land* in the hamlet of Biscot, by the gift of Alan de Wynton and Christina his wife. Owing to the inadvertent omission of the word "hidam" in the abbey's list of benefactions,<sup>2</sup> Newcome (p. 416) was led to make the assertion that "*half of the land* in the vill called Bisshopescote" was then granted to them. This would be inconsistent with King Henry's gift. It is corrected, however, by another document,<sup>3</sup> an enfeoffment by Abbot Robert of Reinaldus de Bissopescote and his heirs with *the half hide of land* in Biscot which Alan de Wynton and Christina his wife had given in alms to S. Albans, to be held in fee farm at 20s. per annum. The exact date of Alan's gift cannot be ascertained, but from its position in the above record it was made presumably a short time previous to, or soon after, Henry's gift. Abbot Robert's enfeoffing of Reinaldus took place between 1151 and 1166. This holding was eventually, it appears, the only free tenancy of the abbey in Biscot, and is, in all probability, the

<sup>1</sup> Cole's *Escheats*, vi., p. 95. Inquisition held at Dunstable, 7 Ap. 19 Car. I., 1643, on the death of J. Wingate, "Manerium de Biscoff, etc., ten'. de manerii de Dallow in soc et 26s. redd'"—this latter being from Ackworth's free tenancy.

<sup>2</sup> Nero, D. vii., fol. 96, "Alan de Wynton dedit Deo et S. Albano dimidiam (hidam *om.*) terre in villa que vocatur Bisshopescote."

<sup>3</sup> Cott. MSS., Otho, D. iii., fol. 109, *vide* App. AJ, *Enfeoffment of Reinaldus de Bissopescote*.

same which we read of<sup>1</sup> at the time of the dissolution of the abbey, viz., "26s. and service of J. Ackworth for lands and tenements in Biscot, lately belonging to the monastery of S. Albans," or, as it is elsewhere<sup>2</sup> described, "26s. in free rent for certain quit-rents going out of a messuage of J. Ackworth of Biscot."

#### 11. *Robert Fitzwalter.*<sup>3</sup>

Robert Fitzwalter, a man of great courage and abilities, though, according to the S. Alban's chronicler, not over-scrupulous in his dealings, was the baron by tenure of Dunmow in Essex, and, as the owner of Baynard's Castle in London, "the banner-bearer" of the City of London, to which office were attached very curious and extensive privileges. When the Barons took up arms against King John, Robert was set at the head of their army and given by them the title of "Constable" or "Marshal of the army of God and his Church." He was one of the foremost in demanding Magna Carta, and was one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce its fulfilment. So, as William Marshall, "comes Marescallus Junior," who was lord of the chief manor of Luton at this time, was also one of the twenty-five, and Robert Fitzwalter, the owner of the manor of Biscot, another, and one of the chief leaders on the side of freedom, Luton was not badly represented in that struggle for liberty.

Although Fitzwalter's signature is not, as is sometimes stated, the first attached to the Charter on the part of the Barons—those of the earls naturally preceding his—yet in "the Convention" itself, as it was called, "between John, King of England, and the Barons of the same kingdom," his name takes that honourable position, the convention being "made between the lord John, King of England, on the one part, and Robert Fitzwalter, Marshall of God and of the Holy Church in England, and Richard, Earl of Clare, William Marshall, Junior, etc., and the freemen of the kingdom, on the other part."<sup>4</sup> He is also the first person named in the special excommunication (16th Dec., 1215)<sup>5</sup> by Pope Innocent III. of the Barons of England who had signed the

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Rolls*, 35 H. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Particulars of Grants, Public Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> App. AK, *Robert Fitzwalter*.

<sup>4</sup> Rhymer, *Fadera*, i. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Charter; the next being the above "William, son of the Marshall." Magister John de S. Albans was probably the vicar throughout this eventful period.

### 12. *The Dunstable Chronicle.*

Almost coincident with the beginning of John's reign, and just when a series of chroniclers (the chief authorities for the history of the country up to that period) fail us, one Richard de Morins,<sup>1</sup> whom the inhabitants of Luton may look upon as little less than a local historian, became prior of the neighbouring monastery at Dunstable, and commenced his *Annales de Dunstable*, or, as they are more commonly called, the *Dunstable Chronicle*. His work, continued after his death in 1242 by other members of the fraternity, though chiefly occupied with the concerns of the priory, is of more than local value, as it often supplies important historical, no less than social, information. Though allusions to Luton itself are peculiarly rare in its pages, yet sundry events are continually recorded therein, which could hardly fail to have been of considerable interest to its inhabitants, and which also throw light upon local customs and history.

Thus, during the reign of John, the king himself visited Dunstable on four several occasions,—on Oct. 10th, 1204, when it seems he granted to the priory his houses and gardens there, the former including the royal palace built by Henry I., the latter comprising nine acres ("Kingsbury"); on Nov. 1st, 1207, remaining till the 3rd; on March 25th, 1211; and on Dec. 20th, 1215, spending Sunday there on his way from S. Albans to Newport Pagnel and the North.<sup>2</sup>

In 1213 the town of Dunstable was burnt by accident, yet, notwithstanding this, on S. Luke's day, Oct. 18th, the church was dedicated by the bishop of the diocese, Hugh Wells.

<sup>1</sup> He was elected prior in 1203, having been Canon of Merton, in Surrey, also a community of Austin or Black Canons, all of whom, after a noviciate, were obliged to take holy orders. Richard was only a deacon when elected, being ordained priest Sept. 21st. The priory had been founded nearly a century previously, but no records of its doings or of anything which happened in the neighbourhood seem ever to have been regularly undertaken by any of its members before Richard's time. *The Chartulary of Dunstable*, begun also by him, gives a few earlier particulars.

<sup>2</sup> Itinerary of King John, by Sir T. D. Hardy, appended to his *Description of the Patent Rolls*, etc.

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The following year, about the Epiphany, Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, famous a few years later for the part he took with regard to Magna Carta, assembled his suffragan bishops at Dunstable to oppose the pope's legate, and sent him thence an inhibition against making any more appointments to churches or abbeys.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE REIGN OF HENRY III. (A.D. 1216-1272).

1. *Ecclesiastical Matters at Luton and in the Neighbouring Parishes.*

THE local ecclesiastical doings which took place almost simultaneously with the commencement of the succeeding long and disturbed reign, must also have been of considerable interest, not merely to the people of Luton, but to the whole neighbourhood. For in the years 1219 and 1220 we find a native of Bedford,<sup>1</sup> Robert de Bedford, who had become Bishop of Lismore in Ireland, being employed by Dunstable Priory to consecrate three of their churches and sundry altars in both these and other of their sacred fanes. Thus, in 1219, he dedicates two new altars in their priory church,<sup>2</sup>—one, “of the Holy Cross and All Saints,” evidently for that part of the fabric which they reserved for their own monastic offices—a part probably of great beauty, but so utterly destroyed three hundred years later that even the character of its architecture can only be conjectured; and the other, a “parochial altar” (*altare parochiale*) dedicated to S. John Baptist, in the nave or one of its aisles, as these in all the priory churches<sup>3</sup> of the Austin Canons were given up to parochial worship, under the superintendence of the prior, or a parish priest appointed by him. He also dedicated on Holy Cross day the church of Chalgrave, “with a yearly re-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the only instance on record of an inhabitant of that town being advanced to the dignity of a prelate, although, both in the sixteenth and in the present century, Bedford has supplied a title to suffragans of the Bishop of London.

<sup>2</sup> Less than nine years had elapsed since the dedication of their church, when in June, 1222, the roof of its presbytery, which, however, had probably been erected three quarters of a century previously, fell in; and in December of the same year two pinnacles at the west end fell down, one on the prior's hall, which it in great measure destroyed, the other on a part of the church, which it shattered.

<sup>3</sup> S. Paul's church, Bedford, being in like manner the priory church of the Austin Canons of Newenham, its nave also was used as a parish church.

mission of sins (penance) for 20 days," and soon after, Pulloxhill church to the memory of S. James, probably a changed dedication from some ancient one, from the name being only in this case mentioned, and the following year, on S. Alphege's day, the church of Studham and five altars in it, together with a large churchyard, with a like remission.

These entries in the *Dunstable Chronicle* are the more valuable as they supply us, it seems, with the only documentary evidence yet published of the dedication, and therefore of the approximate erection of any of the thirteenth-century parish churches of the county; for though the dedication did not, as generally now-a-days, immediately succeed the completion<sup>1</sup> of the building, yet it must be inferred that each of these three churches had only lately been in great part rebuilt.<sup>2</sup>

But matters affecting Luton itself much more intimately were taking place at the same time.

## 2. *Bishop Wells and the Institution and Endowment of Vicarages.*

Only one vicarage in the county is definitely recorded<sup>3</sup> to have been established prior to 1219, viz., that of Pulloxhill, ordained by Bishop William de Blois "soon after his accession to the see," which took place in 1203. The *Liber Antiquus*<sup>4</sup> of Bishop Hugh Wells, his successor, contains a roll of thirty-three (with the terms of their endowment) that were "ordained" either previous to his time or during his own episcopate. It is probable that a few of these may even have been legally established many years before 1203, as he speaks of them as having been ordained "*exdudum*," a long

<sup>1</sup> A very few years later, in 1237, it was found necessary to issue an injunction that "all cathedral, conventual, and diocesan churches should be consecrated within two years of their completion, or else to be interdicted from the celebration of mass." (The *Legatine Constitutions* of Cardinal Otho, passed at the Council of London. Perry, i. p. 352.) The *conventual* church of Cauldwell, near Bedford, was consecrated in 1222 (*Chron. Dun.*). The parish church of Toddingdon is also said to have been dedicated in 1222, and this agrees with the character of the architecture of its earliest remaining parts.

<sup>2</sup> Both Studham and Chalgrave (now almost a ruin) still retain some vestiges of Early English work, but Pulloxhill was entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. Antiq.*, ix. The case of Turvey is not an exception, though inadvertently so described by Harvey, *Hundred of Willey*, p. 194. *Vide* App. AL, *Turvey*.

<sup>4</sup> App. AM, *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells*.

time ago. But it is to him—and to his successor, Bishop Grosseteste, though in lesser measure—that the credit is chiefly due of fighting the battle of the parishes against the monasteries, and of rescuing from these latter as much parochial property as it was possible to save. Thus were vicarages endowed, and the custom (soon to become pretty general) established of ordaining vicarages in all appropriated churches. This, the great work of Wells' episcopate,<sup>1</sup> with which his name will ever be associated, was the first systematic attempt in any diocese to carry out, as far as circumstances then permitted, the many decrees of various councils upon the matter, and it is to the success of his contest with the Abbot of S. Albans in the matter of ordaining *Luton Vicarage* that is to be attributed, more than to any other circumstance, the speedy establishment in the county of the other vicarages which were ordained in his time. For there is ample evidence<sup>2</sup> that he did not establish one of these until after the decision of the commission recorded in our next section.

### 3. *Ordination of the Vicarage of Luton.*

The arrangement on the part of the abbey, alluded to in the previous chapter, of a temporary and stipendiary vicar, removable at the will of his patron, and without any legally assigned income or recognized *status* in the diocese, had given rise to a great controversy, extending over many years, between S. Albans and Bishop Wells. It led to a special commission being appointed by Pope Honorius; it ended, in the very year succeeding that pontiff's confirmation of Henry's charter to S. Albans, in forcing the abbey to make quite a different distribution of the revenues of Luton church,<sup>3</sup> and to constitute and endow it a *permanent vicarage*. The decision of this commission, which must have been looked forward to with much concern alike by diocesans and religious communities all over England, is related by Matthew Paris as an ecclesiastical event of much importance.<sup>4</sup> For it was meant to be

<sup>1</sup> A short account of the life and work of Bishop Wells is to be found in the Introduction to *Lib. Antiq.*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> App. AN, *Ordination of Vicarages*.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to the associated churches of Houghton and Pottesgrove, see App. AM, *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells*, and App. AO, *Houghton and Pottesgrove Churches*.

<sup>4</sup> M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Luard), iii. 44, and *Hist. Angl. Minor* (Madden), ii. 234; also Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani*, i. 275-7.

a test of the authority of the bishop in the matter; and it became, as had been intended, the rule and model henceforth for almost all similar cases. Luton was thus amongst the earliest of episcopally constituted and legally established vicarages. The failure of so great an abbey to resist the bishop and to escape from the requirements of the Councils of Westminster and of the Lateran, was the prelude to the submission to them of all other religious houses, whenever pressure was brought to bear by the bishop. Newcome, in his *History of the Abbey of S. Albans* (p. 124), thus describes the circumstances attending the institution or "ordination" of Luton vicarage.

"In 1219 a very long and expensive suit was finished by the mediation of Richard (Poore), Bishop of Salisbury, and the two Abbots of Westminster and Waltham, who were appointed for this purpose by the Pope Honorius III. The institution or endowment of vicarages was almost a new thing; and the abbey, having the church of Luton, with all its tithes, lands, obventions, and offerings, had instituted<sup>1</sup> a vicar, but had not ascertained his rights, or clearly fixed the revenue necessary and proper for his maintenance, nor would the abbey allow any authority of the diocesan over the vicar. But now the said judges determined that the vicar should be presented by the abbot to the Bishop of Lincoln to be approved by him and be instituted; that his maintenance should arise from some fixed property, viz., all the small tithes and obventions; that he should be furnished with a suitable mansion and glebe, and be entitled to all the obventions paid or given at the chapels<sup>2</sup> belonging to the said church of Luton, and (on the other hand) that the vicar should pay all parish dues, procurations, and synodals; and that the Bishop of Lincoln and his successors should have full jurisdiction in the said church." Accordingly we meet with the following entry, made seemingly in 1220, in the *Liber Antiquus*, ordaining the vicarage, and thus giving the vicar, for the first time, a legal and permanent *status* in the diocese.

<sup>1</sup> Up to the year 1124, the heads of religious houses, like other owners of advowsons, claimed and exercised the right of instituting by investiture to their own benefices. In that year the Council of Westminster, in view of the many evils attendant on such a practice, passed the pregnant and far-reaching decree—the coping-stone of the parochial system (Earl Selborne)—that all institutions to benefices should be made by the bishop of the diocese. It would seem from the above that S. Albans was in the habit of refusing or evading compliance with this law also.

<sup>2</sup> App. AP, *Parochial Chapels*.



"LUTON. Vicaria in ecclesia de Luton que est abbatis et conventus S. Albani auctoritate concilii ordinata est in hunc modum. Vicarius habebit nomine vicarie sue omnes obventiones et omnes minutas decimas ecclesie de Luton et omnium capellarum ad eam pertinencium et omnia alia ad eandem ecclesiam et capellas pertinentia cum manso competenti, exceptis garbis et terra ad ecclesiam et capellas pertinente. Et vicarius sustinebit omnia onera ecclesie parochialia synodalia archidiaconalia ordinaria et consuetu" (*Lib. Antiq.*, p. 22).

"(Archdeaconry of Bedford.) LUTON. A vicarage, in the church of Luton, which belongs to the abbot and convent of S. Albans, is ordained by the authority of the council in this manner. The vicar shall have in the name of his vicarage all the obventions and all the small tithes of the church of Luton, and of all the chapels pertaining to it, and everything else pertaining to the said church and chapels, with a suitable manse, except sheaves of corn and the land belonging to the church and chapels. And the vicar shall bear all the ordinary and accustomed burdens of the church, parochial, synodal, and archidiaconal."<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. *John de S. Albans, the first Perpetual Vicar.*

In an excerpt from the *Book of Institutions*<sup>2</sup> of the same Bishop Wells, of the eighteenth year of his episcopate, 1227, we find this entry: "Adam de Belescot (Biscot), chaplain,<sup>3</sup> instituted to the vicarage of Luton, which Magister John de S. Albans

<sup>1</sup> As a general rule monasteries, when their churches were converted into vicarages, had to provide hospitality for the archdeacon on his visitation, the burden being evidently considered to be more appropriately attached to the rectory. On this ground almost all vicarages claim exemption from archdeacon's fees. The only instances in the county besides that of Luton in which the vicar had to entertain the archdeacon were those of Dunton and Langford.

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. MSS.* 6950, Brit. Mus.

<sup>3</sup> The title "chaplain" occurs very frequently in institutions. "A large proportion of candidates for the ministry were *ordained* on the title of chaplaincies, or rather on the proof that they were entitled to small pensions from private persons, who thus qualified them for a position in which, by saying masses for the dead, they could eke out a subsistence" (Stubbs, *C. H.*, iii. 67). Adam, however, had probably been a chaplain of the abbey, of which officials it always had a number. The *Dunstable Chronicle* constantly alludes to the chaplains of the priory being appointed by them to vicarages.

last held, at the presentation of the abbot and convent of S. Albans."

As there is no entry of any other institution to Luton between this date and the year 1220, when the bishop's register commences—only a year after the above commission—and containing numerous ordinations of that year, which were the immediate results of the commission,—two things may be inferred with great confidence. First, that John de S. Albans was the so-called "vicar" instituted by the abbey some good time previous to 1219 (for there was a *long controversy* between the time of his appointment and that of the commission), and continued by the abbey as "perpetual vicar." Next, that we have, accordingly, in him the first of that long series<sup>1</sup> of episcopally ordained and legally instituted vicars, forty-five at least in number, who for more than six centuries have never ceased, except during a very few years of the Commonwealth, when one or more "ministers," so called, were intruded into their place, to carry on the pastoral work of Christ's church in the parish of Luton.

In the year following the commission (1220) Bishop Wells held a visitation at Dunstable, in May; and, though this was, perhaps, rather a visitation of the monastery than of this part of the diocese, yet being so near at hand he can hardly have neglected the opportunity of seeing that the decisions of the commission were being carried into effect at Luton.

These included the providing a vicarage house convenient to the church, with a sufficient surrounding glebe—the "competent manse" implying this last as well as a residence. The people, too, now had, for the first time, to divide their tithes—all being paid in those days in kind—into great and small, rectorial and vicarial; their corn and pulse to be carried as heretofore to the rectorial barn (at Dolowe?); their hay, hemp, flax, wool, etc., to the vicar's new tithe-barn. As a "vicar," though only stipendiary, had been residing in the parish for very many years, and John of S. Albans had probably lived there for some time, it may safely be conjectured that the abbey had provided their vicars with a residence, and also that that house would be near to the church, and upon the abbey's land. From the choice of the land assigned to the perpetual vicar, it may therefore be inferred that the preceding

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post*, "Rectors and Vicars," where will be found, it is opined, a complete list of all "the perpetual vicars" of Luton, with the dates also of the Institution of all but a very few.

vicars, and John himself, had lived hitherto very much where the present vicarage house is situated, and that this house was now made over for good to John and his successors.

About four acres and a half, between the church and the river, seem to have been allotted to the vicar; and, as it would appear unlikely that with so much land near to the church, in its own possession,<sup>1</sup> the abbey would unnecessarily purchase more—exchange of land, moreover, being at the time out of the question<sup>2</sup>—we seem to be led to the conclusion that these acres, now assigned to the vicar, had previously belonged to the abbey. This is what was to be expected. Almost invariably it is found that the land granted for the endowment of the vicarage had formed part of the rectory land. If this were the case here, then it follows that the rectory land included at that time, not merely the mill-pool and its pasture on the east of the stream, but also land on the west side,—*i.e.*, on the east “the Dallow Closes” (now 3 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches) and “Pondwich Gardens” (1 acre, 1 rood, 37 perches), and on the west the new vicarage grounds of about the same extent (4 acres, 2 roods). Nor, if so, was this all that the rectory must have had originally on the west side of the stream, for the piece of land between Church Street and the river, now called Church Crescent, was found to be divided, as late even as in 1884, into two small fields, called respectively “*Dallow Mead*” (3 roods, 2 perches) and *Church* river-piece (3 roods, 26 perches), and these, from being *tithe free*, as well as from their names, must be considered to have been rectory land.

##### 5. *Falkes de Breauté.*

Falkes de Breauté,<sup>3</sup> the succeeding lord of the manor, if not for the prominent part which he took in the contest of the day, yet for the wrongs which he inflicted upon the church and people of Luton during his eight years' tenure of the manor, claims a notice

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* the abbot's mill-pool, with its adjoining pasture, attributed to them in 1198 and 1278, and Pondwich in 1538.

<sup>2</sup> As Falkes de Breauté was lord of the manor at this time (1216-1224) it is not likely that any exchange of land with him or with his consent took place. If any were made, the mention of it could hardly have been omitted by the historian when relating the outrage described in the next section.

<sup>3</sup> “Breauté is the name of a commune in the canton of Goderville, arrondissement of the Havre, department of La Seine Inférieure” (Blyth, *Hist. of Bedford*, p. 11).

here. Coming over from Normandy with King John in a humble capacity,<sup>1</sup> he soon raised himself by the zeal and talent he displayed in the king's service to be the military leader of his adherents, and "John repaid his services with lavish magnificence. Sherifdoms, wardships, castles were showered upon him,"<sup>2</sup> both by John and his successor. After the signing of the Great Charter at Runnymede, June 15th, 1215, he was employed by the king to collect mercenaries abroad, in order to defeat the carrying out of its provisions and to execute vengeance upon those who had enforced it.

His special connection with Bedfordshire commenced, it seems, in the following year. William de Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford, having placed his castle at Bedford in the hands of the insurgent barons, Falkes was sent to besiege it. Surrendering after a few days, it was granted to Falkes along with the Honor of Bedford. This gift led eventually to his downfall. It was in order to enlarge and fortify this castle that Falkes, with the sanction, if not at the command of the king,<sup>3</sup> pulled down the churches of S. Paul and S. Cuthbert.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Falkes is described by M. Paris as being illegitimate. Yet Ralph de Coggeshall relates that he brought over his family with him, and mention is made of at least three of his brothers, William, who was hanged at Bedford, Culmo or Colinus, who on paying a fine of eighty marks was pardoned, and Nicholas, in holy orders, who received gifts and presentations from King John, and finally, having taken the cross, went on pilgrimage in 1227 (*Close and Patent Rolls*). He had been instituted to Wilden in Bedfordshire in 1222, vacating it 1237. There was also one sister, Avicia, and apparently another brother, John, who received lands in Oxfordshire. The earliest mention of Falkes seems to be on Jan. 29th, 1207, where he is simply styled 'Fauk' (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 85b), as he is also constantly in the succeeding years, not appearing as "Falkes de Breauil" until 1213 (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, ii. 34, 35. The active part which Falkes took in public affairs during both the reigns, the number of the grants made to him and of the wrongs which he perpetrated, may be estimated in some measure by the fact that in three of the printed records of the period, the Charter, Close, and Patent Rolls, his name occurs upwards of one hundred times.

<sup>3</sup> In a charter of Henry III. granting the church of Tindeen to the monks of Newenham, who were the patrons of S. Paul's, for the loss they had sustained in that church, it is expressly mentioned that it was by the command of the king's father that Falkes had pulled down these churches (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*).

<sup>4</sup> R. de Coggeshall, p. 205: "Ecclesiam Sancti Pauli permaximam, quæ juxta castellum ab antiquo tempore sita erat, et ecclesiam Sancti Cuthberti, funditus evertit, atque de lapidibus ecclesiarum turres et muros et ante-muralia ædificavit." There is good reason to suppose that a certain figure, forming a corbel in

Up to his last hour John continued to heap favours upon him, and if there be no mistake in the date assigned to one of the cases, even on each of the two last days of his life he made him valuable grants.

On October 18th (1216) he gave, or rather confirmed, to him "*the Honor of Luton*."<sup>1</sup> This, strangely enough, considering that they were leaders of opposite parties, had been given by William Marshall to Falkes;<sup>2</sup> and yet, as if unwilling to acknowledge the friendly act, in King John's confirmation even William's former possession of it seems purposely ignored, and it is spoken of as merely having belonged to Baldwin, Earl of Albemarle, its previous owner. As the manor was held under the crown, the grant required John's consent and confirmation, and these were given on his deathbed.

On the following day—the very day of the king's death—he is said<sup>3</sup> to have executed on behalf of the same favourite what was, in that case, his last act of tyranny. Margaret de Redvers, the daughter and presumptive heiress of Warine Fitzgerald, had just become a widow by the death (Sept. 1st) of her husband, Baldwin,

Elstow church (described as that of a man issuing from the wall, and of which the shoulders and breast protrude, surrounded with foliage), was intended to represent this "arch-spoliator," Falkes de Breauté. It is recorded that the abess, on hearing of his sacrilegious conduct towards the church of S. Paul, took down the sword from the hand of S. Paul's image in her church, and did not replace it until retribution had fallen on the offender. There is a local tradition, also, that this figure represented a man that robbed the church; and it was a custom, as is well known, for both builders and workmen by these grotesque figures to satirize those who had rendered themselves obnoxious to them. (See papers by George Hurst of Bedford, *Historical Notice of Bedford Castle*, read at the annual meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, November 11th, 1851 (p. 386), and *On the Church and Conventual Establishment of Elstow*, read at a public meeting of the above society held at Elstow.

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 199b; *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Annal. Mon. (Chron. Duns.)*, iii. 92, an. 1225. In Henry's reign Falkes intrigued against both William and his father, the Regent.

<sup>3</sup> Blyth, p. 11. I have not been able to find the original authority for this date, but that the marriage was the gift of John, and that it took place within a few weeks either before or after his death, is clear from an entry in the Close Rolls, 1 Henry III., within less than a month after that event: "*Mandatum est vicecomiti Sumersete quod faciat habere Falkatio de Breauté plenarium saisinam de Manerio de Stokescurcy cum pertinentis quod contingit uxorem suam habet de dono patris domini Regis. Datum ut superius proximo, id est, (teste) Willelmo) Marescallo justiciario Anglie apud Bristolium XIII. die Novembris (1216).*"

son and heir of William, Earl of Devon and of the Isle of Wight, who, predeceasing his father only by thirteen days, had left their young child the inheritor of the two earldoms. Being a tenant of the crown, her subsequent marriage fell by feudal custom to the king's disposal; and John, though within less than two months of her widowhood, greatly against her inclination, without the consent of her father,<sup>1</sup> and in direct contravention of the provisions of the Great Charter just passed, gave her in marriage to that "impious, ignoble, and base-conditioned man" (M. Paris), Falkes. As a last mark of his confidence and favour to Falkes, John appointed him to be one of the executors of his will.

In Henry's court he was a chief counsellor, and his most active and capable military leader, distinguishing himself particularly at the battle of Lincoln, June 20th, 1217, which was won chiefly through his bravery, and wherein "the Marshal," Robert Fitzwalter, his opponent, was taken prisoner, and attaining to such eminence that he is described in the *Tewkesbury Annals* as, in 1219, "more than King of England" (*plusquam rex Angliæ*). Shortly before his disgrace he was sheriff of six counties. He had been made sheriff of Beds and Bucks by Henry on his accession to the throne, 1216.

In 1221 he appears to have completed the building of his castle at Luton, designed evidently to overawe and coerce the town, which is complained of even in the *Dunstable Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup> as, along with that which he erected at the same time at Eaton Bray, "doing great damage to Dunstable and the surrounding neighbourhood."

It is nowhere stated by any contemporary writer where the site of the castle was. But though an argument may be adduced from the modern name of a certain eminence that it was erected on what is now called "Castle Hill,"<sup>3</sup> yet from what is described

<sup>1</sup> On Falkes' disgrace she pleaded these circumstances and claimed a divorce, adding that she had been *made captive in the time of war* and married by compulsion (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*). She might therefore have been present with John at Newark at the time assigned. She got the divorce. The exact date of it is not given, but in the Fine Rolls, 11 March, 9 Hen. III., 1225, she is spoken of as *having been the wife* ("que fuit uxor") of Falkes, and is then put in possession of certain manors in the county of Devon which had been assigned in dower to her on her first marriage with Baldwin, son of the Earl of Devon (Blyth, pp. 16, 19).

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Dun.*, iii. 66, "Eodem anno (1221) apud Lutune et apud Eitone, castra ædificata sunt in grave periculum Dunstapliæ et vicinæ."

<sup>3</sup> App. AQ, *Site of Falkes' Castle*.

in the sequel as taking place soon after its erection, and from the evidence afforded in connection with different spots, it would seem there is much in support of Gough's conjecture that it was situated on the south-east side of the churchyard,<sup>1</sup> from which and from the vicarage ground it was, in that case, separated by a pool or moat, that was still in part existing in the early years of the present century.<sup>2</sup>

A wrong, connected, it seems, with this pool, and inflicted this time upon the Church, by Falkes is recorded by Matthew Paris.<sup>3</sup> The actual date is not given, but it must have taken place between the years 1221 and 1224.

On some occasion the water of Falkes' pool or moat having been wilfully made to flood the standing corn of the abbey, and the abbot (W. de Trumpington) complaining of the damage done thereby, the "iniquitous Falkes" is represented as returning the too characteristic answer that he "was only sorry that he had not waited until the yearly produce had been gathered into the *barn*, that the water might have destroyed it *completely*."

From this it may be inferred that some of the land of the abbey, whether in the hands of the abbot or in that of the vicar, and then under corn, lay between Falkes' moat and the river towards which the water must have run, or at least so nearly adjoin-

<sup>1</sup> Until a very short time ago there were the banks and moat of a square building on this spot, said by Gough (p. 48) to have been called in his time "the court close," i.e. "the manor court close," which is supposed by him to have been the probable site of Falkes' castle. Leland (c. 1540), without, unhappily, specifying its locality, says of the castle, "Part of the old place standeth yet," apparently referring to the same place as Gough. The site of Falkes' other castle, at Eaton Bray, was, according to the latter author, in his time very conspicuous, and was also on the south side of the church.

<sup>2</sup> In the terrier of 1707 the churchyard is described as "fenced by water in part," and the vicarage orchard is "fenced by mote of water." Two of the three small meadows abutting on this pool or moat are called in the tithe map of 1844, "Blackwater meadow" (No. 1083) and Pondwick meadow (No. 1092); and in a map of the vicarage ground, 1845, the churchyard and vicarage are depicted as separated from these meadows by a causeway called "Blackwater Lane," this latter itself being bounded by two ditches, one of them at least emptying itself into the river.

<sup>3</sup> "Iterum, cum de stagno suo, quod ad magnum detrimentum et damnum Domus levaverat apud Luitonam, conquæreretur Abbas, eo quod aqua superfluens segetes in proximo instante autumno esset absorbenda respondit iniquissimus Falco prænominatus, quod poenituit eum non expectasse donec omnia annona in horreo collocaretur, ut redundans unda omnia consumpsisset" (M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iii. p. 120).

ing the moat or its outlet as to be easily overflowed by its water. And also that a barn, belonging either to the abbot or to the vicar, was close enough to Falkes' moat as to be capable of being damaged by it. As the abbot, however, certainly had his own barn at the home farm of the rectory (at Dolowe?), this other barn in all probability belonged to the vicar, and in this case henceforth continued no doubt to be his *tithe* barn as well. And if the barn was his, then also the land upon which it stood was part, by this time, of the vicar's property.

It was while residing at Luton, presumably in this castle, that Falkes had the dream which led him to do a mock penance in S. Alban's abbey church for the wrongs he had inflicted upon the community there.

The following is Matthew Paris's<sup>1</sup> account of the dream and its results: "On a time being in bed . . . he dreamed that a stone of an extraordinary size, like a thunderbolt, burst out of the tower of the church of S. Albans, and falling upon him crushed him to pieces. Whereupon, starting out of his sleep, and with great amazement, trembling, his wife asked him what the matter was, and how he did? To whom he answered: 'I have in my time undergone many perils, but never was so much terrified as in this dream.' And having told her all particulars, she replied, that he had grievously offended S. Alban, by polluting that church with blood, and plundering the abbey; and therefore advised him, for preventing a more grievous revenge, to reconcile himself to that holy martyr. Wherefore, lodging then at *Luton*,<sup>2</sup> he forthwith arose, and went in the morning to S. Albans; and having sent for the abbot, fell upon his knees with tears, and holding up his hands, said, 'Lord, have mercy upon me, for I have grievously offended God and His blessed martyr, S. Alban; but to a sinner there is mercy. Let me therefore, by your leave, speak to your convent in chapter, to ask pardon of them in your presence for what I

<sup>1</sup> M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Chron. and Mem.), Luard., v. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously written "Lupton" in Burke's *Extinct Peerage* (p. 143), where the story is recounted. "Jacuerit enim apud Loitonum." Although in the index (vii. 392) "his dream at" is set down as taking place at "Luton," yet in the footnote to "Loitonum," in the text, Dr. Luard has placed "Leighton." This, however, has been wisely erased in the copy in the Brit. Mus., and "Luton" inserted in its place with pen and ink. There can be no doubt that M. Paris meant by Loitona, Luton. He was probably an eye-witness of Falkes' conduct at S. Albans, having made his profession as a monk there on January 21st, 1217.



have done.' Whereunto the abbot consented, admiring to see such lamblike humility in a wolf. Therefore, putting off his apparel, he entered the chapter-house, bearing a rod in his hand; and, confessing his fault (which he said he did in time of war), received a lash by every one of the monks upon his naked body; and when he had put on his clothes again, he went and sate by the abbot, and said, 'This my wife hath caused me to do for a dream; but if you require restitution for what I then took, I will not hearken to you.' And so he departed, the abbot and monks being glad that they were so rid of him, without doing them any more mischief."

"Presuming at length on the almost impregnable strength of his castle at Bedford, Falkes began<sup>1</sup> to set all law at defiance and to seize the estates and take away the goods of his weak neighbours;" though by no means confining his misdeeds to Bedfordshire. On June 9th, 1224, he was convicted at Dunstable by the king's justiciaries itinerant of no less than thirty-five acts of disseisin,<sup>2</sup> and fined by them £3,000. The chief sufferers on these occasions seem to have been the inhabitants of Luton, for M. Paris<sup>3</sup> tells us, under this same year, that, "besides appropriating to himself certain common pastures, he dispossessed thirty-two of his own freemen in the manor of Luton of their holdings." Retribution however was now near at hand. His unpatriotic position as being both an alien himself and the leader of the foreigners and mercenaries who had flooded the country, and, like Falkes, had been given the confiscated estates of the barons, his power and influence throughout every part of the country owing to the multitude of his castles and offices, together with his overbearing conduct and innumerable injustices, had made him many enemies. An occasion for reprisal being given, it was seized by his chief opponent, Hubert de Burgh,

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1221 he had to be called upon to make restitution of some of his unlawful seizures. Thus, in the Close Rolls, 6 Hen. III., he is ordered without delay to put the burgesses of Bedford in seisin of their lands, etc., in Bedford, of which he had dispossessed them for his own use (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 480). On January 15th, 1224, he was ordered to surrender the sheriffdoms of Beds, Bucks, Cambridge, and Herts (*Ibid.*, p. 581).

<sup>2</sup> Henry III. in a letter to the Pope only mentions sixteen (*Royal Letters*, i. 225. See, too, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i. 619, 655).

<sup>3</sup> "Possessiones liberorum hominum suorum et vicinorum injuste auferre non formidavit, praecepit xxxii liberos homines in manerio de Luituna sine judicio de suis tenementis disseissavit, et quasdam pasturas communes sibi appropriavit" (M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iii. p. 88, a. 1224).

the young king's guardian. "Falkes had entrusted the castle of Bedford to his brother William, who in the insolence of power, with the consent of Falkes, arrested and imprisoned" therein, with great severity, Henry de Braibroc, the principal judge who had fined him. "De Burgh, who was with the king at Northampton, immediately besieged Bedford." "The garrison refused to deliver the castle up to the king unless they had an order to that effect from their lord," who early in the siege had escaped to Wales.

The king soon joined in the siege, and the archbishop and bishops solemnly excommunicated Falkes and all who were in the castle. It was not, however, until August 14th, "after sixty days of the most obstinate defence against all the machinery which the art of war could then produce, and having the outer and second ramparts carried by assault, that they were induced to surrender," Falkes' wife and the other women being sent out and put under the protection of Hubert, and Henry de Braibroc released. The garrison, after being absolved from excommunication, were to the number of more than eighty hanged. "Falkes, hearing that the castle had been taken, came to the king at Bedford under the safe-conduct of the Bishop of Coventry, and falling at the king's feet, asked for mercy in consideration of his great services rendered to him and his father in the time of insurrection and war." His life was spared, and after relinquishing his castles, manors, lands, etc.,<sup>1</sup> and yielding up his immense treasures, in gold and silver vessels as well as in money, he was led to London, and consigned to the keeping of Eustace, Bishop of London. From thence he issued a letter, dated "the morrow of S. Bartholomew's day" (Aug. 25th, 1224),<sup>2</sup> pleading that the relinquishment of his castles and treasures might be a sufficient satisfaction for his misdeeds. It was not, it seems, until the following March that, being sen-

<sup>1</sup> Amongst the possessions of Falkes within the county, of which he was now deprived, are mentioned a mill in Bedford, which he rented from the Master of S. John's Hospital there (who held it of the Prior of Bermondsey), at 40s. per ann. Also 7 acres of land and 11s. 4d. rent in Bedford, which he had held of the Abbess of Alnestowe (Elstow), paying her one mark (13s. 4d.) annually. This the king orders the sheriff to pay her so long as they remain in the king's hand (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii. pp. 17, 10, a. 1225). The mention here of S. John's Hospital at Bedford is of considerable interest, confirmed as the fact of its existence is by an entry in Bishop Wells' *Lib. Antiq.* (1220-1235), and proving that there was an earlier hospital of the same name than that founded, according to Lysons, by Rob. de Parys in 1280.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 13 Hen. III., m. 17, in dorso, given in Blyth, p. 14.

tenced to abjure England for ever, he was conducted to the sea and left to the winds and waves. Crossing over into Normandy with only five attendants, he was captured by the King of France; but, being dismissed by him on account of his having taken the Cross, he proceeded, in company with Robert Passelewe, his clerk, a Bedfordshire man, to Rome, where he prevailed upon Honorius, the new pope, to write a letter of intercession to the king. This application was unsuccessful, but Falkes, turning his face homewards and still hoping to be received into favour, fell sick at S. Ciriac in Languedoc, and there in great poverty and distress died some time in the year 1226. He left a son behind him. His wife survived until Oct. 2nd, 1252 (*Chron. Duns.*).

"The importance of his position and the great constitutional significance of his humiliation" are adverted to by Bishop Stubbs,<sup>1</sup> who adds that "his fall effectually extinguished the influence of the foreigners who had been imported by John." So the wrongs endured by the people of Luton were the primary cause of Falkes' downfall, and in their result led to the pursuance, for a time, of a more national policy.

His oppressions, exactions, and other evil deeds come to light in the public records for many years after his banishment. One such instance connected with Luton is recorded.<sup>2</sup> He had seized 20s. of rent in "Lutton" from one W. Picot, which rent William was in the habit of receiving from his tenants for land in that ville. His men, however, now recovered this before the itinerant justices. The king accordingly, on 15th February, 1225, orders that Hugh, the son and heir of William, be put in possession of the 20s. rent.

On his banishment the manor of Luton, with its castle, lapsed into the king's hands.

#### 6. *William Marshall, 2nd Earl of Pembroke.*

Considering that William ("comes Mareschall, junior," as he is styled in Magna Carta, in the lifetime of his father) was as strenuous a supporter of the baronial cause as that elder nobleman was of the royal interests, and that he was constituted one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of the Great Charter (15th June, 1215), it is difficult to understand how, in the following year, he can have been led to make over the manor of Luton to

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, ii. 35, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii. 17.

Falkes, who, immediately after the Charter, had been appointed by King John to collect mercenaries for him. His wife, Alice, through whom he had acquired Luton, had, it seems, just died, bequeathing to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's, London, one hundred shillings yearly rent, issuing out of the manor of Luton, for the maintenance of two priests, celebrating divine service daily in that church for the health of her soul and that of her husband, and those of his ancestors and successors, and of all the faithful deceased (Steele's notes, taken at Luton, p. 26, ex Regist. (sc. A.), f. 23*a*, S. Pauli). If she were the daughter of Hawise, as well as of Baldwin de Bethune, she could only at her death have been twenty-one years of age at the utmost. On William's second marriage (12th April, 9 H. III., 1225, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii. 27), with Lady Alianora Plantagenet, the sister of the king, the manor of Luton having been forfeited by Falkes during the preceding year, was regranted to him,—now, through the death of his father, Earl of Pembroke. It was on this occasion, it seems, that he confirmed the bequest of his late wife Alice to S. Paul's, adding a "grant<sup>1</sup> of twenty shillings more of yearly rent, to be received out of his mill at Brach<sup>2</sup> ('the Breach'), for the health of the soul of her, the said Alice; one part whereof to be spent upon a lamp continually burning over her tomb, and the residue on the day of her anniversary."

In *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii., pp. 38 b. and 42, there are orders from the king to the Sheriff of Bedfordshire, dated 12th and 31st May, 1225, to "pay to Wm., Earl of Pembroke, 12 lbs. and 1 mark for the sale of wood (*bosc*) and arrears due to the manor of Luton," presumably whilst the king held it in his own hand after the forfeiture of Falkes, and also a mandate to the sheriff (4th May, 1225) to give to Magister John, the Archdeacon of Bedford, as a gift from the king, for firing, ten good beech trees<sup>3</sup> out of the wood of Luton ("x bonas fagos in bosco de Lutton ad arden<sup>o</sup> de dono dni R.").

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Hist. of S. Paul's Cathedral*, fol., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest mention of a mill at "the Brache" yet met with, and as it was in the possession of the lord of the manor and charged with an annual payment, it is not likely that it was this, but some other mill, which was possessed by Farley in 1291. Ric. de la *Brache* is mentioned a few years earlier, 1198-1200 (Hunter's *Fines*, p. 18).

<sup>3</sup> This probably is the earliest notice of the kind of trees of which the woods of Luton were composed. In 1544 we find mention of the oaks of Dolowe.

It would seem that immediately after this restoration and marriage, King Henry paid a visit himself to Luton. There is at least a "close letter"<sup>1</sup> signed by him, dated 12th November, 1225 (10 H. III.), "apud *Lymberg*," which the editor identifies with *Limbury*,<sup>2</sup> Bedfordshire.

This Earl of Pembroke distinguished himself greatly in the wars with the Welsh, defeating their Prince Llewellyn with great slaughter, and in 1230 he was captain-general of the king's forces in Brittany. He died the following year, leaving no children.

### 7. Lady Eleanor, Countess of Pembroke.

A charter of 14 Henry III., p. 1, m. 1, 1229-30, states that "the king had given to Wm. Marshall, called Earl Marshall, divers manors, and among them Luton and Tuddington,"<sup>3</sup> and in case Alianora his wife (sister to the king) should survive him, that she should enjoy them during her natural life." And in a close roll of the following year (15 H. III., m. 10), Richard Marshall, brother and successor of the late earl, who had just died (1231), directs a precept to the Sheriff of Bedfordshire to make livery to Eleanor, the widow of the late deceased earl, of the manors of Luton and Tuddington (Warburton and Pomfrett's Coll. for Beds., Lansd. MSS. 887, p. 66). Consequently we read in *Dunstable Chronicle*, "1233, we settled with the Countess of Pembroke about suit of court at Toddington and of Flitte Hundred. We have full liberty during her life, saving any person's rights after her decease. We had also full seizin in homages, demesnes, and services of all the lands of Wadelowe (in Toddington) and the service of one penny

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Litterarum Clausarum*, ii. p. 85, Index "Loc. quibus Litt. attestantur."

<sup>2</sup> Can it be that the old royal manor house of Lygeanburh was still in existence, occupying either of those sites in Limbury, surrounded by moats, one of which, a century later, was apparently the residence of the haughty knight, Philip de Limbury? Henry lodged at the priory of Dunstable in May, 1229 (*Chron. Duns.*).

<sup>3</sup> According to Lysons, however, Wm. Marshall had bought Toddington from the Bishop of Chalons, the heir of the last Earl of Perche, who died in 1216, but there seems to be some great mistake here. The earliest notice in the *Dunstable Chronicle* of W. Marshall's connection with Toddington is in 1225, the very year of his marriage with Eleanor, when the priory is said to have obtained by fine confirmation of lands in Chalton.

from the earl (Richard) for his messuage and houses there." It would appear that during the latter half of the seven years of this, her first widowhood, the countess had made a vow of chastity in the presence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (and therefore between 1234 and 1238), and several of the nobility. This, at the suit of Simon de Montfort, she was led to renounce, and receiving the king's sanction to the marriage, was united to him, 1238, by Walter, one of the royal chaplains, at Westminster, "within a little chapel, at the corner of the king's chamber."

In connection with this vow and marriage Newcome relates the following story (p. 161): "Wm. Gorham, the last of Gorham Bury, left a widow, Cecilia, of good family. This lady having been well educated was chosen in her younger days to the office of preceptress to Joane<sup>1</sup> (Alianora, Eleanor?), the sister of King Henry III., who became the wife and relict of W. Marshall the younger, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, and was married to the Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort. Cecilia, together with this Countess of Pembroke, being both widows, made a vow to continue in this widowed state, and together with the sponsal ring assumed that mournful garb then called 'russet,' from the colour and plainness. The countess, being wooed by the Earl of Leicester, applied to the Pope<sup>2</sup> to be absolved from her vow; which having obtained, she left her companion alone. Cecilia continued single, and on her deathbed the priest, who was Walter, Abbot of S. Martin's in London, spying a valuable ring on her finger, ordered the attendants to draw it off, as no longer necessary, and indeed superfluous to a dying person. Cecilia, though dying, recovered breath enough to say, 'No, good father! I will never quit this ring, either living or dead. I will carry this ring with me to the tribunal of God, as a pledge of the continence which I swore to my husband, and there demand the retribution which we covenanted; for, for his sake, I have refused many offers of high rank and great fortune.' Then

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. Joane was the eldest daughter of King John, being born in 1210, and married, at eleven years of age, to Alexander II. of Scotland. She died 1236. As Princess Eleanor was born in 1214, she also could only have been eleven years of age on her first marriage, and consequently only seventeen years when she first became a widow.

<sup>2</sup> There is a "Declaration to Eleanor, sister of the king, from Gregory IX., dated 10th May, 1238, that nothing is to be presumed against the marriage contracted between her and S. de Montfort, Earl of Leicester." The like was sent to the earl, and a copy also to Cardinal Otho, the papal legate (*Cal. of Papal Registers*, i., p. 172).

grasping the ring, she breathed her last." There was probably a good deal of difference in the age of the two ladies.

### 8. *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.*<sup>1</sup>

This, her second husband, one of the greatest soldiers and statesmen of his age, had six years previously obtained the restitution of the earldom of Leicester and the stewardship of England, forfeited by his father in the preceding reign. So strongly did public disapproval manifest itself against a marriage with a widow who had vowed herself to chastity, that the earl was obliged to repair to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a dispensation, which, with considerable difficulty, he at length accomplished. Though received for a while on his return with much favour at court, he soon had to leave the country and make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Henceforward, however, for a series of years he enjoyed the high favour of the king, meriting it by his eminent services. In 1248 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Gascony, and about this time obtained from the king a grant of the custody of Kenilworth Castle for Eleanor his wife, to hold during her life. The cloud, however, which had hung over his marriage had not yet passed away, and in fulfilment of a vow he had made as penance for it he once more undertook a journey to the Holy Land, returning in 1250. Upon the subsequent insurrection of the barons against the king, siding with the former he was appointed their general-in-chief, in which character he fought the great battle of Lewes, where the royal army sustained so signal a defeat, the king himself, with Prince Edward his son, and his brother Richard, King of the Romans, and many others, being made prisoners. This victory placing the government in the hands of the earl and his adherents, he and the Earl of Gloucester and others were nominated to discharge the executive functions. One of their earliest acts was to summon a parliament in the king's name, by writ dated 24th December, 1261, to meet in London, precepts being issued to the sheriffs to return two knights for each county, and to the cities and boroughs the like number of citizens and burgesses. This is deemed the first precedent of a parliament such as ever since has been established—the origin of our present House of Commons. The new government, however, did not long endure ; for, a breach

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Burke's *Extinct Peerage*.

taking place between the two chiefs, Leicester and Gloucester, their arms were directed against each other, and Prince Edward effecting his escape about the same time, the Earl of Gloucester reared the royal standard and formed a junction with the forces of the prince. With this army marching towards Kenilworth, they surprised the earl's son, Simon, and made prisoners of thirteen of his chief adherents, driving young Simon within the walls of the castle for protection. Elated with this triumph, they proceeded to Evesham, where the Earl of Leicester and his chief force lay expecting the arrival of his son. Displaying only the captured banners of Simon, they completely deceived his father. Undismayed, however, the earl drew out his army in order, and, fighting gallantly to the last, fell in the midst of his enemies when victory declared for the royal cause. His body was for a time buried in the Abbey of Evesham, but some monks alleging that dying excommunicated, and attainted of treason, his remains were unworthy of Christian burial, his corpse was taken up and interred in a remote place known but to few. Thus fell, on 4th August, 1265, Simon de Montfort, the champion of the national cause (which was espoused also by the great body of the clergy), "the defender of the clergy," a great friend of Bishop Grosseteste and a frequent guest at Dunstable Priory, of which fraternity he became a member in 1263.

On his death all his own property was confiscated, and, after a brave resistance by the countess, the castle of Kenilworth, granted to her for her life, surrendered, and was taken away from her.

Though the lord of the manor of Luton for twenty-seven years, there is not much recorded connecting him with the parish. One deed,<sup>1</sup> however, of his remains, dated at *Luton* on S. Martin's day (November 11), 1257, which shows his friendliness, and that of Eleanor his countess, to the church of Luton, and sheds a little light upon the mode of collecting tithes at Luton and in its neighbourhood. In it he directs that the tithes from his demesne within the parish should be paid without the expense of collecting it (*integre in metendo*), "as is the custom in the same parish and in the parishes adjoining." There is the notice, also, in *Testa de Nevill*,<sup>2</sup> under Toddington, "that he held that manor by right of his

<sup>1</sup> *Cotton MSS.*, Otho, D. iii., p. 110, Br. Mus.

<sup>2</sup> "Tutdingedon. Simo' de Mountford comes Leyc' tenz in dote ux̄is sue nec est de baronia Mar' nec solebat dare scutagiū nec mañliū de Luxton."



wife's dowry, and that it was no part of the barony of the Earl Marshall (William, her former husband), nor was he accustomed to pay scutage for it, nor for the manor of Luxton (Luton)."

Of his widow Eleanor, it is stated that, after the fatal battle of Evesham and the loss of Kenilworth Castle, she fled into France, and took up her abode in the nunnery of the order of Preachers at Montargis, which had been founded by her husband's sister, where she died in 1274. They had had four sons and one daughter, Eleanor, married to Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, in 1277.

There are a few allusions to her connection with Luton and Toddington during her second widowhood—these manors reverting to her as part of her dowry. In the *Hundred Rolls*,<sup>1</sup> "The jury of the borough say that King Henry, the father of the present king, gave the manor of Luton with the hundred of Flitte to William, Earl Marshall, with Eleanor, his sister, in marriage, which said Eleanor now holds it in capite of the king, saving to the king for the said hundred 60s. per ann. They say also that the said Eleanor claims to have assize of bread and beer annexed by ancient custom to the manor of Luton." In another place it is stated that the hundred of Flitte is pertinent to the manor of *Buton* (Luton), and that Eleanor pays the 60s. as *hidage*.<sup>2</sup>

### 9. *An Early-English Church.*

One of the happy results of the appointment of a resident perpetual vicar<sup>3</sup> seems to have been a renewed activity in enlarging, or, it may be, merely in completing the design of Earl Robert's church, in the new and more graceful style just then developing, called "Early English," or "First Pointed." Few relics, however, even of this church remain, but, in conjunction with the previously

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Hund.*, 2 Ed. I., p. 4, "Jur' illius burgi ̄nt qđ dñs H. Rex pa<sup>l</sup> dñi R. nūc dedit ma<sup>l</sup>iū de Luton cū hundrō de Flitte Wi<sup>l</sup>lmo com' Marescallo cū Alienora sorore ejus in maritag' que dicta Alienora nūc tenet de Rege in capite, sal<sup>v</sup>' dñō Regi de dēo hundrō lxx sot p annū. . . Dñt qđ p<sup>l</sup>ca Alienora clam' h<sup>l</sup>re returnū bris et assis' pan' et ēvisie p<sup>l</sup>a de nameo vetito ad ma<sup>l</sup>iū de Luton."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "To the system which provided a permanent resident priest in every parish, and removed those hirelings who had so long discredited the work of the ministry in the eyes of the people, must be attributed, *far more than to any other cause*, the fresh outburst of church-building zeal which distinguishes the thirteenth century" (Dioc. Hist. *Canterbury*, p. 162).

mentioned Transition arch and adjacent wall on the south side, they are enough to show, from the positions which they occupy, the form and probable extent of that early church. Its "original plan," says Mr. A. Street, the architect, "embraced in all probability the nave, aisles, transepts and chancel, of the same dimensions as the existing ones."<sup>1</sup>

As Mr. Street seems not to have been aware of the existence of any previous (Norman) church, or at least not to have taken it into consideration, he naturally speaks of this early English church as an entirely new and complete one, and as if it occupied the whole area of the present church. But there is no reason to suppose that the Transition south arcade and aisle, or even the western wall of the south transept, were replaced by early English work, though it is extremely probable from many details in the present structure that the then *eastern* wall of that (Transition) transept was either converted into an Early-English arcade, or entirely taken down and an Early-English arcade with an eastern aisle erected somewhat more easterly than before, on the site of the present arcade, to correspond with those in the north transept.

One arch<sup>2</sup> leading from the transept into the north aisle, with the adjoining walls of both transept and aisle, and also whatever still remains of the north wall, with a small portion of the eastern end of the south wall, of the chancel, seem to be almost all that can at present be clearly claimed as belonging to it. But as the east wall of the chancel when lately taken down was found to be chiefly Early-English work, with a triple-lancet window, it is not unlikely that vestiges of the same period are contained in some of the other walls. The said remaining arch, however, with the walls

<sup>1</sup> Though the population of most parishes was much smaller in earlier than in later times, yet the churches were almost invariably comparatively larger. This was partly for the convenience of the frequent processions which took place in them, and partly from the custom of screening off portions of the various aisles, chiefly those on the south side, for special altars or family chantries, though at times the latter formed external additions to the church. The chancels were also made large enough to receive the numerous clergy usually then employed, as well as, in later times, certain members of the guilds to whom special religious duties were assigned.

<sup>2</sup> "The little arch at the east end of the north aisle of the nave is carried by detached shafts, which have pleasing carved capitals and bases, with water-bearing hollows, *of the first quarter of the thirteenth century*" (S. Flint-Clarkson, 1884).

just mentioned, may accordingly be looked upon with more than ordinary interest, as being, along with the still older fellow-arch of the south aisle and its adjoining wall, the earliest parts of the existing church, connecting the worshippers of six hundred years ago with those who assemble there to-day; having themselves weathered through some twenty generations, not merely natural decay and careless neglect, but also the close neighbourhood of a destructive conflagration, as well as many attempts at wilful injury; not to speak of that which mere change of fashion in architecture often effected. And if the existing arch is a fair specimen of what the rest of the church was, the inhabitants of Luton in the thirteenth century can have had no reason to be ashamed of their church. Spires have been too rare in South Bedfordshire to afford safe ground for conjecture that there was one at Luton, nor is there the slightest indication of an Early-English tower which such a spire would have needed. Though, as might be expected, there is no record of those who took any part in its rebuilding, it does not seem at all improbable that both Earl William of Pembroke and one, if not both, of his wives contributed their help; whilst the vicar, being a native of the town of S. Albans, with the model before him of its abbey and the example of the contemporary abbot (William de Trumpington, 1214-1235), may have been the moving spirit of its restoration. It is not improbable, also, that the latter was, like so many of his profession, a member of the craft of "free-masons," and so capable of being both the furnisher of its design and "the master of the works." During his incumbency, or that of his successor, the chancel also was probably rebuilt and elongated by the above abbot, who renewed and beautified so much of his own abbey, and of whom it is particularly recorded by M. Paris that he introduced therein "stone framework (mullions?) and glass windows." It was his triple-lancet window probably that was brought to light in taking down the east wall of the chancel in 1866.

10. *Adam de Biscot, the second vicar, becomes a Preaching Friar.*

The continuation or completion of the work of enlarging and beautifying the church was probably carried on by the succeeding vicar, a native of the parish, ADAM OF BISCOT (1226-1247), evidently an earnest and energetic pastor. After twenty-one years

at Luton, he entered <sup>1</sup> into the order of Friar Preachers, or Black Friars (Dominicans), then lately (1219) admitted into England and patronized by Archbishop Langton, and who a few years after this (1259), much to the annoyance of the regular monks there, founded a House at Dunstable. As, however, they invariably settled <sup>2</sup> in towns and not in villages, they probably never established themselves at Luton. On joining their order, Adam was vowed, not merely to perpetual poverty and mendicancy, but also to controversial disputation and preaching.

### 11. *Rural Deaneries.*

In 1228 died, according to both the *Dunstable Chronicle* and the *Dunstable Chartulary*, "Nicholas, *Dean of Luton*." This title, as, under the circumstances, it can seemingly only mean *rural dean*, suggests the question whether at this period Luton did not give its name to the rural deanery in which it is situated. If this be so, the above is, apparently, the only known allusion to the fact. As, however, in 1291, when we first get a complete series of the deaneries of the county with names attached to them, Luton certainly formed part of the rural deanery of *Dunstable*, it might be thought that the expression only meant that Nicholas was rural dean of Dunstable, though from residing at Luton he came to be called "Dean of Luton." This would seem to be the explanation of the title "Dean of Westoning" (a parish formerly within the deanery of Flitte), when, according to the same chartulary, Pope Gregory ordered that official on a special occasion to supply the place of "the Dean of Bedford."

Yet if it is the fact, as it seems to be,<sup>3</sup> that the archdeaconry of

<sup>1</sup> Adam, probably in a measure under the influence of Bishop Grosseteste, seems to have led the way in this part of the diocese in leaving his cure and attaching himself to some religious order. His example was followed in each of the four succeeding years by a Bedfordshire incumbent: in 1248 by the vicar of Caddington, on one side of Luton, and in 1249 by the vicar of Streatley, on the other; in 1250 by the rector of Astwick, and in 1251 by the rector of Turvey, all of whom are described in the *Book of Institutions* as causing vacancies by their "ingress into religion."

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the dissolution of religious houses in the sixteenth century there were, according to Speed's *Chronicle*, only three friaries in the county, two at Dunstable and one at Bedford. They are thus described by Speed: "friory or Brotherhood in Dunstable valued at £9 8s. 7d., friory or Howse of fryers in Dunstable £4 18s. 4d., friory in Bedford £5."

<sup>3</sup> App. AR, *Rural Deaneries*.

Bedford was divided into deaneries before the close of the eleventh century, then the original name of the deanery could not have been that of Dunstable, as that town was not in existence until at least the middle of the reign of Henry I.

The natural name for it to receive, on its creation—as in the case of the other deaneries—was that of the chief town in the district, and there can be no doubt that Luton occupied that position up to the reign of Henry I., Leighton alone having any claim to compete with it. It would seem then very probable that the title of Dean of Luton was rightfully given to Nicholas, a title which by this time it is likely had been borne by various individuals for a hundred and twenty years. Owing to the erection first of the palace by Henry I., and subsequently of the priory, with its frequent reception of royalty, the nobility, and hierarchy, and also from its position on the Watling Street, Dunstable was, no doubt, by degrees throwing Luton into the shade. Whether it was at the express desire of Henry III., or simply on the motion of the Bishop of Lincoln for the convenience of holding visitations and such like, the change of the title seems to have been made during that king's reign. The year after Nicholas' death (1229) the entry occurs in the chronicle, relating events at Dunstable, "the townspeople pounded the prior's horses, which the provosts, *neighbouring* chaplains and *the dean himself* could scarcely get released." This, though not implying that the new dean had either become resident there or taken his title from the town, yet proves that the office was at once filled and the succession kept up. But that the change was made, if change there were, before 1272, is clear from another entry of that date, where the writer says, "we paid for our 4 (3?) churches in the *deanery of Dunstable* 26s. and for the 4 (5?) in *Flittle* 14s. 8d." The change, if made at all, must have been effected by either Bishop Grosseteste or Bishop Gravesend.

Under some circumstances, there having been, as far as is known, no rural deanery of Luton, the title "dean" might have suggested that there was at that time a college, or body of clergy, at Luton, of which John was the dean or head, such colleges, with deans presiding over them, being abundant throughout the kingdom, as, *e.g.*, the dean of S. Martin's, London, the dean of Berkhamstead, etc.; but the facts that there was a vicar at Luton at this time, that no hint whatever occurs of the existence of such an institution as a college there, and that no foundation or endowment of such appears anywhere, seem conclusive against the suppo-

sition. And still less likely is it that there was such a college at Westoning. Nor can either Luton or Westoning have been *peculiars* of the Archbishop of Canterbury and so have given the title of dean to their officials.

There are no means, it seems, of identifying "Nicholas, dean of Luton."

The existence and organization of rural deaneries, throughout the diocese of Lincoln at this period, is clearly proved; and the exercise of the office of rural dean, at least in the archdeaconry of Bedford, seems to have been in the fullest activity during the whole of this thirteenth century. Intimations of this, chiefly in the *Dunstable Chronicle*, are probably more frequent than are to be found in any other county. Bishop Wells, in his *Liber Antiquus*, ranged the vicarages he ordained, as early as 1220, if not earlier, under the same rural deaneries, though the names do not seem to be attached to them, as are found in 1291, and were existing until a few years ago. According to Archdeacon Perry it was the ruri-decanal chapter that adjudicated on the value of the rectories and the competent portion to be assigned to the vicarage, both in Bishop Wells' time and afterwards. In 1229, as we have seen, there was a succession of deans, the latter intervening in matters connected with Dunstable Priory; and it is added in the chronicle, "the Bishop of Lincoln caused the offenders to be excommunicated in the neighbouring town and deaneries" (the dean being the person whose office it was to pronounce the excommunication). Besides Nicholas, dean of Luton in 1228, we read of Gilbert de Tingrith in 1255 being styled "decanus," probably being dean of Flitte (*Chron. Duns.*). Bishop Grosseteste describes himself at his first visitation, 1238, as going round through the several rural deaneries causing the clergy of each to be called together on a certain day and place, and preaching to them (Perry, p. 86). Some even of the proceedings of the chapter of Flitte rural deanery, held at Flitwick, 11th February, 1283, are recorded in the *Dunstable Chronicle*, two of its recalcitrant vicars being there brought to submission, and accordingly paying their dues to Dunstable Priory. In 1291 (*Tax. P. Nich. IV.*) we have a complete list of all the rural deaneries of the kingdom and of the several parish churches comprised in each, with their separate values, gross and net, the total amount of the value of the churches of each deanery, and that of the tax, of a tenth; these, together with the tax itself, collected by the deans, being returned

by them to the bishop. Even the temporalities of all the religious communities are therein arranged under deaneries.

12. *Bishop Grosseteste* (1235-1253).

In 1238 Robert Grosseteste, the learned and conscientious bishop of the diocese—at this early period of his episcopate a staunch defender of the Pope, but later an equally stout resister of his exactions, even to his face—having succeeded Bishop Wells three years previously, made a visitation of the diocese, holding chapters in the several deaneries, preaching, promulgating constitutions, dedicating churches and monasteries, and deposing many rectors and vicars for various neglects and offences. Whether among the churches so consecrated, Luton or any part of it was then dedicated, there is no means of knowing, but the visit of a bishop of such an extensive diocese as Lincoln to a part of the country so distant from the cathedral, must have been so infrequent that one is tempted to conjecture that if at this time any definite portion of the Early-English church was completed, advantage would have been taken of the presence of the bishop in the neighbourhood to dedicate it. Grosseteste was a great supporter for a time of the White Friars, or Franciscans, employing them in preaching throughout the diocese in order to supplement the deficient zeal of his clergy.

It was about this period that the claims and exactions of the pope on the Church of England rose to their height, and at last roused the spirit of both nobles and clergy, and even for a time of King Henry III., to make some resistance. "In 1226 Pope Honorius demanded two prebends from every cathedral and collegiate church, and a similarly exorbitant contribution from every monastery and convent throughout the country, viz., one church of forty marks, for his own and his successors' patronage" (Hole, pp. 158, 159), an extortion indignantly resisted and rejected. In 1229 Gregory IX., under threat of excommunication, demanded the payment of tenths, a demand to which the bishops felt compelled to yield, but to comply with which they had to sell or pawn the church plate. He claimed also the right of setting aside the patronage both of bishops and lay patrons, and in 1240, through his legate, Cardinal Otho, forbade the king to bestow any Church preferments on the English clergy until three hundred Roman clergy had been provided for. The succeeding pope,

Innocent I., in 1244 sent into England another nuncio, "Master Martin," one more intolerable than any who had come before. This led to the assembling of a great number of barons and knights at *Luton* and *Dunstable*, for the avowed purpose of holding a tournament, but in reality to oppose the extortions of the pope.<sup>1</sup> The tournament was forbidden by the king, but they did not separate until they had sent a peremptory order to the nuncio by Fulk Fitzwarren that he should instantly leave the country (before 30th June), or he would "be cut in pieces"—an order which, as it was supported by the king, who was disgusted with the "execrable extortions" of the pope, the nuncio was obliged to obey.

Eleven years after his first visitation at *Dunstable* Bishop Grosse-teste held another there, on S. James's day, July 25, 1249, and was there again in July, 1251. One would fain think that on one or other of these occasions, which would be while Geoffrey was vicar, he preached at *Luton*, the great market-town of the neighbourhood, whose parish church, only four or five miles distant, can have had no rival in Bedfordshire south of the Ouse, unless it were that of *Leighton*. At *Dunstable* the canons found it hard to persuade him to allow them to continue farming, as they were in the habit of doing, churches not in their own possession, such as *Lidlington*, *Millbrook*, *Amphill*, *Clophill*, etc., besides those of which they themselves held the rectory, as *Harlington*, *Pulloxhill*, *Totternhoe*, *Flitwick*, *Segenhoe* (*Ridgemount*), *Husborn Crawley*, *Chalgrave*, *Studham*, etc.

It was during this last visitation (1251) that the bishops of London, Salisbury, and Norwich joined him at *Dunstable*, when they drew up a document against the claim of Archbishop Boniface of Canterbury to exact procurations throughout his province, each bishop undertaking to move his clergy to contribute (two pence for every mark of income) towards the expense of the suit before the pope. The latter's decision, obtained at the cost of 4000 marks, was of much moment to the clergy both of that and of succeeding ages; its substance being, that inasmuch as the province of Canterbury has abundance of prelates who are diligent

<sup>1</sup> Two years afterwards another tournament between two nobles, Richard, Earl of Gloucester, and Guido, son of the Earl of March, was to have been held *between Dunstable and Luton* (*feriendum inter Dunstaplum et Loitoinam*), but this was also forbidden by King Henry. Was the flat plain of *Dolowe* the scene of the intended tournaments?



in attending to their duties, the parish churches of the several dioceses do not require a metropolitan visitation, and are therefore to be exempted and excused from procurations and from appearing before the archbishop. He was merely allowed to visit the officers of the diocese and the heads of conventual establishments. At the same time the decree of the Lateran Council is quoted, which limits the retinue of a bishop's visitation to twenty or thirty horsemen, that of an archdeacon to five or seven, that of a rural dean to two; and none of them are to take their hounds or hawks with them or to indulge in sumptuous repasts at visitations. These burdens upon the clergy, of entertainment, seem to have been immediately after this commuted into cash payments, the bishop receiving 30s. and the archdeacon 7s. 3½*d.* For this moderating of fees and relief to monasteries and rectors (for where there was a vicarage established the monastery which possessed the rectory generally entertained the archdeacon), the priory of Dunstable, and apparently all the clergy, gave a present of a twentieth to the pope.

## CHAPTER VII.

LATE PLANTAGENET TIMES (A.D. 1272-1399).

EDWARD I.—EDWARD II.—EDWARD III.—RICHARD II.

1. *The Manor of Dolowe.*

MANY notices of events at Luton are to be met with in the chronicles of the abbey and elsewhere during the latter part of this thirteenth, and in the following century, which, though in general relating to matters of very trifling importance in themselves, even at the time of their occurrence, yet help to throw light upon the extent of the abbey's property there, and to establish the fact, maintained in various parts of this work, that the *rectory lands*, after Biscot had been parted with, formed the nucleus of their one considerable manor in the parish, and consequently that they were in great measure identical with *Dolowe Manor*.

There is, *e.g.*, the document, lately referred to (*Cotton MSS.*, Otho, D. iii., f. 112, col. 2), though of a little earlier date (December 13th, 1258) than the reign of Edward I., which, if it were more legible in certain places, would be of considerably greater interest than it is at present, but which furnishes us with some facts of importance in connection with this subject. It is a deed of renunciation on the part of Godfrey of Biscot and twelve others of the same hamlet of certain claims. Recounting that they had inspected the deed made in the court of King John between Robert Fitzwalter and John, Abbot of S. Albans, on the occasion of what they call "the partition of the hamlet of Biscot," and acknowledging that since that time they had unjustly and to the prejudice of the liberty of S. Albans neglected to attend view of frankpledge held annually *at Dolowe*, they agree for the past "unjust detention" of sundry dues and services to give the abbot forty shillings.

The first point of interest in this deed is the light which it throws upon the number of the tenants at Biscot which remained to the abbey after they had parted with the manor there.

Thirteen persons, presumably heads of families, are here mentioned as being defaulters; it is possible that there were others also, who did not side with these.

Then the facts connected with the deed, that it was executed at Dolowe, and that one of the witnesses was "brother John, *custos of Dolowe*," together with the statement therein that the view of frank-pledge (*i.e.*, the manor court, or court leet) for the tenants of Biscot was held at Dolowe, and not in Biscot itself or in the town of Luton, are of some significance. For this is the earliest occasion on which the name *Dolowe*, here repeated three times, occurs. They supply also strong evidence in favour of Dolowe not only being a manor with its court, but also of its including at this time, as we know from the Dolowe Court Roll of 1454-57 that it did later on, the remnant of the abbey's property in Biscot; and further, that the name by which the abbey's manor and chief possession at Luton was known at this period was that which we find definitely attached to it about thirty years later, *viz.*, that of "Dolowe." From them we also learn that the abbey had not yet begun to let out to farm the demesne or manor farm of Dolowe, but held it still in its own hands under the care and superintendence of "brother John."

Again, in a transaction recorded in connection with Abbot Norton in 1272,<sup>1</sup> the name of a place occurs which seems to show that at that period the land of the abbey extended beyond the bounds of the present Dallow manor, and that this manor, or at least the abbey's estate at Luton, then included the lands

<sup>1</sup> In the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 478, this seems referred to the year 1278, but according to the copy of the original deed in Otho, D. iii., p. 112, it took place on the vigil of S. Martin, 1272. And that this is the right date is proved by the fact that an enlargement of this quit-claim, which was virtually a *confirmation* of it, was made March 5, Edward I. (1277), by Petronilla, late wife of Roger, "de demanda terrarum et tenementium que fuerunt predicti Rogeri, viri sui, ratione dotis sibi contingente." A further confirmation of a quit-claim "of a certain exaction of a pathway and common pasture in the wood of Badesho in Layton" was made by Alex. de Eydene, probably their son and heir, on S. Martin's day, 12 Edward II. (1318), (*ibid.* p. 110). The two former of the documents are dated at Luyton; the second of them (1277) having for witnesses Alan de Bregghelanger (Bramblehanger), Philip de Ho, Wm. de Bolun, clerk, Reginald de Dolowe (evidently one of the abbot's men there), Geoffrey de Hospitalis, and R. Smyth. The *Gesta Abb.* has merely this short account of the earlier transaction, "Item quietam clamationem Rogeri de Eydone de Semita et communia pasturæ in Bosco de Badesho in Lutone. Item quietam clamationem Johannis Lowys de eodem."

which lie between that manor and Caddington, immediately adjoining Farley, and now included in the Luton township, viz., those Chaulend fields and woods belonging to Mr. Crawley (161 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches) which are in the parish of Luton. For "the abbot ever seeking to improve *the estate of the abbey*" (says Newcome), "rids it of a claim which a certain Roger de Eydone and another made to a pathway and *common pasturage* in the copse (bosco) of Badesho (also written Baddesho) in Luton." If this Badesho be the same as Bagdell or Badgerdell wood of the present day (and there is no other place in the district whose name, especially when connected with a copse, can compete with it), then that wood at least must, from the above statement, have belonged to the abbey at that period, and, by inference, also, in all probability, the adjoining land, and, especially, that intervening between the wood and the acknowledged Dolowe land. That the pasture belonged to the abbey is confirmed by Eydon's widow resigning to the abbey her dower, which was settled upon it, as well as by the action of the heir.

The very claim of Roger and the other (John Lowis) to common pasturage must, it would seem, have been based upon their having been originally villeins of the manor—tenants upon the estate ; unless, indeed, they had, as in the other case of Lowis, mentioned presently, a special grant from the abbey, of which, however, in this case *alone* there is no mention. Yet they were evidently at this time not *customary* tenants, for in that case there could be no reason for depriving them of their customary rights, and, as they were only yearly tenants, they could have been dispossessed without compensation. It would appear, therefore, that they must have been *free* tenants holding under the abbey ; and, both from the abbot wishing to free the estate from their claims, and from their being able to benefit by a pathway through the wood and by the common pasture in its clearings, it would seem most probable that their holdings were in the immediate vicinity of the wood. Had they lately purchased part of Chaul End or Inion's Farm from some preceding abbot, or had this been granted to them, and had they become free tenants thereon, retaining their original right of way and pasture in the woods of the manor, which, as they were now more or less independent of the abbey, the abbot wished to put an end to ?

A few years later an application<sup>1</sup> was made to the same abbot

<sup>1</sup> *Cotton MSS.*, Otho, D. iii.

by the aforesaid John Lowis of Luton, for "the common of the herbage in the millpool of the abbot at Luton" ("in stagno abbatis juxta molendinum de Luton"), but this being made at the time when the fields next the pool were under grain the application was rejected. A fresh request, however, being preferred later on, the abbot granted<sup>1</sup> to the said John and others that they might enter the said pool for the herbage, "when other pools of the ville are pastured." This deed was signed and sealed at S. Albans on S. Basil's day (June 14th), 1280, Geoffrey de Hospitali being again one of the witnesses. From this deed it is clear that the abbot had a millpond, and land immediately contiguous to it; and that the mill upon the river—for there alone in the parish a water-mill could be—was his also is proved by the fact of a succeeding abbot in 1333 repairing it.<sup>2</sup>

But the only land which the abbey is credited with upon the river's side, besides the vicarage grounds on one side and the small field of Pondwick (1 acre, 1 rood, 37 perches) on the other, is that which at various times was appropriately named, from the above facts, "Abbot's Pool," "Abbot's Millpool," "Abbot's," "Berrymead," "Berry Mill Mead," "Bury Milleponde," and, in still later times (1598, 1605), "Dollow, alias Dallow Mead," or "Dallow-closes" (which latter name included perhaps a small close on the west of the stream). Here then, doubtless, was the abbey's mill.

<sup>1</sup> The account given in *Gesta Abbat.*, i. 477, hardly tallies with this, and from its being entered there *before* the transaction just related, the event therein recorded would seem, in the estimation of the chronicler, to have preceded that other. It is there simply given as "Item, obtinuit scriptum Johannis Lowis de Lutona, super injusta petitione dicti Johannis, communiæ herbagii in stagno domini abbatis, juxta molendinum apud Lutone." To which is affixed by the editor (Luard) the marginal note, "Surrender of claim of common at Lutone." Newcome, accordingly (*Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 190), interprets the deed as attributing to Abbot Norton the "purchasing back from J. Lowis a written grant which the latter had obtained by much solicitation for leave of common pasture in the abbot's pool at Luton." If the date seemingly assigned to it in the *Gesta* be correct, the inference is that the transaction alluded to there was totally distinct from the above application, and that J. Lowis, although compensated for any claim he had, persisted in an endeavour to recover the common pasture until he succeeded. But the above account in the MS. appears to supply the very writing obtained by persistent solicitation, accompanied as it appears to have been with undue (injusta) pressure of some sort, and therefore the entry in the *Gesta* is probably merely misplaced, and the date of it subsequent even to 1280.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Abb.*, ii. 280.

That the *rectory* property, however, included a *mill* is certain from the account in *Domesday*, and as this mill was granted to the abbey along with the rest of the rectory, and was in their possession, as we have seen (Chapter V.) some fifty years later (1195-1212), whilst a century or so yet later (1291 and 1340), the period under present consideration, the *rectory*, still certainly in their hands, is again credited with a mill (*Non. Inq.*), the almost necessary inference<sup>1</sup> is, that this mill of theirs at the Abbot's Pool was that which they found upon the rectory land. And, further, as the land adjoining the mill is found, when its latest name came to be attached to it, to be called by that of "*Dallow*," and also to have formed part of *the manor of Dallow* (as it did at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries), there is little room to doubt that *the rest of that same manor* represented some other and larger portion of the same rectory lands. In fact, that, whilst that which in the sixteenth century was called "the Dallow Manor Farm," or "the site of the manor," had been from time immemorial the demesne of the rectory, the original rectory land of five hides was the nucleus of the early "Dolowe Manor."

Again, "at the commencement of the reign of Edward I. (1272) every tenant who possessed freehold land of inheritance" (as the abbot of S. Albans did in the case both of the rectory lands at Luton and of that which he still retained in Biscot) "could convert his property into a *manor*, with manor courts, profits and immunities, by granting or selling a portion of it to two or three individuals to be held by them and their heirs for ever, under fee or military service." The abuses consequent upon this liberty, and the losses entailed thereby upon the crown and chief feudal lords, caused the statute of Gloucester (6 Ed. I.) to be passed, which required all who claimed to possess manors to show their titles to the same. Accordingly,<sup>2</sup> in 15 Ed. I., 1286-7, the abbot of S. Albans is called upon to prove his claim to *manorial rights* in Luton and elsewhere.

It is curious, in connection with what has just been said about

<sup>1</sup> It is nowhere even hinted that the abbey had two mills at Luton.

<sup>2</sup> "Abbas de Scō Albano sum' fuit ad respondē dñfo Regi de pñto quo wañro clam' hñre visum franci pñg, feriā et weif in *Luton*, et catalla felonā etc. Et Abbas p attorn' ven' et dicit qđ hñet in quodam hameletto quod vocatur *Bishopescote* sex decennar' qui veniūt ad visum suū de Luton, et dic' qđ clam' hñre pñcum visum de omñibz tenentibz suis immediatis in pñcis viñt bis p annū et sine batfo Regis et nichil dat Regi p visu illo hñendo" (*Plac. g. w.*, p. 7).

Dolowe, that on this occasion there is no inquiry about manorial rights in Dolowe, nor indeed any mention whatever of that name, but only of the hamlet of Biscot. It may be that no question or doubt arose about Dolowe having been from time immemorial an acknowledged manor (probably under the title of "the manor of the rectory"); whereas, as the abbey had parted with the *manor* of Biscot, yet the abbot was, as has just been seen, exercising view of frank-pledge and other manorial rights over sundry inhabitants of that hamlet, and claimed the right of doing so there and elsewhere in Luton, it was natural to challenge his claim and to inquire among other matters if he still had a sufficient number of tenants to attend his court (wherever that were held and however designated), without which his manorial rights would cease. The abbot answers that he has *six* decenniers<sup>1</sup> in *Bishopscote*, i.e., some sixty male adults who attended his view of frank-pledge ("de Luton," in the parish of Luton), without stating more particularly where that was held, or with what manor it was connected, free warren (or the right of pursuing game), "in his demesne lands" (with no notice, however, of where these lay), and a fair<sup>2</sup> in the town of Luton. Although Dolowe is not here named, yet there is nothing inconsistent in what is here stated with the theory that Biscot was at that time—as it is found later on—joined to Dolowe manor. And if by "the demesne lands" the abbot referred to those of the *rectory*, which seems to be the case—for we know that he possessed these, and do not hear of any other demesne, for the manor of Biscot<sup>3</sup> being parted with, the demesne there was also parted with—then, as free warrenry implied a manor, this was a claim on his part to possess a manor, wherever the demesne and site of the rectory lands were. *This* claim of the abbot to free warrenry seems to have been allowed to pass on this occasion, though it was called in question later on (1330).

Three or four years later on (1290) the king's escheator is said<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Decennier," "decumen," "tything men," "a division of ten men," required by the system of frank-pledge. There were, therefore, six knots of freemen, each knot consisting of ten men or youths from twelve years of age, who were answerable for each of its members; the number here given agreeing well with that mentioned in the preceding document, allowing from four to five for each family.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* note (1), chap. v., p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that whereas in *Plac. q. war.* Dolowe is constantly spoken of as a manor, Biscot is never once so described, but only as a hamlet.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Abbatum*, ii. 5.

by one of the historians of the abbey to have "seized and sold the tithes of the *church of Dolowe* collected and stored in the barns."

As there never was a "church of Dolowe" there could be no tithes belonging to that church. But the mention of the name Dolowe, however misapplied here as the name of a church, is of much interest, this being the first occasion of its being definitely and unmistakably attached to the *property* of the abbey, though the connection was at least once (1258) almost necessarily implied. In the taxation of the very next year it is found for the first time to be the name of the abbey's *manor* at Luton—the *only* manor—and indeed the only land except that which is evidently included in the expression of "members" of this manor—*there accredited to them*.

In the above account the historian has clearly made a confusion between two things which were not unnaturally nearly identified in his mind, viz., the *parish*, whose tithes the abbey received as rector, and the property or *manor* therein belonging to his abbey (the most important part of it, no doubt, from his point of view), where, in its barns, the tithes of the parish were evidently stored. And so the true interpretation of the actual facts of the case, and the real meaning designed to be conveyed by the writer, if not that of his very words, in all probability is that the "tithes of the church of *Luton* which were stored in the barns of *Dolowe*" were seized. Yet the very expression "the church of Dolowe" seems to suggest that this name was so intimately connected in the historian's mind, not so much with the parish as with the *church* of the parish and its lands—in fact, with the rectory lands—that he the more easily was led to substitute one name for the other.

And that the barn or barns of the abbey were at *Dolowe* at that time seems almost a necessary deduction from the history, and if so, we have an additional evidence here that the land upon which the barns stood was rectory land. So long as the tithes were paid to a resident rector, being rendered, as all tithes then were, in kind, they would as a matter of course be brought to wherever the rectory land was situated to be added to the rector's own crop and to be stored in the tithe barn thereon. This custom, unless the site were inconveniently placed,<sup>1</sup> and the abbey had a more suit-

<sup>1</sup> Biscot would have been much less central and convenient, besides being further removed from their mill, a matter of much importance. Neither Crawley Green nor any other spot known to have belonged to the abbey would have been



able spot, would doubtless be continued when both the tithes and the rectory land passed together into the hands of the abbey. Accordingly, it is not until more than a century and a half after this period, when both more land was under cultivation and the amount of various tithes considerably increased, that it is recorded (1461) that one of the abbots, finding how inconvenient it was to carry to the capital grange or barn (*capitali loco ingrangementis*) the tithes of the southern part of the parish (much more distant from Dolowe than the northern), *purchased* a manse and its appurtenances at New Mill End whereat to store them, a manse which they retained to the end, and which was sold with the New Mill End tithes.

This latter notice shows both that there was at that time one, if not one only, central spot or barn for the rectorial tithes—or rather probably one spot with more than one barn<sup>1</sup>—and also that the abbey at that time, and probably therefore *up to that time*, was in the habit of receiving the tithes directly into its own hands, and not yet of farming them out,<sup>2</sup> any more than of renting out the rectory demesne itself, as it did later on.

For some time previous to the suppression of the abbey, as early at least as 1519,<sup>3</sup> the tithes of the parish were divided into three or more portions, each part being let out to farm separately.

so convenient and so *secure*, and no barn of course could be erected on their arable land in the common fields. It must not be overlooked either that the *rectory tithe barn*, if upon the rectory land, *must* have been close at hand to Dolowe, if not upon Dolowe itself, as it is expressly stated that the rectory land *adjoined Farley*. This is another argument in favour of Dolowe and the rectory land being identical.

<sup>1</sup> The “domunculum” which the Prioress of S. Mary de Prez (*vide* chap. v.) was allowed in 1194 to have “in the court” belonging to the abbey, where she might store her tithes of the abbot’s “demesne” at Luton (the manor farm of Dolowe?), was doubtless only one of many sheds erected around the chief tithe barn; and that “the court” alluded to was at Dolowe at that period seems almost certain. The “familia” with whom her collector was to eat was clearly located there, for there “brother John, the custos of Dolowe,” is found. As in later times their own tithe barn was unquestionably at Dolowe, it is natural to suppose that it would be there, among their own barns, and upon the *demesne* of Dolowe, from which the tithe was to be drawn, that any new barn of the kind allowed (“domunculum”) would be erected.

<sup>2</sup> It was not until the abbacy of Thomas de la Mare (1349-96) that the privilege was granted to the abbey to lease their tithes (*Gest. Abb.*, iii. 378).

<sup>3</sup> J. Crawley in his will, 1519, makes mention of his portion of the tithes of “Luton and Challey End” and of those also at New Mill End. He evidently held a lease of both of them.

Then each of those who rented these portions required a separate barn wherein to house them. Consequently we find in *Limbury*<sup>1</sup> a "tithe barn close," where the tithes of Limbury and Biscot were evidently stored, and in the lease of the *Stopsley* tithes, 1549, there is express mention made of a "barn" as well as of a toft and its surrounding trees. The tenements at *New Mill End* were also let to farm along with the tithes of E. and W. Hyde. But that the "capital grange" was at the capital messuage, *i.e.*, at Dolowe, in 1290 and 1291, and if so, had been there, presumably, for centuries previously, may be inferred with the utmost confidence both from the preceding arguments and from the fact that it was found to be there at the date of the suppression (and there can have been no reason in later times to change the site), "at the entrance of the great gate of Dollow manor," where it remained three hundred years longer, till within the memory of the present generation. If this inference be admitted, then we have here another proof that Dollow had been of old part of the rectorial estate—the rectorial tithe, from time immemorial, of the whole parish at first, though later only of "Luton and Chaulney," being brought, as was natural, to the grange of the rectory. If the rectory land had been situated anywhere but at Dolowe, it might well have been expected not merely that some tradition of its locality would have survived, or at least some hint be discoverable of its identification with some other manor, but also, even, that some evidence of the existence of an early tithe barn elsewhere than at Dolowe would be forthcoming.

In the 4th of Edward III. (1330) the abbot (at this time Richard de Wallingford) was again called upon<sup>2</sup> to prove his claim to manorial rights in various places, and among them in his *manor of Dolowe*; no special allusion being made on this occasion to any other manor or property in Biscot or elsewhere in Luton. He sustained his claim for view of frank-pledge of all his tenants and residents in Dolowe, for a fair in Luton each year at the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and for free warren in all his manors *except* in the manor of Dolowe. He had to admit that neither he nor his predecessors had exercised free warren there, for "there was no use or opportunity for it"—no game to be found thereon—and accordingly it seems no abbot had asked for or received any

<sup>1</sup> The early leases of *Leagrave* tithes are not be found, but they are referred to in the deed of sale, 1599.

<sup>2</sup> *Plac. q. warr.*

grant of it. Three years later (1333) the same abbot<sup>1</sup> is recorded to have "repaired the mill at Luton," doubtless the old rectory mill, near the Abbot's Pool, the manorial mill of Dolowe, in "Dollow *alias* Dallow Mead."

## 2. *The Ecclesiastical Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.*

In the following year (1291) took place the important valuation of all ecclesiastical property in England, which was occasioned by the unwarrantable grant of Pope Nicholas IV. to King Edward I., under pretence of its being for a crusade, of a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in the country, for three successive years—a tax which, as it enlisted the king against them, the clergy were impotent to resist. The result is embodied in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai IV.*, and upon the valuation there recorded the clergy<sup>2</sup> were taxed, alike by king and pope, until the new valuation in 1535, nearly two hundred and fifty years afterwards.

In this taxation a somewhat unnatural and artificial distinction is drawn between "spiritualities" and "temporalities." The former term is applied, and restricted to, the revenues supposed to be still attached to the parish church, including the value of glebe houses and lands, rents, tithes, dues, offerings, etc., whether in the possession of the clergy themselves or in that of monasteries, and accordingly the entry is made under the head of each parish. In the case of appropriated churches, *i.e.*, churches belonging to monasteries, and where vicarages had been established, two dissimilar modes of entry are found to have been adopted, the separate values of rectory and vicarage being given in some instances, but not in others, where only the total of the two together appears under the general title of "the church" (*ecclesia*). Where, however, the rectory lands had been taken possession of by a monastery and joined with other lands into one farm or manor, these seem to

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb. Mon. S. Alb.* ii. 280; *Lib. Benef.*, Nero, D. vii., Cotton, p. 20 "molendina . . . de Luyton."

<sup>2</sup> So poorly endowed, however, were many of the churches in the county, that the value of some of them is not even set down ("ecclesia indecimalis" being merely set against their name), whilst the twenty-nine others were freed from the tax, as being only of the value of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) or less. The latter number included, in the Dunstable deanery, in which Luton was situated, the rectories of Battlesden, Higham and Milton Bryant, and the vicarages of Caddington, Chalgrave, Eaton Bray and Leighton.

have been always entered and accounted by that monastery among their "temporalities."<sup>1</sup>

In the case of Luton, "the church," or rectory, is distinguished from the vicarage, and the value of each is given separately, but no hint is afforded as to what particular revenues are there accounted to each. The value of the rectory was 100 marks, *i.e.*, £66 13s. 4d.; that of the vicarage 24 marks and 4 pence, or £16.

Under the head of *temporalities* were classed all manorial dues, courts, lands, woods, rents, mills, flocks, herds, fruits, dovecot, vine-ries, fisheries, etc., which were in the possession of *religious houses* in the various manors, hamlets, or parishes in each rural deanery.

In the parish of Luton three religious communities were found to have possessions:

The Prior of Dunstable has in Houton, Chalton, Liteg've and Stoppeslye, in land and rent, for	£	s.	d.
a pittance . . . . .	6	3	8½
The Master of Farley has in Farle and Luton, in land, rent, mill, and woods . . . . .	4	12	0
The Abbot of S. Albans has in Dolowe a manor, and it is worth, with its members <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	7	3	cy," If

This last statement concerning Dolowe manor is of much use, it  
ance. . . . . tion of

(1st) We have here the abbey's property of *Dolowe* be dis-  
designated, and for the first time, as a *manor*, manor, but also,  
as the abbey is not credited in the document a early tithe barn  
poralities in the parish, or even with any elsew. . .  
though it possessed other properties in the last is time Richard de  
Battlesden, and Pottesgrove—all its land, not ma claim to manorial  
as Biscot, Crawley Green, etc., but wherever *manor of Dolowe*;  
county (as manors often embraced distant portio any other manor  
presumably, be included in this definition. He sustained his

(2nd) But that the *rectory* of Luton was also at t and residents in  
may be concluded even from the items of its reve the Assump-  
*Nonarum Inquisitiones*, which, though not taken, all his manors

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Clophill, where the rectory, with that neither <sup>th</sup> ha  
having been granted to Beaulieu Priory in that sam n there, for "the<sup>e</sup> parish  
united with other lands given at the same time by it be found thereon at rector  
and manor, "the manor of Beaulieu," no part of th for or received #220, Lib  
either assigned to the vicarage at its ordination (A.D. /  
or in the possession of "the church" of Clophill in id, but they are ref<sup>1291-1340</sup>  
among the temporalities of Beaulieu.

<sup>2</sup> App. AS, "Members" of the Manors of Dolowe.

years later, viz., in 1340, professes to give the particulars of this very taxation of 1291. It is there stated that part of the sum at which the church was valued was derived from "a mill, rent, and services," dues which point to the possession of a manor. "The church is endowed with tenements, arable land, meadows, wood, mill, rent, services, oblations, great and small tithes and mortuaries."

Yet the abbey at this time certainly possessed the rectory and its manor, for in the above Inquisition (1340), the church, which was in their hands, is stated to be still endowed with the land formerly belonging to it—so it had not been parted with by the abbey.

The manor of Dolowe, therefore, if it was not the rectory land itself, must at least have included that land; and, on the other hand, if the rectory land was a manor, as abundant evidence proves it to have been, then, as the abbey had but one manor in Luton at this time (according to the *Taxatio*), viz., Dolowe, it follows that Dolowe must have been that rectory manor.

It seems clear from the foregoing that all these properties, with the rectory lands as a nucleus and site, had been formed by this time at least into a manor, which, as it could no longer be termed former rectory manor, or even the rectory lands, when so much other land had been joined to it, had to receive, and did accordingly receive, a new and definite name,<sup>1</sup>—that being given to it by which possession of a considerable portion of it had been for a long time. The date of its thus being definitely converted into the case of approval as a "manor with its members" is not far to be sought. It must have taken place at least before the reign of Edward I. (July 8, 1290), *Quia Emptoris* values of rectory lands (122). Presumably, however, it was such as not in others, which find the "demesne" distinguished by the name under the general, and, in all probability, no sooner did the rectory ever, the rectory lands of the abbey in the days of Henry II., than and joined with it have been of itself since the Conquest, if not long before it became a manor, became, with the addition of William the

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abb. M.* lands, and again by that of a good part of Biscot, "molendina . . . and more fully organized manor.

<sup>2</sup> So poorly explained that the value of any to arrive at any satisfactory explanation of the meaning being merely the name. Its earliest form is that of "Dolowe," which it freed from the which sometimes written Dollow or Dollowe, till 1600, then lapsing less. The latter and Dallow. was situated, the vicarages

3. *The Vicars of the Period.*

Of the two successors of Geoffrey at the vicarage during the remainder of the thirteenth century nothing particular is known. They were ROGER DE MURSLE (1274-1276), who survived only two years, and HUGH DE BANEBURGH (1276-1315), who resigned in the thirty-ninth year of his incumbency. During the time of the latter,<sup>1</sup> John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Luton (1279). He was vicar<sup>2</sup> also when the taxation of 1291 was made.

A writ<sup>3</sup> was issued during his time dated at *Leutone*, April 9, 1303, which seems to imply that either Archbishop Winchelsea or Edward I. himself was at Luton. It is entitled, "Concerning the supervision of a wounded man, if he is in imminent peril of death, and concerning the punishment of a man who inflicts a wound, if the wounded man is not in special danger."

The first half of the succeeding century must have been a time of much trouble to the people of Luton. Famine, there as everywhere, in 1314, murrain among the cattle (1317),<sup>4</sup> fire (1336) and plague (1348-49) all came upon them, and yet both the early and latter part of the century witnessed a special effort on their part at the restoration or rebuilding of their church.

Unhappily but little is known of the character or work of the vicars at either of these interesting periods.

JOHN DE WILDEN (1315) succeeded Baneburgh as vicar, and was soon followed by ROBERT DE WYBOLDESTON. Falling into debt,<sup>5</sup> he seems to have shortly made way for ROGER DE SALESBURY, who before long exchanged to Eversholt with JOHN DE

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Duns.*, quoted in *Collections for Hist. of Beds.*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> What some of the requirements of a parish church at this period were may be seen by the order of the archdeacon, 1293, to the neighbouring parish of Totternhoe to find a banner (*vexilla*), a cross, wax lights, and missals in the church" (*Chron. Duns.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 8th Rep., p. 349. The note is appended, "This writ applies to a particular case" (probably something that had happened at Luton), "but it is drawn so as to imply that the principle is of general application."

<sup>4</sup> Davis, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. 16, 15 Ed. II., 1321, at Westminster, Robert de Wyboldeston, vicar of the church of Luton, diocese of Lincoln, acknowledges that he owes to Robert de Walkefare £100. Ordered to be levied, in default of payment, on his lands and chattels in county of Bedford (*Cal. of Close Rolls*).

STANFORDHAM (1332-1346), of whom we read that when he was instituted to Eversholt thirty-four years previously, he was only then ordained, even as a subdeacon.

Nor is it very clear who were the lords of the various manors of the parish during this century. Hugh Mortymer, to whom free warren was given in 1330 and 1338, was lord of one-third at least of the chief manor in the earlier part of the time, and W. Wenlok, the priest, held the same in the latter part (1373-1392), and it is probable that both of these resided, at times, at Luton, and may have contributed to the restoration of the church. The Hoos also held the manor of Hoo throughout the century, though their burial place does not seem to have been at Luton, and Wynell de Wenlok, alias W. Wenlock, succeeded to Rob. Bishop's property, which was probably that of Someries, in Luton, in 1379, but the names and estates of the others have yet to be disclosed.

#### 4. *The Fire at Luton.*

Of the results of the famine and the murrain we have no particulars, but the effects of the fire upon the town, which was built no doubt chiefly of wood, were evidently very disastrous. All we read of it, however, is comprised in the two following notices.

• On July 12th, 1336,<sup>1</sup> Simon Croyser and Hugh del Croft, collectors of the tenth and fifteenth in Beds, were ordered to give the inhabitants a respite until Michaelmas in consequence of the damage caused by the *late fire* there.

And in 1340,<sup>2</sup> "two hundred houses" are described as being still "uninhabited, and six carucates of land (c. 720 acres, arable, in the open field) uncultivated on account of the impoverishment of the parish occasioned by *the fire*,"—barns, implements, seed, perhaps also oxen, besides their own dwelling-houses, having probably been destroyed.

#### 5. *The Church's Revenue (Nonarum Inquisitiones).*

In this same year (1340), parliament having granted to the king (14 Edward III.) a *ninth* of the corn, wool, and lambs in the country, and in towns a ninth of all goods and chattels (though in

<sup>1</sup> *Syll. R. Fœd.*, ii. 284; Rymer (R.), ii., pt. ii., 942.

<sup>2</sup> *Nonarum Inquisitiones.*

some special cases only a fifteenth), an inquisition (*Nonarum Inquisitiones*) was made, the burden of which, though the clergy were intended to be exempted from it (having just granted a tenth for two years, besides having made other triennial and annual grants), fell upon most of them at first. The record is of peculiar interest, as it gives the fullest extant particulars of the various endowments and profits of almost all the churches at the period, forming a connecting link more valuable than any of the others between the meagre accounts of Domesday (1086), the net values (which alone are given) in the Taxation of 1291, and the somewhat fuller statements in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535.

"In order to arrive at a fair valuation the assessors were, in general, to consider the *ninth* of corn, wool, and lambs, in 1340, worth as much, in a parish, as the *tenth* of the above articles, and *all other tytheable commodities and the glebe lands*<sup>1</sup> were, when the valuation was made of them, in 1291, but not to exceed the true value of the former, if it fell short of the latter. The parishioners, accordingly (in the case of Luton these being represented by John atte Dene and John le Clerk, the latter perhaps being John de Stanfordham, the vicar), first find upon oath what they considered the true value of the ninth of corn, wool, and lambs, then state the amount of the earlier valuation (1291) of the *church*; and, in cases where the former did not exceed the latter, mention the causes, —on the one hand, the poorness of the soil, the low price of wool, sickness among the ewes, special accidents, etc., and on the other, that within the valuation or tax of the church there were other articles included besides corn, wool, and lambs (as was well understood when the comparative estimate was made between the ninth and the tenth, and therefore ought not to have been referred to), such as the 'dos' (dowry, or endowment), or glebe of the church, tithes of hay and other tithes—the extent or value of each of these being often given separately."<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Luton the low valuation arrived at is set down to the impoverishment of the inhabitants through the fire of four

<sup>1</sup> This, together with the fact that, in the case of Luton, under the designation of "dos," or endowment, the value of the vicarage *house* (£1), is here taken into account, shows, that both glebe house and glebe land were included in the valuation of 1291. In some cases the actual number of acres belonging to the endowment are given. It would have cleared up many points if the extent of either the rectory or the vicarage of Luton had been stated.

<sup>2</sup> Sim's *Manual*, pp. 47, 48.



years before, and full particulars are given of the possessions of the church, *i.e.*, of the rectory and vicarage, both being very properly included in the term as both had been assessed, though separately, in 1291. "The church," they say, was "endowed with tenements, arable land, meadow, wood, mill, rent, service, oblations, great and small tithes and mortuaries."

The ninth at Luton was valued at only 80 marks and a half (£53 13s. 4d.),<sup>1</sup> including the vicarage, valued at 24 marks and 4 pence (£16); whereas the rectory and vicarage together, exclusive of Dolowe manor (£7 3s. 1d.), had been estimated and taxed at 124 marks and 4 pence, *i.e.*, £82 13s. 4d.

#### 6. *The Black Death.*

That the plague, or Black Death, which came into England in July, 1347, and lasted for more than two years, fell heavily upon this neighbourhood, as well as elsewhere, may be inferred both from the direct allusion to it in the action brought against Thomas de la Mare, the abbot, with reference to the effects of those of "his natives" who had died of it, in "Ryndele in the Manor of Dolowe," and also from the quick succession of the vicars just at this period. The collector we find (28 Ed. III., 1354),<sup>2</sup> five or six years afterwards, distraining the abbot's horse for 3s. as payment of the 15th due to the king upon the goods and chattels of those who had thus died there. The abbot, however, asserting that he had no lands or tenements there "other than are annexed to spiritualities," which accordingly had been already "taxed to the 10th, with the rest of the property of the clergy," gained the suit, and the collector was fined for wrong distraint.

How many persons succumbed to the pest at this time at Luton is not recorded; but as the vicar, JOHN DE LUTON (1346-49), died at the beginning of the year 1349, when the plague was raging violently, it does not seem unlikely that he, like so many other of

<sup>1</sup> The value of the vicarage ought not under any circumstances to have been included, as the comparative estimate was intended to balance the laymen's 9th (including that of the Religious) of special articles against the whole 10th of the church, the annual value of the vicarage being included in the latter, and actually appearing as part of the contrasted sum, £82 13s. 4d. Nor ought the vicar in this case to have been taxed at all. After a remonstrance by the Archbishop of Canterbury, redress was ordered by the king to be given to all the clergy who had been thus taxed.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Abb. Mon. S. Alb.*, iii. 13, 36.

the clergy,<sup>1</sup> was one of its victims.<sup>2</sup> The abbot himself, Michael de Mentmore (on Easter day, April 12, 1349), and forty-seven of his monks were carried off by it; but just previously to his death, it would appear, he had nominated to the vicarage of Luton, as successor to John de Luton, a co-villager of his own, Magister ANDREW POWER DE MENTMORE,<sup>3</sup> who was instituted on April 7 of the same year (1349). As, however, before the close of the year Power was succeeded by another vicar, it would seem probable that he also succumbed to the disease. His successor, RICHARD DE ROCHELE (1349), a non-graduate,<sup>4</sup> also resigned within a few months, but the reason is not recorded. So great was the dearth of clergy after the plague, that for the first time at Luton (as far as is known), a clerk only in deacon's orders, WILLIAM DE CHAUMBRE OF S. NEOTS (1350-53) was appointed vicar.

<sup>1</sup> "More than one half of the priests of Yorkshire died of the Black Death, and in the diocese of Norwich two-thirds of the parishes were left without incumbents" (Green's *Short Hist.*, p. 241). Two thousand clergy are said to have been carried off by it in that one diocese. The actual age for ordination had to be reduced, and yet the smaller livings could not be filled up. In the single month of July, 1349, the Bishop of Norwich personally instituted 207 clergy in the very midst of the plague. In some monasteries not one-tenth part of the monks remained. One of the first of Wiclif's published works was his tract, "The last Age of the Church," in which he interprets this frightful visitation as one of the signs of the last days and as a punishment for the scandalous lives of the clergy (*Dioc. Hist. Peterborough*, p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> This supposition receives some confirmation from the fact that he appears to have died rather suddenly. For, having been appointed one of the executors of John de Stafford's will, dated 21st Dec., 1348, he seems to have had no time to execute it, and consequently in his own will, dated at Luyton, the following 12th March, 1348-49, he leaves all the tenements and shops devised to him by the testament of J. de Stafford, to be sold by his own executors for the good of the souls of the said John and others mentioned in the said testament. Raser's is the earliest will yet discovered of any of the vicars of Luton, and its existence only very lately made public. In it he calls himself simply "John de Luyton, perpetual vicar of the church of the said town, Beds." (*Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings, London*, p. 533).

<sup>3</sup> Amongst the S. Alban's charters belonging to the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, Oxon, is one which contains a reference to an act of Power only two months before his institution, and which may have led to his nomination. It is a licence from the king, dated at Langeleye, Feb. 6, 23 Ed. III. (1349), to Andrew Power of Mentmore, clerk, and Thos. le Palmer, chaplain, to give to the abbey the reversion of three messuages in S. Albans, which Wm. de Langeleye and Mabilla his wife held for life (App., *Eighth Report of the Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 2).

<sup>4</sup> App. AT, *Monastic Colleges*.

7. *Deprivation of a Vicar. Appeal to Rome.*

Both the appointment and conduct of this William were called in question by the Bishop of Lincoln, J. Gynewell. The abbacy of S. Albans being apparently considered to be still vacant through the death of Michael de Mentmore, the king, Edward III., into whose hands its patronage in such a case would fall, presented this William to Luton, who was accordingly instituted by the bishop, and inducted. On what ground the bishop some time afterwards, as he appears to have done, impugned the king's right to present, is not stated, but it does not seem unlikely that Thomas de la Mare, having been elected abbot just after Easter (April 12th) in 1349, and having received benediction from some bishop, and been installed, had thus acquired the right of presentation before the king presented W. de Chaumbre, who was not instituted till the following February. Be this as it may, the bishop making some efforts to remove William, the king forbade all ecclesiastical judges to do anything to the damage of the crown. This interference on the part of the bishop may only have been an endeavour on his part to get rid quietly of William. For when this attempt failed, the bishop then further charged him with divers crimes and excesses, deprived him of the vicarage, and on the presentation of the abbot (Thomas de la Mare), instituted in his place (August 4th, 1353) JOHN LYBERT. Against these proceedings De Chaumbre appealed, not merely to the king's council, but to Rome ("the Apostolic See"), and also to the Court of Arches in London. What resulted from the two former applications is not recorded, but by the latter court the deprivation was wholly revoked, and an order issued for him to be reinstated in the vicarage. This, however, seems not to have taken place, and apparently another action ensued, as the king some years later (May 23rd, 1360), "being unwilling to impede the ecclesiastical jurisdiction," issued a revocation of "his former prohibition, so that the said William can prosecute his suit in the ecclesiastical court as it appears expedient to him."<sup>1</sup>

Unhappily the result of the contest is not known; and, as the exact date of the institution of the next vicar whose name is met with is not discoverable, there seems to be no means of ascertaining whether De Chaumbre or Lybert is to be considered the preceding vicar.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 171 b, 34 Edw. III., "De precedendo in curiâ Christianitatis in processu tangen' vicar' de Luyton."

Amongst the "Petitions to the Pope," in the *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers* (p. 172), occurs one from Thomas (de la Mare), Abbot of S. Albans, in 1349, to Clement VI. on behalf of J. Lybert of Strixton, in the diocese of Lincoln, for a benefice value forty marks with cure of souls in the gift of the abbot and convent of S. Mary, York, which was granted by the pope at Avignon, 3 Ides (11th) Aug., 1349. As it is hardly likely that Lybert, four years after this, should resign a benefice of this value for that of Luton, worth only twenty-four marks, it may perhaps be inferred either that he never actually got possession of the one promised him, or else was allowed to hold the two at the same time. It was the same abbot that petitioned for him who presented him to Luton.

Another petition in connection with Luton vicarage about this period was sent to Pope Urban V., which, though granted, seems never to have led to a successful issue. It was from one Benedict de Massingham, M.A., "for confirmation of the perpetual vicarage of Litton (Luton, *Index*), in the diocese of Lincoln, value twenty-four marks, which he obtained by papal provision, but now fears it is void by reason that the late Robert de Wissingete, to whom provision of it was made in the Roman court by way of exchange, obtained another church, before getting possession of the said vicarage. Granted at Avignon, 5 Kal. Oct. (Sept. 27th), 1366."

As Massingham's name does not occur in the *Lincoln Register*, or in any other known record, as vicar of Luton, his efforts to become so through the objectionable means of papal provision, *i.e.*, through the appointment, by one who usurped the patronage, to succeed on the next vacancy, do not seem to have been successful. More light on the possession of the vicarage at this period is very desirable, but this latter appointment seems at least to imply that in 1366 either De Chaumbre or Lybert was still the vicar.

The original application on behalf of Massingham had been made by the University of Cambridge, who prayed the pope, Urban V., for the grace of a benefice with cure of souls in the gift of the abbot and convent of S. Albans for him, notwithstanding that he had the perpetual vicarage of Thorpe Market in the said diocese (of Lincoln), which he was ready to resign. It was granted at Avignon, 8 Kal. Mar. (Feb. 22nd), 1363.

### 8. *The Decorated Church.*

It was apparently before either the fire or the plague that the people of Luton set to work to erect an almost entirely new church. The Hoo chapel, with its altars, and the south wall of the adjoining transept, at one end, and at the other the massive tower, with its graceful arch, pleasing window, and rather unique doorway, and the outer wall of the south aisle, with its ball-flowered piscina, and its west wall with its present window, together with the north doorway and porch, show what was effected before the pause in the work came ; and as none of these parts, nor the earlier and still existing portions of the Transition and Early English work in the transepts, nave, aisles, and chancel, show any signs of having been injured by fire, we may safely draw the inference that the church, standing in its large open area, escaped unhurt in the general conflagration of the town.

But the losses caused by the fire, and the difficulty entailed by the plague of procuring either skilled artizans or even labourers of any kind, sufficiently account for the long delay which ensued before the work was resumed.

It must, however, have been towards the close of the century that the chief work of restoration took place. Then the present four central piers of the nave seem to have been erected, or perhaps only to have been recased (the central tower over them, if ever there were one, being then taken down), and the aisle of the north transept (the early Someries chapel?), corresponding to that of the Hoo chapel in the south, with its arcade, hitherto of Early English work, rebuilt. The six piers on the south, and three of those on the north of the nave, together with the Transitional arcade of the south aisle, and the Early English arcade of the north aisle, must have been then taken down and replaced with late Decorated work, the niche of one who was probably a benefactor of the church, perhaps in this matter of rebuilding, being inserted in the south wall. The west window of the north aisle, the westernmost window in the south wall of the chancel and adjoining wall, on the one side, and the corresponding sacristy doorway and Easter sepulchre on the other, must have been also built and the sacristy erected, though in a somewhat different spot than at present, and the unique stone baptistery placed over the font.

That the sacristy was erected about this time<sup>1</sup> there can be little

<sup>1</sup> Street himself, although like others unable to solve the difficulty involved

doubt, as the moulding of the capitals, etc., is of this date. There has long, however, been a difficulty in reconciling this date with its present position; for it is found *blocking up* an evidently *later-built* window (1430-40), the best-proportioned Perpendicular window in the church. This latter cannot possibly be supposed to have been inserted *after* the erection of the sacristy in its present spot, being in that case utterly useless for the admission of light.

An interesting and complete explanation of this difficulty, confirmed as it is by many circumstances and weakened by none, is that suggested by the late distinguished architect, R. Herbert Carpenter, viz., that the sacristy, of its present style, form, and size, when first erected was not placed in its present situation, but more to the west—in fact, that it then impinged upon the wall of the early and narrower (Somersey) aisle of the north transept, built at the same time as itself, and extended thence nearly up to, but not beyond the spot where the Perpendicular window was shortly afterwards inserted—that window consequently then looking out into the churchyard—access from the sacristy to the chancel being through the now blocked-up doorway in the north wall of the chancel, instead of by the indirect way of later years. The space occupied at first by the sacristy, however, being wanted by Sir J. Wenlock for the enlarging of the aisle and forming it into a chantry with its beautiful screen, the whole of the sacristy was taken down, but replaced (with the exception of the four eastern windows, which received a later design) stone for stone, more eastward, thus blocking the Perpendicular window. This transportation accounts, no doubt, for the singular fact that the sacristy now projects many inches eastward beyond the east wall of the chancel—an unlikely thing to have happened if the former had been originally erected there, as the square could easily then have been curtailed, but not so, owing to its groining, etc., after it had been once erected of a particular size.

#### 9. *Philip de Limbury.*

It was some time between 1349 and 1367 that an event recorded by Walsingham happened at Luton, which had evidently some connection with either the tithes of Limbury or some estate of the abbey there. It is thus related by Newcome, p. 256:

in its present position, clearly coincided in the opinion expressed by so many that it was erected towards the close of this fourteenth century.

"Abbot Thomas (de la Mare) had ever shown himself a strenuous defender of the abbey's rights ; and in doing so, had either made or found a number of adversaries. One of these was a famous knight named Philip de Lymbury, who lived at Luton (in the parish of Luton, in sokâ de Luton'—no doubt in his manor house in Limbury), a man of extreme pride and haughtiness, and of great interest with John, Duke of Lancaster. This Philip, on Monday, being market-day,<sup>1</sup> in hatred to the abbot and in utter contempt of religion, seeing John Moot, the cellarer (or steward—he afterwards succeeded Thomas in the abbacy), riding through, in his way from Hexton to the abbey, caused him to be apprehended ; and without any charge, put him in the pillory in the public market. The abbot prosecuted this insolent knight, and would have brought him to make satisfaction, if the Duke of Lancaster had not interposed, and, by his authority, brought them to concord. It was agreed that he should make atonement in no other way than by an offering on the altar ; at first he was not permitted to approach the altar ; then, leave being given, as he stepped forward the blood gushed from his nose, and he retired ; he advanced a second time, and his nose again bled ; he requested to deposit the offering in a box, but this was not allowed ; and after some pause he departed." "The memory of this event," adds Walsingham, "struck many with admiration ; the number present was very great ; and it was considered among the superstitious as a vengeance from the martyr, and by all the sober-minded and pious as an event that should caution bold men against offending God, or those who administer in his worship." It does not seem clear whether all this took place at S. Albans, or, where it would have been more appropriate (and where it probably did occur), in Luton church.

As the abbey had no other connection with Luton than in either of the three characters of landlord, rector, or receiver of the tolls of the fair, it must, it would seem, have been in one of these capacities that Abbot Thomas had incurred the hatred of Philip of Limbury. As no evidence has arisen to *prove* that the abbey had any land in the hamlet of Limbury (besides Dolowe manor), and no hint is thrown out above that Philip held any land either there or elsewhere under the abbey, and as the customary and ancient

<sup>1</sup> Probably the earliest instance on record of the market there being held on a Monday, although the change from the Sunday had been made a hundred and fifty years previously.

tolls of the fair are hardly likely to have been the cause of dispute; it would rather appear that the abbey's "rights, which the abbot strenuously defended," had to do with the collection of the *rectorial tithes* of Philip's part of Limbury. Philip died, 41 Edward III. (1367), seized of the manor of Limbury. If the tithes of Luton still went to the cellarer, that official may have had to collect them, or at least to see that they were faithfully and fully rendered; this may account for any special animosity against Moot, who was the cellarer, as well as against the abbot, and may account for Philip's singling him out to vent his anger upon. This is an argument in favour of its being with regard to tithes that the dispute took place. If so, then, we have another evidence here that the tithes were still received direct by the abbey, and not yet let out to farm.

#### 10. *A Native of the Abbot.*

In 1376 (48 Ed. III.) a false charge was made against Abbot Thomas de la Mare of having taken unlawful possession of land in Luton. The escheator took into the king's hand 1 toft, containing 1 acre, in Stoppesley, and 1 messuage and 1 acre in le Briggefield de Luton, valued at 3s. 6d. per annum, asserting that Richard atte More, "a native of the abbot," had about two years previously bought the said toft, messuage and land, and that the abbot had on December 5th following seized it, and held it for two years. The abbot, however, answering that he even had not been aware that Richard had bought the property, and that he himself had never occupied it, the Inquisition found in his favour. The "native"<sup>1</sup> of the abbot was apparently one of the serfs, bordars, or cottagers on the abbot's estate at Luton, but where resident cannot be determined.

#### 11. *Vicars warned against Lollardy.*

Two more incumbents held the vicarage before the close of the century: Magister WALTER IXWORTH, and, on his resignation, Magister JOHN PECHE, LL.B. (1394). Of the personal history of these vicars nothing beyond the above seems to be recorded, except that the latter appears to have become for a short period (1401-4) rector of S. Mary Woolchurch, London. Lybert was the last, it seems, of the non-graduates presented by the abbot to the vicarage

<sup>1</sup> App. AU, *Native*.



of Luton, and Peché the first of some twelve who took an academic degree above the more ordinary mastership of arts. Ixworth appears to have been vicar while William Wenlock resided and died at Farley Hospital. It was probably during his time also that John Wiclif became a clergyman of the diocese, being presented by the crown to the rectory of Lutterworth (1375), and from thence, as from Oxford and elsewhere, issued his withering sarcasms on the doctrines and practices of Rome, and gave to Englishmen the greatest boon of the age, a translation of the Holy Scriptures in their own language. A more doubtful proceeding was his sending forth his "poor priests" (if it is true that he did so), irrespective of the Bishop of Lincoln's inhibition, and subversive of all order, into other parsons' parishes. These poor priests were to "the Lollards" (as Wiclif's followers were called) very much what the mendicant friars were to Rome. Wiclif died in 1382. How far Lollardy affected Luton or even Bedfordshire at that time or afterwards is not known. The abbot took strict measures against it, as far as his own clergy were concerned. In 1427 Abbot Wheat-hampstead, who had jurisdiction over the vicar of Luton, held a synod of his clergy in S. Peter's church at S. Albans with reference to the spread of Wiclif's opinions.<sup>1</sup> Few attended besides the vicars. Having put them in mind of their strict oath of residence, and inquired how punctual they were in the observance thereof, he asked who were allowed to preach in their churches, and who in their several parishes were suspected of heretical opinions or possessed any books written in the vulgar tongue. One of the latter class, a maltster of Barnet, having been accused and confessing that he had read and taught others to read, such a book, the abbot, after passing sentence that he should once every year for seven years visit the martyr's tomb, approaching the same barefoot, and making offerings of wax candles, with sundry other humiliating requirements, ordered him to bring the said book, probably one of Wiclif's translated bibles, to the Great Cross in S. Peter's church, S. Albans, and there consume it to ashes.

<sup>1</sup> Newcome's *Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 326.

## CHAPTER VIII.

LANCASTER AND YORK (A.D. 1399-1485).

HENRY IV.—HENRY V.—HENRY VI.—EDWARD IV.—RICHARD III.

I. *Decline of Monasticism.*

THE fifteenth century witnessed a great change in the estimation held by the nation of the utility of monastic establishments—an augury of the manner in which their dissolution would be regarded in the following century, when they had become still more secular and corrupt. There was a growing feeling that however useful they were socially as good landlords, however superior the appointments which they made to their churches, whatever protection they afforded to their clergy and churches against the tyranny of lawless barons, whatever asylum they provided for the more thoughtful, studious, and devout of the community of either sex, or whatever relief they supplied to the sick and destitute in their various neighbourhoods—there being at the time no legal provision for them—yet that they had nearly fulfilled their purpose, such as it was, and must soon give place to some less narrow and more intellectual institution. “Between the Conquest and the accession of the Lancastrian dynasty (1399), during the reign of twelve kings, nearly nine hundred houses of monks and friars were founded, which, along with those which were in existence previously, made up a total number of twelve hundred. . . . But from the time of Henry IV. the stream of benefaction was diverted from them; and while colleges and public schools were planted in numbers and magnificence, the scanty sum of six or seven foundations of monks and friars in the course of one hundred and thirty years bore witness to the change of the inclinations of the nation.”<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto, also, the vicarages of those churches which were in the hands of the monasteries were often, where possible, filled with members of their own communities. It was not until

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 319.

4 Henry IV. (1402-3) that a statute was passed forbidding them to be given to any but secular clergymen.

Chantries, indeed, continued to be founded in abundance, but these, though, like monasteries, they were established for the purpose of praying for the dead, were held always by seculars.

Whether any of the preceding vicars of Luton were monks cannot with certainty be determined. The title of "brother" is given to none of them in the bishop's *Register of Institutions*, and the distance of Luton from S. Albans, the original intention of Abbot Robert that *two* priests should officiate there, the provision a little later on of a manse for a resident clergyman, the title of chaplain assigned to many of the vicars, and the history of others, seem completely to negative the idea.

No educational college or school seems to have been founded at this period either in Luton or in any other part of the county of Bedford.<sup>1</sup>

Two chapels, however, presumably both of them *chantry* chapels—the Wenlock and Barnard's (in the chancel)—were added before the close of the century to the three earlier ones in the church, presumably also chantries, viz., those in the south aisle and in the Hoo chapel, but of which little more than the Decorated piscinæ remain to indicate their existence or position, and to one of which a *guild chantry* was henceforth attached. Though there is no evidence of any endowment of either of these, yet it is very probable that even these earlier chapels (and still more the two later and more permanent structures) had originally some endowment as chantries,<sup>2</sup> and were not merely the chapels of altars dedicated to particular saints.

<sup>1</sup> This remark of course does not apply to such a case as that of Northill, where, in 1405, a "college" was founded for a warden or master and a discretionary number of fellows, chaplains, or ministers, who were to pray for the souls of Sir J. Traylly and Reginald his son, both deceased; the parish church being made collegiate by Sir Gerard Braybroke, one of Sir J. Traylly's executors (*Lysons*, p. 120; *Pur.*, 6 Hen. IV.). On account of the object of its foundation it was suppressed, along with other chantries, in 1556, its revenues (£61 5s. 8½d.) being the largest in the county dedicated to this purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Considering how often tenements must have become almost valueless through age or been destroyed by fire or flood, and small scattered plots of land have brought in little or no revenue in times of dearth or disturbance, it would not be strange if in the lapse of centuries any such kind of endowment should have come to an end—more especially if the founder's family became extinct. It is a wonder that so many small endowments survived, and it

2. *Processions to S. Albans.*

Almost at the very commencement of the century (1406) an injunction<sup>1</sup> came, at the instigation of the Abbot of S. Albans (W. Heyworth, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield), from the Bishop of Lincoln (Philip Repington), to the rectors and vicars of certain churches in Hertfordshire, not to "subtract," under penalty of excommunication, the ancient annual processions, agreed upon between the churches of Lincoln and S. Albans, during the six days after Ascension Day, or during those before Whitsunday. The injunction has reference to the custom, strongly insisted upon throughout this century, of parishes undertaking an annual procession or pilgrimage to the cathedral, as the mother church of the diocese, or to some abbey, and there making their offerings—allowance being made, where the distance was too great, for people to worship at certain stated churches nearer at hand, provided the offerings were sent to the cathedral or to the abbey. In the present case the processions were evidently, according to agreement, to S. Alban's Abbey, under the jurisdiction of which (though not in "the exempt jurisdiction") Luton clearly was for certain purposes. In this case it is especially mentioned that the parishes of Luton and Houghton had to make an annual procession to S. Albans, in addition to another, in common with the rest of the archdeaconry of Bedford, to Lincoln Cathedral. These pilgrimages were plainly too profitable to be allowed to fall into disuse. The agreement or composition alluded to above was a very old one,<sup>2</sup> dating from between 1152 and 1163, and was forced upon the bishop by the pope. The churches of Luton and

speaks well for the spirit which looked upon them as sacred. It is quite possible that the land mentioned in the following chantry certificates as being given for two "obits," or anniversary celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, on the day of the death of a donor, was granted in connection with two of those chapels and altars, and so constituted them chantries. *Chantry Certificates*, p. 32, "Obytes and Lyghts in Luton":

"Ferm of 15 acres in the tenure of W. Day given to the sustentation of an *Obite* being x<sup>d</sup> by the yere.

"Ferm of 6 acres in the tenure of J. Smyth given to the *use aforesaid* by the yere 2<sup>d</sup>.

"Ferm of 1 acre in the tenure of Geo. Rotheram, given to the sustentation of a light 4<sup>d</sup>."

App. AV, *Bedfordshire Chantries and Obits*.

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, iii. 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 130.

Houghton, which must have come under its provisions from the time of their falling into the hands of the abbey, seem to have been the chief sufferers by it.

### 3. *John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, K.G., Lord of the Manor.*

In 1416 a change took place in the ownership of the manor of Luton, which ought hardly to be passed over, owing to the high character of the distinguished nobleman who now became possessed of it. For nearly two centuries it had been, along with the hundred of Flitte, in the hands of the family and descendants of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, the manor divided for a time into six portions, the hundred into four; but two or more of the former, with apparently the whole of the hundred, eventually centred in the person of Sir Hugh Mortimer, who died childless in 1403, William Wenlock, the priest, just previously having had the custody of one-third of the manor, owing to the idiotcy of William Mortimer, seemingly the elder brother of Sir Hugh. On the death of John Cressy in 1408, the cousin and heir of Sir Hugh Mortimer, this, the principal portion of the manor (now designated "the manor of Luton Mortymer"), appears to have reverted to the crown, and in the fourth year of his reign was granted by Henry V. to his brother John, Duke of Bedford,<sup>1</sup> the first to bear that title. Considering his active occupation at home during his brother's lifetime as commander of the forces in England, and his almost continuous absence abroad during the succeeding reign, it is hardly to be wondered at that no further connection of his with Luton, beyond his ownership of the manor for nineteen years, seems to be recorded. On his death without issue in 1435, Luton, along with his other manors, apparently fell to his widow, Jacquetta, to whom he left almost all his property for life, with remainder to his nephew, Henry VI.

### 4. *Bells for the Church.*

Whether in either of the earlier churches at Luton there had been any tower for bells, or any bell at all besides 'the sanctus' or

<sup>1</sup> App. AW, *John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford.*

<sup>2</sup> "When the priest said the 'Sanctus' ('Holy, holy, holy') in the office of the mass, three strokes were given on this bell (hence its name), so that all

'saunce bell,' there are no means of determining. But in 1430, *i.e.*, probably about forty years after the completion of the present tower, it is recorded<sup>1</sup> that four bells having been bought '*de novo*,' three parishioners of Luton (J. Petyfer,<sup>2</sup> W. Scherefold, and J. Ayleyne) applied to Abbot Wheathamstead, as patron and rector of the church, for a contribution. He gave them one hundred shillings, and promised that if he continued abbot for seven years longer, which he did, he would himself pay for the fourth bell.

It was about this same period, at least during his first tenure of the abbacy (1420-40), that Abbot Wheathamstead is said<sup>3</sup> to have improved the value of the manor of Dolow by two marks per annum (£1 6s. 8d.); but whether this was by the addition of other lands to it, or by increased rents from the tenants (which seems the most likely means), or by letting the home farm, instead of the abbey's cultivating it, is not stated.

### 5. Theft of S. Luke's Relics.

In the following year (1431) a sacrilegious assault was made, not upon the parish church itself, but upon a chapel within the parish.<sup>4</sup> "The Hermitage of Farley close to the church of Luton" was entered by three robbers, and the (supposed) relics of S. Luke the Evangelist stolen. The thieves were pursued by the men of Dunstable, whom they had also robbed, as far as Barnet; and here one of them was killed by an arrow, and another, being wounded in the same manner, was taken prisoner,

within reach of its sound, whether within or without the church, could join in the sacred song of adoration" (North's *Bells of Beds*, p. 101).

<sup>1</sup> J. de Amundesham's *Chron.*, p. 52: "*Ad impetrandum aliquod concessum pro fine, quatuor campanis de novo emptis, advenerunt. . . . Abbas eis concessit centum solidos . . . et superaddidit, ut si per septem annos abbatisteret, pro quarta campana persolveret.*" *Vide Part II., The Bells.*

<sup>2</sup> This J. Petyfer is named in the *Return of Gentry in Bedfordshire*, 12 Henry VI., 1433, but does not seem to have been of irreproachable character, according to the following MS. memorandum of Bishop Gray (No. 186), "1435, Jan. 3, at Bugden. *Commissio ad cognoscendum in quodam correctionis negotio contra Johannem Petifer de Luyton, occasione criminis adulterii cum Cecilia uxore Johannis Plumpton de eadem, et communicationis suspecte, etc.*"

<sup>3</sup> "Item, *Manerium de Dolow usque ad summam duarum marcarum per annum inchoravit*" (*Liber Benefact.*, Cott. MS., Nero, D. vii., p. 34).

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Mon. S. Alb. J. Amundesham*, i. 59.

whilst the third was afterwards captured in London with the precious relics in his possession.

Seven years after this (1445) the Hospital of Farley, which had probably for some little time<sup>1</sup> been taken away from Santingfield as an alien institution and retained in the king's hands, was made over by Henry VI. to his new foundation of King's College, Cambridge. Whether this made any difference to the parish<sup>2</sup> cannot be determined. The college henceforth would have the appointment to the mastership, which would at least secure the election of an Englishman, and also *perhaps* a voice in the selection of the inmates, but these would probably continue to be chosen from the same class and upon the same principle as formerly, which may be conjectured to have been the poorer and best-conducted widowers either of the parish of Luton, or from any parish wherein the hospital had property.

#### 6. *Vicar Penthelyn and his two Successors.*

In 1444, or rather, according to our present reckoning, 1445, died JOHN PENTHELYN, LL.B., the earliest vicar of Luton of whom any brass or inscription has been found, and who by his will<sup>3</sup> left a bequest of 40s. for *the restoration of the church*, and a further sum of 13s. 4d. (a mark) for erecting chimes therein—the barrel and other parts of which latter, after more than four centuries, is still to be seen in the tower. The former of these bequests seems to show that another restoration of the church had begun at that period, and the latter that there was a clock belonging to the church even then.

This JOHN PENTHELYN was apparently, both from his name and from an allusion in his will, a Welshman. For, in the latter, he desires a priest at Langan in Wales (now Langan, either that in Glamorgan or Caermarthen), as well as a chaplain at Luton, to say masses for his soul during a year. If not, therefore, his birth-place, Langan was probably his former cure.

The inscription which was, until the last century, upon his tomb

<sup>1</sup> It was not reckoned among the alien *priories* granted to the king, *temp.* Henry V.

<sup>2</sup> That the hospital itself was not abolished at this time is clear from its being found among those newly dissolved at the Reformation, when all belonging to it was sold (App. AC.).

<sup>3</sup> App. AX, *Penthelyn's Will* (original).

is given in Part II., and the title there attributed to him of Bachelor of both Civil and Canon Law implies that he had passed through one of the universities with distinction. His will, in Latin, is given in full in the appendix, as a specimen of the wills of the clergy in the middle of the fifteenth century.

In it, after leaving his soul to Almighty God and to the Blessed Mary, His Mother, he desires his body to be buried "*in ecclesiastick sepulturâ*" (with the full rites of the Church), directing that every priest who shall be present at his funeral obsequies and at the mass on the day of his burial shall receive 20*d.*, and every deacon 12*d.*, and every other clerk 10*d.*. Every "spiritual son," for whom he had stood sponsor "at his baptism in the sacred font" (that font which still stands in the church), was to receive a sheep, and 13*s.* 4*d.* was to be distributed among the poor. Two clergymen are mentioned by name, Dominus John Thomas and Dominus Nicholas Thomas (the latter a relative), between whom he leaves his six clerical gowns, besides bequeathing to the former one of his *Portiforia*,<sup>1</sup> and any other of his books that he shall choose, and to the latter a black worsted tunic. Another clergyman, John Herbert, chaplain, was a witness to the will.

And (as we may reasonably conclude that it was in the vicarage house<sup>2</sup> that Penthelyn resided) it is interesting to observe the rooms in his dwelling which he names. They seem to be all that the house contained, at least on the ground floor—a house, of course, designed only for an unmarried clergy, though perhaps

<sup>1</sup> That is (says Skeat) the book which the priest *carried abroad*, the breviary containing the daily services, with musical notes. As, before printing came into England, a portiforium was an expensive book, it became a very common legacy from one clergyman to another or to a church. W. of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, left two of the portiforia of his chapel to two churches of his diocese; Archbishop Rotheram of York, "one, according to the use of York," to his college at Rotheram. Penthelyn's was probably "the Roman use," as most of the monasteries adopted that and required their churches to do the same, and as early as Abbot W. de Trumpington's time (1214-1235) S. Albans ordered the "use" of the abbey to be adopted in all its churches. Matthew Assheton, rector of Shillington, canon of York and Lincoln, in his will (1400) left to Shillington church "my antiquum missale, which J. Wynewyck bequeathed to me by will, and my portiforium notatum" (*Early Linc. Wills*).

<sup>2</sup> It seems by no means improbable that the lower rooms of the present vicarage, on the left-hand side of the entrance, constituted the four rooms mentioned in the will. They are undoubtedly of great age, and form a complete square. They had probably attics over them, with the entrance into the house in the middle of the then south side. The other rooms are clearly of later date.



a mother or sister often resided with them. These were a hall, chamber (bed-chamber?), pantry(larder?), and kitchen, the furniture of all which rooms he bequeathed to the same John Thomas. That his table, however, was not altogether without some adornment or other sign of comfort, is evident, for he left to him also his best silver cup, and to his own sister Johanna two more silver cups. Her husband, another John Thomas, came off with only a loose coat of blue worsted fustian. He died 18th February, 1444-45, and was buried in the chancel close to the priest's entrance door.

ROGER BURGH (1445-1454) succeeded Penthelyn for about nine years, when he resigned, becoming eventually a rector in Somersetshire.

Magister JOHN LAMMER (1454-1477) was then appointed by Abbot Wheathamstead. He had held the rectory of S. Ann's, Aldersgate Street, London, for eight years, which he at this time resigned, but during the last two years of his life he held, together with Luton, the nearer rectory of Reed, Herts. A family of the same name owned the manor of Lamar in Wheathamstead, Herts, *temp.* Henry III. If Lammer did not come direct from Hertfordshire, he was probably a native of Luton or its neighbourhood; perhaps he was the uncle of J. Lamar whose brass was in the nave, and who died 1512. His name occurs in 1465 attached to a deed connected with a parish hospital referred to presently. He was vicar for twenty-three years, including the time of the erection of the Wenlock chapel and of the establishment of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, of which he was one of the founders. He is also mentioned in a deed<sup>1</sup> dated the year before his death, 15th June, 16 Edward IV., 1476, as, together with others, apparently trustees or members of the guild, sanctioning the transfer of lands in Stoppesley.

### 7. *The last mediæval Restoration of the Church.*

Ten years after the decease of John Penthelyn (1455) died his executor, *John Hay*,<sup>2</sup> steward of the Archbishop of Canterbury and

<sup>1</sup> No. 6, *Crawley Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes-atte-Hay (of Luton) was one of those whose names were entered in the *Return of the Gentry of Beds*, 12 Henry VI. (1433). As he describes himself to have been seneschal to the archbishops of Canterbury for thirty years, he must have served the four prelates, Chicheley, Stafford, Kemp, and Bouchier.

lord of the manor of Hayes in Stoppesley. His monument stood formerly in the north aisle, and thereon he was modestly described as having *repaired* the church at his own cost. This reparation, there can be little doubt, included the great alterations in style and form which transformed a Decorated church into the appearance, externally at least, of the lofty Perpendicular building which we now see. That he was aided in his work by Sir John Wenlock<sup>1</sup> and Thomas, Lord Hoo, and his family, as well as by J. Penthelyn and others,<sup>2</sup> is most probable, for, notwithstanding the disturbed state of the country owing to the rival claims to the crown, there was a great architectural revival amongst all the upper classes in almost every parish in England, lasting throughout the chief part of the century. To him, however, we are mainly indebted for the present Perpendicular windows in the nave (and in the Hoo chapel, unless these latter were inserted by Lord Hoo himself, or by some member of his family), for the raising of the nave by the addition of a clearstory, for the elevation of the transepts with their windows, and for the two porches with their "parvises" or rooms above. It is a pity that the tomb of one who was such a benefactor of the church should have been ruthlessly destroyed instead of "repaired" at one of the later restorations of the church. The inscription, in brass, is happily still in existence.

<sup>1</sup> It is said by Brayley and Britton (*Beds*, p. 32), that "the Wenlock arms (as late as in 1801) were strewed over the walls of the church in *various parts*," a circumstance, as they remark, "rendering it probable that Lord Wenlock (or rather Sir John, as he then was) contributed to the expense of repairing it when the chapel above-mentioned (the Wenlock chapel) was also erected," or rather, it would seem, some little time before it.

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that in the *Return of Gentry in Bedfordshire*, 12 Hen. VI., 1433 (among the commissioners for effecting which were Sir J. Cornwall of Ampthill Castle, afterwards Baron of Millbrook, and Sir J. Wenlock, then knight of the shire), no less than eleven names, besides that of Sir J. Wenlock, occur of persons who are supposed on good reasons to have resided in Luton (*Visitation of Beds*, pp. xii-xiv, F. A. Blaydes). This is a far greater number than can be assigned to any other parish in the county, and points to its important position, social and political, at that time, if not also to its prosperous state. The names of the "gentry" are Thomas Maningham, Thomas Hoo, Humphrey Acworthe, Valentine Bailly de Litton (*sic*, Luton?), William White, de eadem, John atte Hay, William Yppyng, John Petyfer (West Hide?), Matthew Stepyng, William Syleham (Bramblehanger?), and Thomas Jakes.

8. *Abbot Wheathamstead parts with a Farm of the Abbey at Luton.*

A transaction on the part of Abbot Wheathamstead,<sup>1</sup> not much to his credit, which took place about this time (1456), though the record of it does not occur till many years afterwards, led to his disposal of some property of the abbey in Luton. It is thus recorded in a petition<sup>2</sup> from Joan Creke, widow, to Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, 25th October, 1536:

"Fourscore years ago the then Abbot of St. Alban's had wrongfully my husband's grandfather to his ward. When he was fourteen years old the abbot sold him to a fishmonger of London, who kept him two years. The child then ran away from the fishmonger to a knight, Sir Davy Philip, who married him to Mr. S. John's daughter, of Kent. The friends of the wife sued the abbot and proved that he was not his ward, when the abbot gave in recompense for the injury a farm called Ballard's, beside Luton, Beds, and when the young man was dissatisfied, the abbot made him master of his game. Old men can attest this. Begging Cromwell's help, else the present abbot (Robert Catton, 1530-38) will do her children wrong. The abbot is now in London in a house of his own by the Charterhouse."

It would be of considerable interest to be able to decide with certainty where this Ballard's farm was situated. The only portion of land of any extent belonging to the abbey of which there is any sign of its having been disposed of in later mediæval times, *i.e.*, of having been made into an absolute fee or free tenancy (as

<sup>1</sup> The name seems generally in the last century to have been written as above, though now "Wheathamstead." The abbot's proper name was John Bostock, but from the place of his birth in Hertfordshire he took that of "*Whethamstede*" (as it appears on his tomb and in the title of his *Registrum*), which was probably both the spelling and the pronunciation of the name in his days. Previously to his election to the abbacy (he was the thirty-third abbot) he had been prior of Gloucester College (now S. John's), Oxford, where also he had been educated. This college was enlarged, 19 Edw. I. (1291), so as to admit Benedictines from all abbeyes, etc., of that order, and was probably the training place henceforth, for a century or two, of most of the vicars of Luton. After his elevation, Wheathamstead rebuilt their college chapel, putting up pictures of the Crucifixion and of S. Mary and S. John in its windows, assisted in rebuilding their library and gave to it diverse books. On his coming to S. Alban's he also set about the restoration of his abbey.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. Ser., x. 348.

Ballard's presumably must have been made on this occasion), merely paying rent of assize—as all separated portions of manors did—is the “three-score acres” of Mr. Macnamara. This would seem, therefore, to be the part here called—no doubt from some earlier occupier—Ballard's farm, whose owner, in that case, became one of the free tenants of the abbey, if not the one only free tenant, whose rent of assize is returned in 1543 at £3 19s. 3d. This, if the supposition be correct, would account for sundry peculiarities connected with these acres, such as the question raised in 1679 of their liability to tithes, whilst still forming part of the manor of Dallow.

#### 9. *The Founding of the Wenlock Chapel.*

The family of Wenlock<sup>1</sup> had been connected with the parish at this time for nearly a century, and three of its members having been in succession representatives of the shire in Parliament, it must have held a prominent place in the neighbourhood. Yet, with the exception of the erection of the handsome tomb of William, the Master of Farley, apparently at first placed in the aisle of the north transept, and of two brasses, also, it seems, originally in the same aisle, there is little<sup>2</sup> or nothing to show, throughout those many years, any connection of the family with the fabric of the church. In 1461, however, Sir John Wenlock, K.G., who had, it appears, just lost his wife, erected the beautiful and extensive chapel called by his name, or rather enlarged the aisle of the north transept to its present dimensions. From the remains of the altar within it, and from the stalls, which are now in the choir, but formerly in all probability belonged to that chapel, it was evidently designed to be not merely a memorial of his affection to that, his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir J. Drayton, who, there is reason to think, was interred therein—and to whom a touching allusion was made in the inscription in one of the windows—but also as a chantry<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Part III., The Family of Wenlock.*

<sup>2</sup> It does not seem improbable, however, that one of the bells of the old peal was given by a member of the family. *Vide Part II., The Bells.*

<sup>3</sup> There is no licence or other document relating to the matter, or indeed relating to any altar or chantry in Luton church, in the Bishop of Lincoln's *Register*. All such matters were evidently under the cognizance and juris-

a family burial-place. How long it continued to be used as a chantry is not known. As, however, he had no issue, and was himself slain and probably buried<sup>1</sup> at Tewkesbury or its immediate neighbourhood, and his second wife, who survived him and married again, was buried elsewhere, no other member of his immediate family was hereafter, seemingly, interred therein.

10. *The Purchase of a Tenement at New Mill End as a Tithe-barn.*

During this same year (1461) Abbot Wheathamstead, finding how inconvenient it was to carry to the chief grange or farm (*capitali loco ingrangiationis*) (at Dolowe?) the tithes of the distant part of the parish (East and West Hyde and New Mill End), purchased at the cost of twenty marks and upwards a manse and its appurtenances whereat to store them, together with seventeen acres of land, at New Mill End.<sup>2</sup> These are the "hereditaments" alluded to in connection with the tithes of this end of the parish in the two leases of 1533, and of that to Cardinal Pole, sold, together with those tithes, to George and Robert Wingate in 1599, and designated, though inaccurately, "glebe land" in the decree of the Court of Exchequer, 1603. These seventeen acres of "arable land" were evidently scattered in the common fields, and so are at present indistinguishable, but it is highly probable that the farm buildings at the New Mill End farm at the present time are built upon the site, and are the successors and representatives of the abbey's manse and outbuildings of four hundred years ago.

Amongst the colleagues of Wheathamstead and his successor, W. Albon, at S. Alban's, there was at this time evidently a Luton man, viz., Thomas Luton, who was precentor of the abbey at the time of the election of the former in 1452, and both precentor and sub-prior at the election in 1465 and during the time of the latter abbot.

diction of the abbots of S. Alban's, and the record of them has, unfortunately, not been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Part III., *The Burial-place of Lord Wenlock*.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Abb. J. Whethamstede*, Chron. and Mem. (28), i. 12, ii. 27, 29, 35, 36, 50.

11. *Restoration of the Chancel by Abbot Wheathamstead.*

This purchase is the last recorded act of Abbot Wheathamstead in connection with Luton of which the date is given, but as he lived for some three years longer, till 20th January, 1465, he had sufficient time, even after the building of the Wenlock Chapel, for any such restoration of the chancel as he effected. That he did rebuild part of the chancel is evident from the inscription and the coats-of-arms over the sedilia, but it is remarkable that there is no mention of this work of his either in his own history or in any other of the S. Alban records. It is known from a contemporary inscription that some of his architectural work at S. Alban's was effected during his *first* abbacy (1420-1440), such as the ceiling of the choir and the windows in the aisles (Parker's *Glossary*, iii. 62). The character, however, of his restoration at Luton is certainly late, as if it had been made during his *second* abbacy (1451-1465), and yet—although in his *Register* it is expressly recorded that it was during this second period that he repaired the chancel of the church of Appilton Rydale, York, rebuilt the chapel of S. Andrew at S. Alban's, put up, in the cloisters of the abbey, new glass with pictures from the Old and New Testament, erected his own sepulchral chapel (1460), and provided the *new grange at Luton*—there is no allusion whatever to any work of his in the church of Luton. The whole later restoration of that church is indeed sometimes attributed to him, but his work there seems to have been extremely limited,<sup>1</sup> and much of it of very poor design and workmanship.

12. *The Hospital of B. V. M. and S. Mary Magdalene of Luton.*

In the November of 1465 there met together, it would seem, at Luton, Lord Wenlock of Someries, Thomas Hoo, Esq., of the Hoo, J. Ackworth, Esq.<sup>2</sup> (of Biscot?), the vicar, J. Lammer, and

<sup>1</sup> Part II., *The Fabric of the Church*.

<sup>2</sup> The family of Ackworth was long established at Luton in a good position. In 1433 the name of Humphrey Ackworth occurs in the return of the gentry of the county. On the court roll of Dolowe, 1454-1457 (*Crawley Papers*, No. I.), John Ackworth appears as a tenant of Biscot (the half hide of land given to the abbey by Alan de Wynton). In 1465 his name is associated with the hospital, and in 1474 with the guild at Luton. Perhaps he is also the same

others, to attach their names to a petition of "the Brethren and Sisters" of the parish hospital for the sick, that of "B. V. M. and S. Mary Magdalene,"<sup>1</sup> asking for aid in support of that institution. It may have been on the occasion of what in modern times would have been called its tercentenary commemoration (if such epochs received attention in mediæval times), for it had now been carried on just three hundred years. The hospital must have been situated close to, if not actually upon Lord Wenlock's property. If he had so willed he was wealthy enough at this time to have made ample provision for its support. What aid he and the others rendered on this occasion we know not. It may have been sufficient for the time being; only it would appear that, before another century had elapsed, the hospital had ceased to exist, for amongst those granted to Edward VI. no mention of it occurs.

### 13. *The Guild of the Holy Trinity.*

This and the next century was the era of religious guilds.<sup>2</sup> Up to the commencement of the year 1474 there seems to have been no such institution at Luton, but immediately after this one was founded there, a licence being granted 12th May, 1474 ("in consideration of £72 paid into the Hanaper"), to Thomas (Rotheram), bishop of the diocese (Lincoln), and John Rotheram, Esq. (his brother, and at this time lord of the manor of Someries), to John Ackworth, Esq. (of Biscot?), John Lammer, clerk (vicar),

as "John Ekworth de Byscot in Luyton Soken, armiger," who with his wife Elizabeth, and their eldest son George, was admitted as honorary member of the Fraternity of S. Albans, at a chapter held there in 1493 (*Lib. Benef., Cott. MSS.*, Nero, vii., fol. 79). In 1461 William Ackworth, Esq., late of Luton, forfeited his estate by his fidelity to the cause of Henry VI. There was also another John Ackworth, whose brass still remains in the church, with those of his two wives, Alys and Amy, dated 1512. From 1536 to 1544 a John Ackworth appears again as a tenant of Biscot. In 1549 George Ackworth sells his interest in Biscot manor to John Dermer, as well as other property in Luton to Richard Crawley in 1544 and 1551 (*Fines*).

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, chap. v. and App. AA, *Hospital of SS. M. and M. Magdalene*.

<sup>2</sup> "These fraternities were bodies corporate, and when licensed by the crown could purchase land, build chapels, erect altars, maintain chaplains and priests, hold private meetings, make annual processions and administer oaths upon the admission of their members. Almost every parish contained one guild at least, which had each a patron saint and a chapel or altar, at times in the parish church and at other times in a distinct building annexed to the Guild-hall" (*Sims' Manual*).

and nine others, "when the guild should be established in the church, to found a chantry there with two chaplains, who were to officiate at the altar of the Holy Trinity in the southern part of the said church." "The chantry might be endowed with lands, tenements, etc., to the extent of £20 per annum, and be held in mortmain, as well for the maintenance of the chaplains as for the augmentation of five other clerks celebrating divine offices in the same church."

The charter<sup>1</sup> was granted a few months afterwards.

The death of the vicar, J. Lammer, on 15th April, 1477, is particularly recorded in the *Register*<sup>2</sup> of the abbey, where he is styled "Discretus vir," and leave was granted by the then abbot to Lammer's nephew, Thomas Ramridge, a future abbot, to be his executor.

The beautiful groined recess<sup>3</sup> in the chancel, with the rebus of his name, was no doubt erected by Lammer's successor, RICHARD BARNARD<sup>4</sup> (1477-1492), probably during the later years of his incumbency, after Henry Tudor had ascended the throne. He evidently also put stained glass into one at least of the windows of the south aisle, in which were figures of a "Bear," and written over them the word "Narde" ("Bar-nard").

<sup>1</sup> *Pat. Roll*, 14 Edw. IV., pt. 1, m. 15. Shaw (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Chapel at Luton Park*, 1829) considers that this guild became one of the most wealthy and splendid guilds in the kingdom. He contrasts it shortly before its destruction with two others in the county, as given in *Val. Eccles.* 26 Hen. VIII., where the value of Luton guild is set down at £21 13s., but that of the fraternity at Dunstable as only £9 8s. 7d., and that of Corpus Christi at Leighton as only £7 13s. 9d. He states that in the register of the guild then lately recovered are to be found the names of kings and queens, bishops, abbots, priors, and other persons of consequence, either enrolled as members or noticed as patrons. There seems to have been, besides these, six more guilds or fraternities within the county, though two only are given by Speed, viz., those of the Holy Trinity at Biggleswade, founded during the same reign as that at Luton, valued at £7, Corpus Christi at Eaton Socon, £7 16s., and the fraternities of Holy Trinity in St. Paul's, Bedford, £7, of Blunham, Cranfield, and Shillington.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Abb. S. Albani*, ii. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Part II., *The Fabric of the Church*.

<sup>4</sup> The formal presentation to the bishop, according to the terms of the commission of 1219, of R. Barnard is recorded in *Reg. Abb.*, ii. 177: "Mensis Octobris die septem A.D. Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo septimo præsentatio facta fuit Domino Thomæ Lincolniensis Ep. pro Magistro Ricardo Bernard, Mag. in artibus, pro vicaria perpetuâ in Luton admittendo per mortem Mag. J. Lammer, ultimi vicarii adtunc ibidem."



14. *A Welsh Prelate "provided" for the Vicarage.*

There is a document extant,<sup>1</sup> dated 1480, granting to one Philip Biterly, "Jantylman," power to nominate the venerable father, John Hunden,<sup>2</sup> formerly Bishop of Llandaff, to Luton vicarage on the occasion of the next vacancy. If this prelate had succeeded to the parish on the death of the then vicar, Richard Barnard, which took place in 1492, he would have been the immediate predecessor, or more probably have supplied the place of Adrian de Castello. In this latter case Luton would have had on her roll of vicars an ex-Welsh bishop instead of an embryo Italian cardinal. As however his name does not occur in the *Lincoln Register* as being instituted to Luton, it may be presumed that he either died or became incapacitated from age (as he would have been at least seventy-four years of age at that time), or possibly got a benefice elsewhere before the vacancy occurred.

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Abbatie Johannis Whethamstede*, ii. 223.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hunden, S.T.P., was appointed bishop by papal provision, 1458 (36 Hen. VI.), and resigned, June, 1476.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE TUDOR PERIOD (A.D. 1485-1603).

HENRY VII.—HENRY VIII.—EDWARD VI.—MARY.—ELIZABETH.

1. *Adrian de Castello* (1492-1502), *an aspirant to the Papedom.*

It was during the succeeding period, so much later in this case than in that of the greater number of the rich preferments<sup>1</sup> of the country, that the vicarage of Luton is first found to be held by an Italian, one Adrian de Castello or Adrian Castellan, a vicar, however, who may safely be presumed to have made no pretence of acting as a pastor, although doubtless he demanded (and received) the fleece of the flock. The chief events of his career occurred, as will be seen, after his leaving Luton, yet, as having been incumbent of the parish for ten years, his singular history claims a place in these annals.

Adrian was born at Cornuto, a poor fishing town in Tuscany, of very humble parentage, but "by virtue and good desert" rose by degrees to high preferment. Pope Innocent VIII. sent him to appease a sedition which had been raised against James III., King of Scotland; but finding when he arrived in England that James had been slain (1488), Adrian remained in London. Here he acted as secretary and collector-general both for Innocent and his successor, Alexander VI. (1492). English ecclesiastical preferments, also, were soon heaped upon him. The Bishop of London appointed him to a prebend in S. Paul's Cathedral (10th May, 1492), Archbishop Morton a week later conferred on him the rectory of S. Dunstan in the East, and before the end of the year Thomas Ramridge, the Abbot of S. Alban's, presented him to the vicarage of Luton, the best preferment in the gift of the abbey. These benefices he retained for ten years, but in the meanwhile he returned to Rome, where Henry VII. made him his proctor for the despatch of all causes at that court. Here, in 1502, on the appointment of the king, he was consecrated Bishop

<sup>1</sup> App. AZ, *Papal Intrusions and Exactions.*

of Hereford, and the following year (30th May, 1503) Alexander raised him to the rank of cardinal (of the church of S. Crisogonus), he having been for some time his chief quæstor and secretary. During the succeeding year (2nd August, 1504) he was translated by papal bull of Julius II. to the see of Bath and Wells.<sup>1</sup> Having amassed great wealth in his many lucrative offices, and being ambitious of still further exaltation, he began to mix himself up in the intrigues and plots of the time. The stories concerning his actions are full of inaccuracies and contradictions. According to some it was in his garden at Rome that an attempt to poison his patron, Alexander,<sup>2</sup> is said to have been made. Whether it was—as is asserted—from a suspicion of his having been implicated in some such attempt, or from some other cause, certain it is that he was forced into exile from Rome throughout the greater part of the reign of the succeeding pope, the warlike Julius II. (1503-1513), returning only on the accession of Leo X. (de Medici). A few years subsequently, however, along with Cardinal Petruccio (whose brother had been expelled by the new pope), and with other members of the Sacred College, he was found guilty beyond all question of conspiring the murder of Leo.<sup>3</sup> Petruccio was condemned to be strangled, but Adrian and

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been at Rome when he received both his bishoprics, and never to have seen either of them, being installed by proxy on both occasions, Polydore Vergill, alias Castellon, the historian (afterwards a prebendary of Lincoln, 1507-1513), acting for him. He had suffragans in each diocese.

<sup>2</sup> The account, as given by Guicciardini (*Hist. Ital.*, lib. vi., p. 201), and currently accepted until of late years, finding a place in Bishop Godwin's *De Prasulibus Angliæ* (p. 201), was that Pope Alexander (Rodrigo Borgia), "the monster of his age," being jealous of the wealth of Adrian and other cardinals, administered poison in Falernian wine to some ten or twelve of them in his own garden at the Vatican, but through the mistake of his butler he took some of the poisoned flask himself and was killed thereby. Adrian, however, drinking only a little, being young and taking an antidote, recovered. Whatever foundation there may have been for this story, or for the more probable assertion of Adrian himself that he only was to have been the victim on the occasion, poisoning does not seem to have been the immediate or only cause of Alexander's death.

<sup>3</sup> P. Jovius in his life of Pope Leo says that it was not from avarice, but from a vain desire of reigning that Adrian sought the life of Leo, and that he was instigated to it by the words of a fortune-teller, who foretold that Leo, having come to a premature end, would be succeeded by an old man of the name of Adrian, born in an obscure place, but distinguished for his learning, and who, owing to his own virtue alone had deserved the honour. This

some other of the conspirators<sup>1</sup> confessing and begging for mercy, were pardoned. He was deprived, however, of all his dignities and preferments both in England and at Rome, 1518, and fined heavily; but "still fearing the worst or ashamed to show his face, he shortly afterwards stole away secretly" from Rome, escaping apparently to Venice in disguise, and thence into Thrace and to Constantinople. By some he is said to have died in obscurity, by others (Contelorius, *e.g.*) that, returning to Italy after a few years, he met at last with the fate he had designed for at least one other, being himself assassinated. He died, according to some historians, in 1521,<sup>2</sup> but more probably, as Contelorius relates, on 16th January, 1526.

It was during Adrian's incumbency of Luton that Archbishop Rotheram left to the church there, in 1498,<sup>3</sup> a legacy, viz., "one suit of grey bawdkin<sup>4</sup> worked with pheasants for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon; one gilt chalice, with two cruets," which seems to imply that the staff of the clergy at the parish church at that time amounted to three at the least—this being the usual number engaged in the celebration of the divine mysteries.

Adrian de Castello interpreted as pointing to himself. Nor when this Adrian thus failed were the woman's words considered to have come untrue. For on the death of Leo, 1522, another Adrian, an old man of Batavia, the son of a poor workman, but illustrious for his learning, succeeded as Adrian VI.

<sup>1</sup> Another account (Godwin, *B. and W.*, p. 385) gives it that Leo was ready to forgive even Adrian if he confessed, but that instead he fled no one knew where.

<sup>2</sup> It is strange at least, and not without interest, in connection with the above account of Adrian's later years and end, to find that the Bull of Clement VII. for the suppression of certain English monasteries, etc., 16 Henry VIII., 1524, is signed by an Adrian de Castillo. Only that no notice of the fact seems to have been taken by any historian, this signature might lead to the conjecture that Adrian was again received into favour at the court of Rome—a fact which, if it could be proved, would go far towards upholding the probable correctness of the later date assigned to his death.

<sup>3</sup> "Item do et lego ecclesiæ de Luton, ubi mater mea sepelitur, et frater, necnon ubi, quantum in me est, stabilivi successionem sanguinis mei, unam sectam de glauco bawdkin, operatam cum fesanis, pro sacerdote, diacono et subdiacono; unum calicem de auratum, cum ij cruets" (Archbishop Rotheram's will, signed 6th August, 1498, proved . . . 1500.)—*Test. Ebor.*, *Surtees Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Baudekin, *i.e.*, rich silk or cloth. App. BA, *Suit of Vestments*.

2. *Edward Sheffield, LL.D.* (1502-1526).

A succession of distinguished vicars immediately preceded, or were contemporary with, the great events of the Reformation.

EDWARD SHEFFIELD, canon of Lichfield, who succeeded Adrian, was a near relative<sup>1</sup> of Sir Robert Sheffield, Speaker of the House of Commons and Recorder of London, who, with the consent of the abbot and convent of S. Alban's, presented him to Luton. Together with this preferment, which he enjoyed for twenty-four years, he held two other benefices,<sup>2</sup> besides his canonry. He is one of the only two vicars of the parish of whom brasses remain. Some years prior to his decease (before 1522, when he resigned Cambourne) he had had the brass inscribed with his figure, in canon's dress, his name, dignities, and coat-of-arms, but had left a space for the insertion of the date of his death. From some cause this space, as in the cases of many others (especially among the clergy, owing to their families and executors seldom remaining in the place after the decease of the incumbent), was never filled up. From his will,<sup>3</sup> however, signed 5th December, 1525, and proved 7th February, 1526, corroborated by the institution of his successor on the 31st March of this latter year, the required date can be very approximately arrived at.

There is an interesting will<sup>4</sup> extant of a parishioner of Sheffield, John Barbour of Luton, dated 18th August, 1509, and written, as was still customary, in Latin, though the priest Sheffield's, only sixteen years later, is in English. It gives an instance of the payment at this period to the vicar of mortuaries, and also of the scrupulous care which laymen then exercised in paying church dues, or making compensation for forgotten or neglected dues, and of the donations to the support of the church, its ministers, fabric, and services, which they then were accustomed to make in their wills.

<sup>1</sup> From a comparison of his coat-of-arms and its quartering (Lownde), on his brass, with those of Sir Robert, it is clear that though he could not have been his son, in which case he would have quartered also the arms of Delves, yet he must have been his near relative.

<sup>2</sup> Vide "Rectors and vicars."

<sup>3</sup> App. BB, *Edward Sheffield's Will*.

<sup>4</sup> App. BC, *Will of John Barbour of Luton*.

3. *Richard Doke, D.D.* (1526—).

RICHARD DOKE, or DUKE, the next vicar, was a Fellow of Exeter College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and whilst vicar of Luton<sup>1</sup> also archdeacon of Salisbury, signing as such "The Ten Articles of Faith" in 1536. He was appointed to Luton by Cardinal Wolsey as "commendatory of S. Alban's Abbey," and resigned some years previous to his death. It is a little singular that in the same year in which he was junior proctor at Oxford, 1509, his successor at Luton, Thomas Herytage, was the senior proctor.

4. *Thomas Herytage* (—1537).

THOMAS HERYTAGE, dean of S. Malling, rector of Hackney (to which he was presented by Henry VIII.), and precentor of Lichfield, succeeded Doke. The date of his appointment to Luton is not known, but he was vicar at the time of the Ecclesiastical Visitation in 1535, and probably also in the previous year, when the first serious step of the Reformation was made—the act abolishing the usurped authority of the pope in England, asserting and proclaiming the independence of Rome of the National Church. This act, however, was speedily followed by another, which, though an improvement upon the previous practice, as retaining within the kingdom moneys which had for nearly three centuries been compulsorily sent out of it for the enrichment of the court of Rome, yet was still open to grave objection on the score of injustice and hardship towards the clergy. Considering the origin of the impost, it showed little interest in the well-being of the Church, when, on so appropriate an opportunity, instead of freeing them from a tax to which the income of no other class is subjected, and one, moreover, tyrannically imposed upon them by that very authority which was now being rejected as having been from the first unlawful and usurped, a new act rivetted upon them a continual payment of the whole of the first year's produce of their benefice, together with an annual tenth of their clerical income. The act,<sup>2</sup> instead, merely transferred the payment of

<sup>1</sup> J. Crawley, of Luton, mentions in his will, 1530, a Sir W. Baston as his confessor. He was, perhaps, Doke's curate.

<sup>2</sup> This act led to a new valuation of the revenues of the clergy (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*), who had, for the previous two centuries and upwards, been

the firstfruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices from the pope to the king.

In his time also the English Bible<sup>1</sup> was ordered to be set up in churches (1536)—part of the chain still remaining in the chancel of Luton church with which a copy was there attached to a desk or lectern. Herytage<sup>2</sup> died in the succeeding year, 1537.

It was, however, during JOHN GWYNNETH's vicariate (1537-58) that the chief changes<sup>3</sup> of the time affecting the outward state of the parish and church took place.

taxed upon that of 1291 (*Tax. P. Nick. IV.*). Owing to the increased value both of landed property and of church dues and offerings, arising in great measure from the enclosure of waste lands and the increase of the population, a much higher value was now set upon benefices, and it is upon this valuation, happily not upon its present value, that the clergy have ever since had to pay upon institution a year's income as "firstfruits," and afterwards a "tenth" annually. That the payment no longer goes to make up the revenue either of the sovereign or of the realm, but has been employed for nearly two hundred years for ecclesiastical purposes, is no exoneration of the original wrongdoers, the better disposal of it being the gracious act of good Queen Anne, "Queen Anne's Bounty." The value of the *rectory* of Luton, as being "appropriate," is not given in *Val. Eccles.*, but is to be found in the minister's accounts a few years later. There it is said to amount to £110 12s. 0½d., viz., tithe £92, Dallow manor £10, rents £8 12s. 0½d., though there is reason to believe that this latter amount included the rent of some lands not strictly rectorial, though added from time immemorial to the rectorial estate. The gross value of the *vicarage* in 1536 is set down in *Val. Eccles.* as £36 2s. 7d., the only deduction being 10s. 6d. for archdeacon's procurations.

<sup>1</sup> This was probably Coverdale's version, published the preceding year, and thus ordered to be provided by Cromwell as vicar-general in one of his injunctions to the clergy, "One book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have care of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it" (*Wilkins' Concil.*, iii. 815; *Cutt's Dict. "Bible"*).

<sup>2</sup> His short will, though it throws no light upon anything connected with the parish, is given in the App. BD, *Will of Thos. Herytage*.

<sup>3</sup> It will be seen both from the instance of Gwynneth and from those of his successors that the modern proposition, propagated so persistently for their own purposes alike by Romanists as by other separatists from the Church, that the fabrics of the old churches and their endowments were forcibly taken away from the former at the Reformation and were given to Anglicans, has no foundation in fact. Gwynneth continued his ministrations in the parish church through the reigns both of the Reforming Edward and the Romanist Mary, and was succeeded by Mason, ordained and instituted, like himself, by an English bishop, and who, being appointed by the legal patron, succeeded, exactly as he had done and by the same law and custom, to the duties and emoluments of the church and vicarage. And as it was at Luton, so also was it in almost

## 5. "Reformation" Changes.

The first of these changes was the surrender, followed immediately by THE DISSOLUTION in 1539, only two years after Gwynneth's institution, OF THE ABBEY OF S. ALBANS, which had held the church for nearly four centuries (384 years), and the consequent passing into the hands of the king (1) of the advowson of the vicarage; (2) of the rectorial tithes, and (3) of the rectorial and other lands in the parish belonging to the abbey.

(1) *The Advowson.* As Gwynneth outlived both Henry VIII. and his two successors, neither of these three royal patrons had any opportunity of presenting to the vicarage; but Queen Elizabeth, the first monarch since William the Conqueror who nominated to the benefice, except once on the occasion of a vacancy in the abbacy, exercised her right on four several occasions, and James I. once.

On November 17th, 1623, the latter,<sup>1</sup> however, conveyed the advowson to his fellow-countryman, Sir Robert Napier. From him it has descended<sup>2</sup> through the families of Herne and of the Marquis of Bute, who were, like him, lords of the manors of both Luton and Luton Hoo; and latterly, through individuals, chiefly clergy, to the present patrons, "the Peach trustees."

(2) *The Rectorial Tithes*, which had now increased from having been £66 13s. 4d. in 1291 (and upon which amount the abbey had hitherto been taxed), to £92, had been held and farmed<sup>3</sup> for

every case—many clergy surviving all the changes throughout the reigns of the Tudors. "The same clergy ministered, the same laity worshipped, in the churches. Even after the Romanist reaction in the reign of Mary, not more than 189 out of a total of 9,400 clergy (it is said) withdrew from their benefices rather than accept the restoration of the reformed faith on the accession of Elizabeth." "For some forty years after the English Church had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in 1531, the Romanists and the Anglicans worshipped side by side in the churches of the land" (Garnier, *The Story in Outline of the Church of England*, pp. 27-30).

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Ser.*

<sup>2</sup> The names of the successive patrons will be found in the list of Rectors and Vicars.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest allusions to these separate portions which have been met with are those in the will of J. Crawley, 25th May, 1519, in which he assigns "portions of his *Luton and Challey-end* tithes to his wife, Johan," and "*half his tithe at New Mill End* to Thos. Crawley of Chiltern Green," so that he presumably farmed these two portions under a lease from the abbey. This,



some years before this in four or five different portions, as may be seen more especially in the minister's accounts of 35 Henry VIII., A.D. 1544, explained by contemporary leases, viz. :

	£	s.	d.
Luton and Chaulney (Chaul End) called "Luton Tithes," together with one barn erected within the manor of Dollowe, situate near the great gate of the said manor . . . . .	23	0	0
New Mill End and hereditaments ( <i>i.e.</i> , the 17 acres, messuage, barn, etc., purchased by Abbot Wheathamstead, A.D. 1461), and E. and W. Hyde . . . . .	20	0	0
	43	0	0
Littgrove (Leagrave) . . . . .	10	0	0
Limbury, Biscot, Bramhanger, and Woodcroft . . . . .	15	0	0
Stopsley . . . . .	24	0	0
Total . . . . .	92	0	0

Of these various portions, the tithes of *Stopsley* were retained by the crown only till the reign of Queen Mary, who in the year 1555 (8th March, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary) granted them to Sir Thomas Pope, and being by him<sup>1</sup> given to his new foundation of Trinity

however, must have nearly expired, as in the earliest extant lease of these same two portions, that of 1535 to J. Tymmys, for thirty-one years, it is stated that *J. Dermer* had lately held them. There is a lease, also, of nearly the same above date, 16th December, 1519, of the tithes of *Lymbury, Biscot, Bramhanger, and Woodcroft* to Andrew Braye and W. Perrot for forty-one years "from the Nativity of S. John Baptist, 1534," a term implying that there was an earlier lease then existing and running to that date. The earliest known lease of the *Leagrave* tithes is that of 20th March (24 Henry VIII.), 1533, made by the last abbot to J. Lawrence of Lytgrave for twenty-four years (*Conventual Leases, Glouc. and Herts*). Thos. Blake and Thos. Skipworth, Esq., also farmed the tithes of *Stopsley* previous to 1555, but the dates of their lease or leases are not recorded. Throughout the whole period of the recorded leases, until the sale of the several tithes, the valuation of each portion continued the same, and as stated above.

<sup>1</sup> In his charter of foundation, dated March 4th, 1554-55, are recited twenty-five manors and thirteen advowsons, besides impropriations and pensions, with all of which he is licensed to enfeof his college (*Wharton's Life of Sir Thos. Pope, Newcome*, p. 494). But as the grant to him of the tithes of *Stopsley* was made four days subsequently, these are not alluded to in the license to alienate, nor is there, apparently, any license extant on the subject.

College, Oxford. In 1642-48 these tithes<sup>1</sup> were rented at £200 a year, in 1844 at £820.

During Queen Mary's reign, also, the tithes of the two portions of "*New Mill End with E. and W. Hyde*," and of "*Litgrave*," were granted by Act of Parliament to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, although the patents granting them cannot be found. The fact, however, is stated in the leases<sup>2</sup> of these several portions of tithes. His connection, therefore, for some little time with Luton church property is thus established. After taking a prominent part in carrying out the queen's religious policy, he died within twenty-two hours of the queen herself, on November 18th, 1555. On his death, whatever tithes he had held reverted to the crown.

All the rectorial tithes, with the exception of those of Stopsley, having thus come again into the hands of the crown, were sold,<sup>3</sup> together with the tithe barn at Dollowe and the lands (17 acres), barn, tenements, etc., attached to the messuage at New Mill End, by Queen Elizabeth (4th December, 42 Eliz.), in 1599, to George Wingate, Esq., and Robert Wingate, gent., son and heir of George, for the sum of £2,720, to be held of the honour of Hampton Court, for the fortieth part of one knight's fee.

In 1603<sup>4</sup> these tithes, valued as above at £68 a year, were in

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS., Br. Mus.*, No. 5494.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the "Particulars for leases for *New Mill End Tithes*," Eliz. and Jas. I., Bedford Roll, i., No. 12, Augm. Office:

"Parcel of the possessions lately granted to the *Lord Reginald, late Cardinal Pole*, by Act of Parliament, and before that, parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of S. Albans, Luton. Farm of all, and all manner of tithes of sheaves and grain coming from the land of *Newmyllend, West Hyde and Est Hyde* in the parish of Luton, and also the *tenement* of the abbot and convent aforesaid, with a *barn* and *land* to the same tenement belonging, situate in Newmyllend, leased to J. Tymmys (by indenture under the seal of the said monastery dated the last day of Jan., 26 H. VIII. (1535), to hold from the feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist, 1549, for 31 years" (*i.e.*, till 1580) "at the rent of £20. Order dated 27 Nov. 1567, to make a lease of premises to J. Brochet for 12 and a half years."

It is doubtful whether this lease was ever confirmed to J. Brochet, as a similar one (though the number of years it was to run is omitted in it) had been made to J. Fothergill, 20th April, 5 Edward VI. (1551), and which alone is mentioned in the deed of sale to the Wingates in 1599.

The grant of the *Litgrave* tithes to the cardinal is also mentioned in this latter deed.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat. Rolls*, 42 Eliz., p. 11, m. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Excheq. Spec. Commiss.*, No. 372, 45 Eliz., 1603.

the possession of the said George Wingate, his son Robert having died in the meanwhile. How any part of them came again into the possession of the crown does not appear, but within twenty years, *i.e.*, in 1623,<sup>1</sup> James I. conveyed to his favourite, Sir Robert Napier, of Luton Hoo, along with the advowson of Luton vicarage, his right to the *tithes of Chiltern Green*, which, as this latter was in those days the name of the village of the hamlet of East Hyde, must, it is presumed, be merely another designation for the tithes of New Mill End and East and West Hyde, these having seemingly always gone together, and being so found in the possession of the successor of the Napiers, the Marquis of Bute, in 1844.

If so, then these tithes, thus early separated from the rest, furnish us with the second stage and instance, after Stopsley, of the breaking up of them again into the old four or five portions, preparatory to still further disruption.

And that the tithes of Chiltern Green were one and the same with those of New Mill End and East and West Hyde seems confirmed by the following.

Sir Robert Napier's property having been sequestered as a delinquent some twenty years after the above grant (February 28th, 1644), his tithes were sequestered also, and these, as will be seen in the accompanying extracts, are spoken of, not as those of Chiltern Green, but as of East and West Hyde.

"FLITTON CUM SILSOE.—At the Com<sup>tee</sup> for plundered Minist<sup>rs</sup>, July 1<sup>mo</sup>, anno Dni 1646 :

"By vertue of an Order of both houses of pliam<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> of May laste. It is ordered that the yearely sūme of 50<sup>l</sup> be payd out of y<sup>e</sup> *Imppropriate Tythes in East Hyde & West Hyde* in y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>ish of Luton in y<sup>e</sup> County of Bedford w<sup>ch</sup> are sequestred from S<sup>r</sup> Robert Napper Delinq<sup>t</sup> to & for increase of y<sup>e</sup> maintenāce of the Minister of Flitton & Silshoe in the said county, his p<sup>r</sup>nt maintenāce being but 35<sup>l</sup> p ann. & there being two Churches & 340 Comunicants within the said p<sup>r</sup>ish."

And though in the succeeding entries the term is varied, there can be little doubt that the reference is to the same tithes.

"17 July 1646. It is ordered that the yearely sūme of forty pounds be payd out of y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>fits of y<sup>e</sup> *Imppropriate Rectory of Luton* in y<sup>e</sup> county of Bedford sequestred from Sir Robert Napper

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Dom. Ser.)*, p. 112, 1623.

Delinq<sup>t</sup>, to & for increase of maintenāce of the Minister of the p'ish church of *Biggleswade* in y<sup>e</sup> said County the viccaridge whereof is worth but 26<sup>l</sup> p. ann."

And again, on the same day, forty pounds more out of the profits of the same *impropriate rectory* sequestered from Sir Robert were allocated to the minister of the parish church of *Potton*, it being a market town, and his present maintenance being but £40 per annum.

On the following 12th August were allotted from the same impropriate rectory £50 to *Dunton*, worth £30, and £50 more to *Sundon*, the said parish consisting of sixty families, and the vicarage worth but £28 per annum.

The total amount<sup>1</sup> thus assigned from Sir Robert's "Impropriate Rectory of Luton" and "Impropriate Tithes of East and West Hyde" is £230 a year. As in the return made of his property at the time of his sequestration there is no mention of his possessing any portion of the impropriate rectory, except that of tithes, or any tithes (not counting those of Stopsley, of which he was only the lessee,) except those of East and West Hyde (the title here given to them being another proof that those of Chiltern Green and of East and West Hyde were identical), and as these were then valued at £280 a year, it seems reasonable to infer that the four last charges above, as well as the first, were placed upon the East and West Hyde tithes, the designation, "Impropriate Rectory," being, of course, strictly applicable to them. If so, £50 was still left for future disposal.

Eventually the remainder of the rectorial tithes, *i.e.*, exclusive of those of Stopsley and of East and West Hyde, were broken up into numerous fragments and parted with to the various land-owners, who, either in the course of the next century or two, merged them in the rent of the land, or are found in 1844, according to the terms of the award, "the rightful owners and impropiators of the rectorial tithes."

The above classification of the tithes (in 1544) seems to make mention of, and to include, all the manors and lands of the parish with the exception of those of Dallow, Farley, and Whyppersley; showing thereby that these latter, and these alone, at the time of the dissolution of S. Alban's, were exempt from payment of rectorial tithe; for it is not to be supposed that up to that time

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Dom. Ser., Interregnum*, Order Books 1-4 F., Public Record Office. *Vide also Beds, N. and Q.*, vol. iii., part xi., pp. 343-345.

any tithes had been purchased from the abbey and been merged. The history of the subsequent merging, a process which probably did not commence until the last century, can only be ascertained by an investigation of ancient leases. The result at the date of the award (1844) will be seen in another place.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *The Rectory lands* and others attached to them. It is hoped that it has been sufficiently established that the later manor of Dolowe or Dellow comprised these, of which, indeed, they formed the nucleus and the greater part. Of this manor,<sup>2</sup> "the farm of the site of the manor of Dellow, lands, pastures, meadows, etc.," had, with certain exceptions,<sup>3</sup> also been leased for thirty-one years in 1533 (10th April, 24 Hen. VIII.) by the abbot, Robert Catton, to Thomas Dermer, at the annual rent of £10. This, together with the manor itself<sup>4</sup> and all rents of free and customary tenants (valued at £8 2s. 0½d.), was sold by the king a few years after they had come into his possession (8th August, 35 Hen. VIII., 1543), as "Dellow Manor," to Thomas Barnardiston, afterwards Sir Thomas. The amount paid on the occasion was £746 3s. 10½d., but that included the purchase for £5 3s. 3d., and 10s. 4d. annual rent, of a moiety of the manor of Havering, in the parish of Luton, lately forfeited by Sir Richard Fermoy,<sup>5</sup> who at the same time lost the manor of Luton Hoo, with the hermitage and water-mill belonging to the manor, and also the manor of East Hyde. The actual sum therefore received for the abbey's manor was £741 os. 7½d.

In 1545 (10th February, 36 Hen. VIII.) Thomas Barnardiston, Esq., the son of Sir Thomas,<sup>6</sup> leased not merely the above farm,

<sup>1</sup> App. BE, *Luton Tithes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Particulars of Grants*.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., "The Great Hall, Buttery, and Chamber there, and the Great Barn for empounding of Tithes, near the Great Gate of the Manor." Of these, the Great Hall, Buttery, and Chamber, valued at 15s. per annum, were not included in the estimate made previous to the purchase by Sir Thomas. Nor was Rownwood (Runley Wood?) of 10 acres, valued at 26s., which was left for firewood. This and another wood, not named, were thus estimated for sale, "The same wood and about 200 oaks of 60 or 80 years' growth, whereof 100 are reserved for farmer there, for timber, house-boot, plough-boot and cart-boot, according to covenant, and 100 trees residue, at 12d. per tree, the whole £5." The Great Barn seems to have been always let, and was eventually sold, with "the Luton tithes."

<sup>4</sup> *Pat. Roll*, 35 Henry VIII., part i., mem. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. and Invent. of Particulars for Grants*, Edward VI.

<sup>6</sup> App. BF, *Indenture*, 1586.

but the manor itself, including the court baron and its fees, and the rents of both the free and the customary tenants, only reserving view of frankpledge, fishing, etc., to the same Thomas Dermer for fifty-one years at the rent of £19 per annum. Before the expiration of the tenancy Dermer's interest in it came into the hands of Sir Philip Boteler, who in 1586 (14th October, 28 Eliz.) made it over to his late servant Edward Carde for the rest of the term, *i.e.*, till 1590. In the meantime, however, Barnardiston, now Sir Thomas, received licence from the queen (12th February, 28 Eliz., 1586) to alienate the whole manor and its appurtenances to Thomas Crawley and his wife Dorothy.

The history of the various members of the manor of Dellow henceforth becomes more or less distinct and separate, and is not always traceable.<sup>1</sup>

**SUPPRESSION OF THE GUILD.** Another event happened shortly after the dissolution of S. Alban's, which deprived Gwynneth of his two assistant priests and the help that *guilds* always gave in a parish. For in 1545 parliament conferred on King Henry the property of all *chantries, hospitals, and guilds*, and though the king died before he had taken possession of them, yet the grant was renewed to Edward VI. on his accession in 1547.

In the return<sup>2</sup> made of chantries, etc., about this period, it is stated that there was in the parish of Luton, "by estymacon vii myles in compasse, 1500 houselyng<sup>3</sup> people and no more preistes to said parish or church but the vicar therof and said two brothers for to help to minister to said parish." The brotherhood was there said to be of the yearly value of £26 1s. 1d., but the deductions amounted to £4 18s. 3d. (*viz.*, 55s. 3d. rent resolute and 43s. to the king for tenths), leaving for the priests' stipends, etc., £21 2s. 10d. The ornaments and goods were worth £6 13s., and were in the hands of "John Gwynethe, Mayster of the Fraternitie and Thos. Brugge, Churchwarden."

In another return,<sup>4</sup> apparently of a little different date, the net

<sup>1</sup> App. BG, *Dollow Manor and its Appurtenances*.

<sup>2</sup> Chantry Certificate, Bedford No. 4, temp. Henry VIII. Date torn off, but subsequent to 4th Feb., 27 Henry VIII.

<sup>3</sup> "Houselyng" or "houcely" people were persons old enough to receive "the Housel" or holy sacrament. This no doubt included children, as in those days confirmation was administered and persons admitted to holy communion at quite an early age.

<sup>4</sup> Vide also App. BH, *The Possessions of the Fraternity*.

income of the guild is said to be £21 14s. 9d. In this the names and conditions of the two priests are thus given :

"John Johnson of thage of lx years but meanelly lerned is resident there another felow and hath no other lyving but his stipend of the said brotherhed which is by yere *vi li.*," after which is added "*penč*" (pension) *cš*, so he appears to have received at this time from the government a pension of £5 a year.

"Richard Caynho is the other felow of the age of l years not lerned and hath no lyvyng but his stipend of the said brotherhed which is by yere *vi li.* *Penč lxijs iij d.*" (£3 2s. 2d.).

To the queries:

Grammar Scolle kepte ?

Preacher mayntened ?

Poor peple releued ?

} the answer returned is, "None."

Signed, William Smyth.

In 1548 (3rd July, 2 Edward VI.) a request was made by Randall Burgh and Robert Beverley, gent., to be allowed to purchase "The farm of all the lands and tenements of the late guild or fraternity of Luton, Beds."

INVENTORIES OF CHURCH GOODS. In May, 1552, a commission was issued to take inventories of all church goods in each parish—nominally to check the system of plunder which was going on by churchwardens and others locally—in reality to complete the system of spoliation inaugurated on a larger scale by Henry VIII. in behalf of the favourites of the crown. The commissioners for Bedfordshire were Sir J. St. John of Bletsoe, Kt., Lewis (afterwards Sir Lewis) Dive of Bromham, Kt., Sir Uryan Brereton and Richard Snowe of Chicksands; and the inventories of the county were taken between August and December, 1552 (6 Edward VI.). Unhappily only fourteen out of about one hundred and twenty are known to be in existence, and amongst these that of Luton does not appear. The inventory, if it had survived, would no doubt have thrown more light upon a great variety of matters than could have been expected from any other return, such as, upon the state of both the fabric of the church and its furniture, the size and weight of Archbishop Rotheram's chalice and cruets, the number and size of the bells, the vestments of the clergy—a point of interest as showing what were in use in 1552, and consequently a considerable portion of the "ornaments which were in use in 1549," the year referred to in the ornaments rubric in the Prayer Book—the names of the churchwardens for that year, etc. The fourteen existing inventories include those of

the churches of Houghton Regis, Harlington, Westonyng, Tyngrythe, Battlessden, Eversoult, Hulcott, Salford, Husband Crawley, Meppershall, Willington, Stackedene, Farndish, and Eton-Wiboston (Eaton Socon). They show that there was a good deal of difference in the amount and value of the furniture of the various churches. Notwithstanding that it had been lately robbed Houghton Regis exhibits an unusually great variety. As examples, those of two neighbouring churches are given in Part IV.<sup>1</sup>

**CLERICAL MARRIAGES.** The convocation of the clergy having, in 1547 (1 Edward VI.), unanimously affirmed the right of ordained persons, as of others, to marry, parliament, in 1549, passed an act sanctioning the marriage of the clergy. Gwynneth, however, a staunch adherent of the old order of things, was not likely to have availed himself of this liberty, though his near successor, Rose, did, or rather anticipated it, by marrying abroad at a still earlier period. Rose was probably the first openly married vicar who ever resided at Luton.

**RITUAL CHANGES.** Other changes which quickly followed probably affected Gwynneth more deeply; viz., the order in 1547 for images to be pulled down, which, if carried out in the parish (for it was not always insisted on), must have led to the removal of the image of the Blessed Virgin from over the chief altar and of the "Rood" or figure of the Saviour upon the Cross from under the chancel arch; the introduction of the new English Prayer Book of Edward VI. in 1549 (enforced by the first act of uniformity known in this country), and followed shortly by that, to him no doubt still more obnoxious book, of 1552; and the substitution of a wooden movable table for a fixed stone altar in 1550. These changes and the new doctrines and opinions of which such things were but the public expression, must have been gall and wormwood to him.

As Gwynneth is the earliest vicar whose writings (beyond wills) have come down to us, and the only one who is known to have given any music to the church—whose national character is conspicuously exhibited in what is recorded of him, and whose life tells much of the character of the time—a sketch of his career is here added, and in the Appendix<sup>2</sup> will be found a full account of his writings, with the only specimen of his music which has been discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Inventories of the Churches of Harlington and Houghton Regis*.

<sup>2</sup> App. B1, *Gwynneth's Publications*.



6. *John Gwynneth, Mus. Doc.* (1537-1558).

GWYNNETH was a Welshman, as his name indicates,<sup>1</sup> and, like his predecessor Adrian, of humble parentage, but his great abilities being early recognized, he was given an exhibition at Oxford by one who thought he would prove "an ornament to the Catholic Church by writing against the heretics, as the Protestants were then called."<sup>2</sup> This latter he did eventually, but the earliest notice of his "abilities" are as a musician. There are, however, two still earlier references to him, viz., one in *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., 29th September, 1522, where among old debts due to S. Alban's appears the name of "J. Gwynneth, clerk, £18," and the other when, being still only an acolyte, he was presented to the rectory or free chapel of Stotesbury,<sup>3</sup> Northampton, 9th December, 1528 (valued in 1535 at 66s. 8d.), apparently by the prior of S. Andrew's, Northampton.

His first appearance as a musician seems to have been in 1530, when *A Book of twenty Songs set to Music* being published—a work still extant and exhibited among the early printed books at the British Museum, 1890—J. Gwynneth is set down as the author of one of them, entitled "My Love Mourneth." In the following year, however (1531), being then a secular priest, on applying for the degree of Doctor of Music (which was granted to him), he stated that he had spent twenty years in the practice and theory of music, and had in that time composed "all the responses of the whole year in division song, and had published three masses of five parts and five masses of four, as also certain symphonies, antiphonas, and divers songs for the use of the Church." None of these apparently have survived to the present day.

A few years afterwards (1536) he published, at S. Albans, the first part of his treatise against J. Frith's book "on the Sacrament of the Altar." Frith had three years previously (4th July, 1533) suffered death in the Smithfield fires for the expression of his views on this subject; Gwynneth's work seems to have led to his preferment, for shortly after its publication the king presented

<sup>1</sup> Gwynneth or Gwynnedd is the old name of North Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Wood's *Athene Oxonienses*.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, *History of Northamptonshire*. He mentions Stotesbury near Brackley as presenting the singular anomaly of a parish without either church or village. (Winkle's *British Cathedrals*, I. iii.)

him to the sinecure rectory or provostship of Clynog Vaur in the diocese of Bangor. This involved him in a long legal dispute, in which, however, he was successful. For the bishop, J. Capon (1534-39), to whom the patronage by right belonged, refused to admit him, and instituted instead one Gregory Williamson. Upon this Gwynneth brought a writ of *quare impedit* against both the bishop and Williamson, and upon Bishop Capon's translation to Salisbury continued it against his successor, Bishop Bird, and Williamson; and upon Bishop Bird's removal very shortly after to Chester, and during the vacancy of the see, he got himself instituted to Clynog (October, 1541) by the commissary of Archbishop Cranmer. Not content, however, with this, he obtained summonses against both of the late bishops, Capon and Bird, and against Williamson also. The two former being, one at Sarum and the other at Chester, and Williamson in Flanders, nobody appeared to the suit, and so judgment passed by default. But even this does not seem to have closed the matter; for we find that after this there was a great dispute between Gwynneth and Bishop Bulkley, the successor of Bird, in the Star Chamber, which raged for two years (1542 and 1543<sup>1</sup>), in the latter of which Gwynneth had judgment upon his *quare impedit* also.

In the prosecution of this last suit Bishop Bulkley somehow fell under the penalty of a *præmunire* (entailing forfeiture of lands, goods, and chattels, together with imprisonment and ransom at the king's will), and to save himself from the consequences of this, gave up to the king the perpetual advowson, not only of Clynog, but also of two other rectories, Llangeinwen and Llangelynen. The latter, however, of these was eventually restored to the bishop's patronage.

During King Henry's reign\* Gwynneth received two more preferments, that of Luton and of S. Peter's Cheap in the city of London, both of them at the hands of private individuals, and

<sup>1</sup> At this same period (35 Henry VIII.) Gwynneth had another action in the Star Chamber against William Roberts, clerk, for forcibly carrying away corn, etc., belonging to the provostship of Clynog (*Star Chamber Proceedings*, Henry VIII., vol. i., pp. 376-78).

<sup>2</sup> On 20th March, 1545 (36 Henry VIII.), he was named as supervisor of the will of Roger Barher, maltsterman of Luton, who left orders to be buried in Luton church, and bequeathed "to the High Altar of his parishe Church for Tithes and Offerings negligently forgotten *xd.* and to the nedes and repaying of the Church *4d.*" One of the witnesses to the will was J. Jonson, "preiste in Luton," the same who was the priest of the Guild of the Holy Trinity.

retained all three, apparently, until nearly the end of Mary's reign.

During the religious changes of Edward's reign he prudently kept silent; but as soon as Queen Mary came to the throne he showed himself keenly alive to his altered surroundings, preaching a sermon at Luton, which he afterwards published, entitled *A Declaration of the Notable Victory given of God to Queen Mary, shewed in the Church of Luton, 22nd July, in the First Year of her Reign* (London, 8vo, but no copy of it can be discovered), and in the following year (1554) put forth another part of his book, *A Declaration of the State wherein all heretikes dooe lead their lives, etc.*

The reactionary changes of this reign must have been peculiarly agreeable to him. In the first year, the services of the Church were ordered to be those commonly used in the last years of Henry VIII., and roodlofts and images were allowed to be erected, and in the succeeding year the Church of England was reconciled for three short but disastrous years to Rome. What he thought, however, of the persecutions of these times we do not know, but in the last of them (1557), which was also the last year of his incumbency of Luton, he published the concluding part of his attack against Frith's treatise, *A Playne Demonstration of John Frühes Lacke of witte and learnynge, etc.*

In the institution of his successor, Mason, which took place about a fortnight after the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1st December, 1558), no mention is made of the cause of the vacancy of Luton vicarage; we are therefore left in uncertainty whether Gwynneth died vicar, or, in view of expected changes, resigned his post. It was too early in the reign for him to have been deprived. It is clear, however, that he died<sup>1</sup> about this period, as his successor at Stotesbury, Northamptonshire, was instituted, 13th May, 1559, "on the *decease* of the last incumbent."

#### 7. *George Mason, B. A.* (1558-1562).

Mason, who was evidently a favourite at court, was too great a pluralist (holding three rectories in or near London, besides a prebend at S. Paul's and a canonry at Windsor) to have been

<sup>1</sup> "He probably died before the close of Queen Mary's reign" (*Biog. Dict. of the English Catholics*).

likely ever to have resided at Luton, but we may perhaps regard his substitute, whoever he was, during the four years of his incumbency, as a providential transition from the teaching of Gwynneth to the very different doctrine of Mason's successor, Rose. During Mason's time persons of all sorts of religious views, Romanist and Puritan as well as Anglican, continued to worship in the parish church. It was not until 25th February, 1570, during Rose's vicariate, that the final breach with Rome came, when Pope Pius V. issued a Bull of excommunication and deposition against the queen, calling upon her subjects to rise and dethrone her, and when those who adhered to Romish doctrines and practices withdrew from the churches to form conventicles for themselves. We do not, however, hear of any at Luton thus seceding.

#### 8. *Thomas Rose or Rosse (1563-1575).*

A much more prominent person than either of the preceding, though of the same period, was SIR THOMAS ROSE, who spent the last twelve years of his life as vicar of Luton, and of whom a long account is given by J. Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs*. Rose was a Devonshire man, born in Exmouth, and ordained priest in that county. After serving the curacy at Polstead in Suffolk for a short time, he was appointed to that of Hadleigh about the year 1529. This parish had already been deeply stirred by the preaching of Bilney, who soon afterwards (1531) suffered at the stake, and the town itself was before long to be the scene of the martyrdom both of its rector, Dr. Rowland Taylor (9th February, 1555), and somewhat later of its curate, Richard Yeoman. Here it was that Rose adopted the views of the early Reformers, and where he soon became a marked man. His preaching was very successful,<sup>1</sup> though one unhappy effect followed in the case of four young men, who, stirred by his denunciation of the worship of images, stole one night (during the winter of 1532) the rood<sup>2</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to find John Bale, once a monk and afterwards (1553) Bishop of Ossory, inveighing, though at different periods, against two of the vicars of Luton, who held such opposite doctrines to one another as Gwynneth and Rose. Bale was brought to Hadleigh to preach against Rose, but unsuccessfully, and shortly afterwards he himself embraced the tenets of the Reformers; whilst, in one of his later works, he coarsely derides Gwynneth, styling him, as was his "inveterate way of writing," "Romane meretricis alumnus et impostor."

<sup>2</sup> This was a famous rood, and as it was reported to have worked miracles it attracted a great number of pilgrims. It was to expose this delusion, no doubt,

crucifix out of the church at Dovercourt, Essex. Three of them were found guilty of sacrilege and felony and were hanged in chains, one at Dovercourt and the other two in the village, having been offered their lives if they would implicate Rose, but refusing to do so. With the rood they had also conveyed away the slippers, coat, and tapers belonging to it. The coat having been carried to Rose, and by him burnt, complaints were made against him also, and being brought before the council, he was committed to prison by Bishop Longland of Lincoln, in his own house in Holborn. Here he lay day and night from Shrovetide to Midsummer (1533), with both his legs in a high pair of stocks, lying with his back on the ground upon a little straw, and suffering at length such agonies that the keeper refused to have anything further to do with him unless the severity of the sentence was mitigated. This remonstrance at last obtained him relief, and Cranmer having become archbishop (30th March, 1533), Rose was shortly afterwards removed to his custody, and by him was treated courteously and at last set at liberty, but on the condition that he did not return to Hadleigh. After, however, half a year spent in London, Cranmer, at the intercession of Sir J. Rainsford, and hearing that many of the parishioners of Hadleigh desired to have him again among them, wrote a letter<sup>1</sup> (20th March, 1534) to them to receive him back, but the curacy was found to be filled up. For three years he resided at Stratford in the neighbourhood of Hadleigh, till being inhibited by the Bishop of Norwich, he fled to Lord Audley, the Lord Chancellor—a favourer, in a measure, of the new learning, who, in order that Rose might get a licence to preach from the king, sent him to Lord Cromwell. Cromwell made him his chaplain and got him the desired licence. This screened him for a time. But later on, preaching against transubstantiation and auricular confession, the penalty for which, according to the law of the Six Articles lately passed (1539), was death, and a proclamation having been issued that anyone who found him was commanded to hang him on the next tree, he fled abroad, where he was hospitably entertained by many of the chief continental Reformers.

that they directed their energies against this particular cross. The church was always kept open, as a legend ran that if anyone closed the church doors he would be visited by sudden death. They carried the rood a quarter of a mile to the green, where they fired it with its own tapers.

<sup>1</sup> Parker Soc., Archbishop Cranmer's *Remains and Letters*, p. 280.

Three or four years afterwards he was venturing back to England with his wife and child, when, owing to a storm dismantling the ship, he was taken prisoner by some French and carried into Dieppe, being despoiled there of all that he had. His ransom, however, was soon after paid by an Englishman named Young, who had once heard him preach, and who had gone abroad on purpose to help and free captives. By his means Rose came to England, where he was received with his wife and child, privately, into his house at Attleborough, by the Earl of Sussex; but this becoming known, "the earl sent him a secret letter to be gone, and so he lurked in London till the death of King Henry" (1547).

It was not, however, it seems, until after five years more that Rose got preferment, when King Edward VI. gave him the vicarage of West Ham, in Surrey. The same year (1552) Archbishop Cranmer named him to the king as one of five whom he considered fit persons for the highest office in the Irish Church, the archbishopric of Armagh and primacy of Ireland. Another of the five, however, was eventually appointed. As the "Marian Persecution" never spread to Ireland,<sup>1</sup> his elevation to that see would have saved him from the years of persecution and exile which yet awaited him.

Upon Queen Mary's coming to the throne (6th July, 1553) he was, as might be expected, deprived of his vicarage, but became preacher to a congregation in London, where he lived secretly, or else at times resided with Lady Vane. This continued for rather more than a year, when, on the night of the 1st of January, 1555, he was arrested with thirty others whilst at prayer in a house in Bow Churchyard. They were accused of offering a certain petition which had not unnaturally been declared to be treason, viz., that "God would turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry, *or else shorten her days.*" The thirty others, men and women, were sent to two separate prisons, and there is a touching letter to them (dated 4th January, 1555) from Bishop Hooper,<sup>2</sup> who was himself also at the time a prisoner for the truth's sake, and who a few weeks afterwards (9th February) suffered martyrdom; but Rose was first imprisoned in the Tower. After frequent examinations he was

<sup>1</sup> As the remarkable incident which frustrated the attempt to extend the persecution of "the Protestants" into Ireland is not as well known as it deserves to be, it is given in Part IV., *Queen Mary's Commission to Persecute the Protestants in Ireland.*

<sup>2</sup> *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Soc., pp. 614, 619.

sent down to the Bishop of Norwich, the queen's confessor, J. Hopton, "he being commanded either to reduce him to recant or to proceed against him according to law." But though Bishops Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, Dr. Rowland Taylor, and many others were burnt, some in the spring and others in the autumn of this very year, yet, according to Rose's own account, "the authorities were afraid of too much stir if *he* suffered, and wished to get rid of him quietly." The true cause of the passing lull was the fear of the queen's miscarriage, and that the subject of the Spanish succession connected with the prospect of an heir to the throne, engrossed all minds for the time. After many examinations and controversies, recorded in letters by Rose, the Bishop of Norwich, going on his visitation, as if wishing him to escape, used dubious words to him, "Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's hand, and we will see to you at our coming home." So the night following he was only committed to his own lodging; and Sir William Woodhouse offering him "meat, drink, and lodging," Rose, being allowed to accept them, asked him if he were free. To this Sir William answered that he *never underlook to guard him*, and so he was allowed to escape. On the bishop's return, the queen being disappointed of an heir, the aspect of affairs changed, and the bishops urged to fresh persecution, great search was made for Rose, but in vain. The bishop at last sent for a conjuror, to know from him which way Rose was gone. "Gone over water, in keeping of a woman," was the answer. "And in very deed," writes Rose, "I was passed over a small water and was hidden by a blessed and godly woman, who lived in a poor cottage, the space of three weeks, till the great heat (of the search) was over." He escaped to London, and thence went abroad again till the death of Queen Mary.

On the accession of Elizabeth (17th November, 1558) he returned to England, and was restored by her to the vicarage of West Ham. This he retained for five or six years, till on the death of Mason the queen presented him to the vicarage of Luton, and he was instituted 10th March, 1562-63. "After those harassings up and down," writes Strype, "Rose was at last in Queen Elizabeth's happy reign quietly settled at Luton in Beds, where he was preacher and where he lived to a very great age."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Foxe prefaces his account of Rose with the following words, "The story of Thomas Rose yet living, a preacher of the age of seventy-six years, of the town of Luton." Rose was therefore at least seventy-six years old some time

It was during his incumbency that the Bull of Pope Pius V. was issued (1570), excommunicating the queen and ordering people to quit their parish churches.

The date of his decease is not recorded. His successor was presented 25th June, 1575, and as it is added in one copy of the bishop's register, "on resignation," Rose would appear to have resigned, though probably only a short time before his death.

9. *William Horne, M.A. (1575-1595).*

Of HORNE, the vicar who succeeded Rose, owing in great measure to the loss of the earliest parish register, little is known. He was vicar for about twenty years, was one of the overseers of the will of George Rotheram, 1579, and there was formerly a plain flat stone to his memory in the chancel, but with much of the inscription, latterly, illegible (*vide* Part II.). From the name, however, of "Edith" appearing upon it, it may perhaps be inferred that he was a married man, as most of the Elizabethan clergy were. He was incumbent at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 28th July, 1593, the last great effort of the Pope to subvert the national religion by violence—this and such like attempts leading to the passing of penal laws and also to one compelling all persons to attend the parish church once a month.

during his incumbency of Luton. But only two editions, if even two, of the *Acts and Monuments*, viz., those of 1563 and 1575, were published before Rose's resignation or death, and the above story does not appear in either of those editions, nor even in the next.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE STUART PERIOD (A.D. 1603-1714).

JAMES I.—CHARLES I.—COMMONWEALTH.—CHARLES II.—JAMES II.  
—WILLIAM III. AND MARY.—ANNE.

1. *Edmund Brockett, A.M.* (1595-1617).

ALTHOUGH EDMUND BROCKETT became vicar during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, being appointed to Luton by her, yet all that can be found recorded of him, beyond his institution, took place during the following reign. There can be little doubt that, although his name is almost invariably spelt in a somewhat different manner, he was nevertheless connected with the family at Brocket Hall, Herts, a member of which owned the manor of Luton Hoo during a portion of his incumbency. He was a married man and had at least nine children born to him while at Luton, two of them being also buried there. The earliest extant register of the parish commences only in 1602, when he had been vicar for seven years. The following are the names of his family as found in the parish register and the bishops' transcripts<sup>1</sup>: Edmund, bap. 22 Dec. 1602, bur. 23 July, 1603 (B. T.); Ann, bap. 22 April, 1604; Edmund, bap. 7 July, 1605; Gifford, bap. 10 Aug., 1606; Marie, bur. 24 March, 1607; Edmund, bap. 7 July, 1607; Samuel, bap. 2 May, 1609 (B. T.); Frances, bap. 16 Sept., 1610; Thomas, bap. 1 Mar., 1611; Robert, bap. 29 Sept., 1616 (B. T.). It was early in his incumbency that one of the many evils resulting from the alienation of the great tithes of the parish—an evil intensified by their having been broken up and granted to two distinct proprietors with a divided and unequal responsibility—became conspicuous in connection with the state of the chancel of the church. For, its care having passed with the rectorial tithes into lay hands, the holders of those tithes, George Wingate (of Harlington) and the

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Blaydes, *Genealogia Bedfordiensis*.

President of Trinity College, Oxford, were sued in the Court of Exchequer,<sup>1</sup> by the churchwardens, George Rotheram and Robert Howe, and eventually ordered to repair it "now in great ruins and decay" or to "cover it with lead, as it had always been covered;" and for all to be completed before the 1st of October next ensuing. As Wingate's share of the tithes had only been purchased by him on December 4th, 1599, some two years previous to the action, the greater part of the blame for the ruinous state of the chancel must be divided between the crown<sup>2</sup> and Trinity College, who

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Special Commission*, No. 372, 44 Eliz. (1601-2), "Repair of chancel of the Parsonage of Luton in occupation of George Wingate. Total value £92, of which the said George holds to the value of £68 and Ralph Kettle, D.D., President of Trinity College, Oxford, £24." The injunction was issued January 17th, 45 Eliz., 1603, when W. Howe and Robert Barber were churchwardens, Wingate having to pay two-thirds and the president the rest.

<sup>2</sup> The case of Luton may be taken as an illustration of the loss sustained by the many parishes, the tithes of whose churches, having been granted to monasteries for religious; if scarcely parochial, purposes, were seized by the crown, and then for the most part granted or sold to laymen, who, with the exception of repairing the chancel, were free from the performance of any reciprocal duties. Queen Elizabeth during the forty-one years she retained in her own hands the rectorial tithes of Luton, received no less than £2,788, besides the price of their sale at the close, which amounted to nearly as much more, viz., £2,720, the whole being £5,508, an amount equivalent at this day to at least £66,096. All this is in addition to the sum received by the crown during the first twenty-four years after their seizure. As the tithes have since then been in so many cases for a number of years merged in the rents of the land, it is impossible to estimate what their present value would have been, and the consequent annual loss to the church and parish of Luton of what was originally designed for their spiritual benefit; but in 1844, exclusive of that which had been then merged, the rectorial or impropriate tithe of the parish at that time actually received by lay rectors was £1,486 8s. 9d. a year. Queen Elizabeth, sensible of the stigma attached to the possession of tithes originally dedicated to the service of God, and not liking, probably, the burden of the preservation of chancels legally entailed thereby, imperiously forced a number of bishops to exchange their best manors for the tithes and other church property which she held. Her sister Mary, on the contrary, had declared in the House of Commons that she could not, with a good conscience, receive even the tenths and first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, and that she wished to restore the church lands which were held by the crown. A bill accordingly was introduced, November 23rd, 1555, and passed (2 and 3 Ph. and M., c. 4), though not without opposition in the Lower House, through fear, it seems, lest the Pope should order the restitution of the abbey lands, to legalize the surrender of tenths, first-fruits, impropriations, manors, lands, etc., acquired by the crown since the 20th year of Henry VIII. (1528). The revenue of all these was calculated at £60,000, which was made over to the cardinal-legate for the

had held the tithes now for half a century. Nothing probably had been done to it during those years, the churchwardens, possibly, being afraid to bring an action against the crown.<sup>1</sup> The more precise description of its state as being "roofless and overgrown with weeds," a statement attributed to Camden as the result of a visit to Luton, suggests the probability of its having been in an uncovered condition even when Horne, the preceding vicar, was laid to rest therein under a plain gravestone; whilst the date at which that visit was likely to have been paid, or at least the description of it to have been published, renders it very doubtful whether the injunction to restore the chancel was carried out for some years later than the prescribed time. As will be seen from the accompanying note, Camden's visit<sup>2</sup> could hardly have taken

improvement of small livings—a committee of convocation being appointed to act under the cardinal for the restoration of impropriations, etc. (*Perry*, ii. 245-6; *Hole*, 284).

<sup>1</sup> The churchwardens of Wootton in 1578 had at least the courage to "present" the queen in the archdeacon's court. "The cha'cell is in decaye at the queenes default" (*B. N. and Q.*, iii. 16). This same chancel, as well as those of Dunstable, Houghton Regis, Edworth, Potton, Risley and Salford were found in a ruinous state so long before as at Cardinal Pole's visitation during the first year of his primacy, 1556, held for him by John, Bishop of Lincoln, the rectory of each of them being in the cardinal's own hands, either as trustee according to the Act of Parliament, 1555, mentioned in the preceding note, or, as Strype supposes (v. 10), as having been given to him by the queen for the maintenance of his dignity. The bishop naïvely refers the matter to his excellency: "Unde dns detulit detectum ad reverendiss<sup>um</sup> Cardinalem" (*Strype's Memorials*, vii. 242-245). In one of these cases, that of Houghton, the blame is thrown upon the preceding appropriator, presumably the Dean of Windsor, who had received a grant of the rectory, December 10th, 1552 (*Ibid.*, iii. 458).

<sup>2</sup> There is a difficulty in arriving at the date of Camden's visit. The last Latin edition of his *Britannia* was published in 1607, and the first English translation, stated to have been overlooked and approved by him, in 1612. He died 1623. No copy of either of these editions is to be found in the library of the British Museum. The earliest there is the fourth edition of the translation by Bishop Gibson, "with additions and improvements," left corrected by him for the press in 1748, and printed in 1772. In this there is *no* reference whatever to Luton. The only other edition in the library is that of Gough, "translated from the *edition* in 1607, *enlarged*," published in 1789. Amongst the "Additions" (i. 331) is the following note: "In both editions of (Dr.) Holland's translation, Mr. Camden is *made to say* that 'at Luton I saw a fair church, but the choir then roofless and overgrown with weeds, and adjoining to it an elegant chapel, founded by John, Lord Wenlock, and well maintained by the family of Rotheram, planted here by Thos. Rotheram, Abp. of York and Chancellor of England to Edw. IV.'"

place before 1607, or else it would have appeared in Gough's translation of the edition of that year. The expression, as it stands, could not have been published until 1612.

As a possible reason for delay in the work of restoration, it may be noted that Robert Wingate, son and heir of George, and joint proprietor with him of the tithes, died before the assigned time (6th August, 1603), and George himself during the succeeding year, leaving Robert's infant son, John, his heir. Yet if the work was neglected during that period it seems strange that the executors should not have been called upon within the next few years to complete it.

That the good estate of the rest of the fabric of the church, however, was well looked after may be inferred from the fact that two at least of the old peal of five bells were cast in Brockett's time, viz., that of 1602, with the inscription "In God is all mi trust," and that of 1616, which is simply dated.

In January, 1604, was held the "Hampton Court Conference," which, besides establishing "the canons," drawn up by convocation the previous year as the rules of the English Church—still binding in great measure upon the clergy—making sundry minor alterations in the liturgy and adding the latter part of the catechism, led immediately to the undertaking of the all-important re-translation<sup>1</sup> of the Scriptures, which was published in 1611, and is known to us as "the *Authorized Version*." This, which has ever since been considered the greatest treasure of English literature, though "*appointed* to be used in churches," was, like its predecessors, not enforced upon the clergy, but left to make its way by its own merits, and only gradually superseded the others.

Early in 1605 (24th Feb.), John Blackwell, clerk, was licensed to be curate of Luton, the earliest *notice* of such an appointment in the parish. He probably continued curate until 1613, when (8th March, 1612-13) he was instituted to the vicarage of Streatley. Three of his daughters are mentioned in the parish register there, and his wife, Joan Arundle. He was buried there 15th June, 1630.

<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, altogether a new translation (*Lane*, ii. 116), as the text of Archbishop Parker, or "the Bishop's Bible," 1568, itself based upon Cranmer's "Great Bible" of 1539, was to be used as a basis. The version of 1611 was the first Bible printed in the modern Roman type, all previous editions being in "old English" characters. A copy of one of these old editions—that probably used in Luton church up to that period—is still in the parish chest, but a good deal mutilated and with the pages containing the dates missing.

In the "Return of the Clergy"<sup>1</sup> of the same year (1605) E. Brockett is mentioned as vicar, but without any notice of a curate. It may be, however, that the return had reference to the preceding year.

It would be interesting to learn what became of the pre-Reformation altar-vessels and other "ornaments" of the church.<sup>2</sup> The earliest piece now in its possession is that given during Brockett's time, bearing the inscription, "Given this cupe to the Church of Lutone by Thomas Atwood of Castle St. for a Comyunyan Cupe. 1610."

Brockett, on leaving Luton in 1617, after twenty-two years' residence, became rector of Graveley cum Chisfield, Herts, but in 1645, for loyalty to his Church and King, was ejected therefrom by the Puritan party. At the time when he was thus deprived of his maintenance and turned out of his home he must have been at the very least seventy-three years of age, and, as he was hardly likely to have been instituted to Luton immediately on his advancement to the priesthood, probably he was considerably older.

It was at the beginning of this seventeenth century that at Luton, as in so many other parishes, the earliest permanent endowments of parochial charities were made, in the shape of almshouses and funds for doles of bread, for repairs of the parish church, and the education of poor children. In 1601, two years before the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, a law was passed (the foundation of our modern poor law) which first gave real relief to the destitute, providing for the appointment of "overseers of the poor" in every parish, and enabling and requiring them to levy a sufficient rate upon all landed property on their behalf." They were empowered, besides finding work for the unemployed, to relieve the necessitous, to build houses on waste lands for their

<sup>1</sup> This return gives a few points of interest and is as follows: "Parsonage, appropriate, endowed, with a vicarage, val. of vicarage" (*i.e.* in the king's books) "£35 2s. 1d. Patron, the King's Majestie. Incumbent, Edward (*sic*) Brocket, Master of Arts, Catechisett (an unique description). Qualification, good. Preacher, not licensed. Resides. 1,208 communicants" (*Beds. N. and Q.*, iii. 35).

<sup>2</sup> These are known to have included, besides Archbishop Rotheram's gift in 1500 of a gilt chalice and two cruets, a gilt cup of a century earlier, bequeathed by J. Spitele, chaplain, in 1413, "having on the foot the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, and on the paten a figure of Christ crowning His most Blessed Mother;" a candlestick of silver, valued at £6 13s. 4d., left by Thos. Crowley (Crawley) in 1511, and another for which £7 was left in 1513 by J. Sylam of Bramhangar.

reception, and to apprentice children. It was, as it were, supplementary to this, that during the following year Edward Vaughan of London gave certain messuages in Luton for the benefit of the poor. His grant was soon followed by another on the part of Thomas Atwood; and these led the way for eleven other bequests<sup>1</sup> to the community, the last of which was made in 1736.

It was early, also, in this century that the family of Rotheram, which had succeeded Lord Wenlock at Someries and in the possession of what was called "the manor of Luton,"<sup>2</sup> began, at least in the elder branch, to separate its connection with the parish. In 1612 (or 1614) Sir John Rotherham sold the manor of Luton to Sir Robert Napier, and in 1629 parted with Someries itself to his son-in-law, Sir Francis Crawley, leaving only the junior branch, that of George Rotheram, at Farley.

Sir Robert Napier, who in 1601 had purchased Luton Hoo from the representatives of the Brocketts, henceforth became the most prominent personage in the parish, being knighted by James on his progress in 1611, and created a baronet in 1612. Just previous to his knighthood there is a rather significant entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* (p. 90), that "Robert Sandey" (the name by which Robert Naper or Napier was generally known<sup>3</sup> in his early days), "who has a house and land in the parish of Luton, he being a merchant of London, is *suitable for a loan*."

## 2. John Birde, B.D. (1617-1643).

JOHN BIRDE, the successor of Brockett, the son of a Buckinghamshire gentleman, was born in 1585. He matriculated,<sup>4</sup> at the age of sixteen, at Exeter College, Oxford, 30th January, 1601, but became a student of Christ Church before taking his B.A. degree, 1604. At the beginning of 1611 he is found<sup>5</sup> as rector of Ched-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post, Charitable Donations.*

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Rotheram by his will dated August 6th, 1498, left to his nephew, Sir Thomas, his manor of Somerasse, the manor of Fenell (Fennels-grove, also in Luton), and "Manerium et Dominium de Luton," with the Hundred (of Flitte) (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 143, Surtees Society).

<sup>3</sup> The surname of three of his children is simply entered in the parish register in 1603, 1605, and 1607 as Sandie, and that of his first wife, on her burial in 1609, as "M<sup>rs</sup> Sandie al's Napir," whilst it was under the name of Robert Sandy, Esq., that he himself was nominated as high sheriff in 1611.

<sup>4</sup> *Register of the University of Oxford*, ii. 246, iii. 249.

<sup>5</sup> Lipscomb's *History of the County of Buckingham*, iii. 313.

dington in his native county, signing his name in the register there (9th January and 14th February) after two baptisms as "Parson of Chetington." But though he continued incumbent of that parish for fifty-five years longer, he does not seem to have often resided there, as neither his name nor handwriting appear in the register again until after an interval of thirty-seven years. It would almost seem as if he had held some other benefice<sup>1</sup> as well at this period, and resided at it during the succeeding six years, unless, indeed, he passed part of the time at Oxford, where in 1615 he took his B.D. degree, and where he may have acted as college tutor.

In 1617 he was appointed by King James<sup>2</sup> to the vicarage of Luton, at which date he seems to have been a married man with one or more children. Though there is evidence<sup>3</sup> that he resided here from the first, his name does not occur in the parish register until two years after his institution. Henceforth it appears continually, as during the twenty-six or twenty-seven years of his incumbency he baptized thirteen of his own children, and buried five.

The following are the entries of the various members of his family in the parish register:—Robert Birde, baptized 16th July, 1619; Christian, baptized 25th August, 1620; Ankiril, buried 2nd June, 1621; Elizabeth, buried 27th October, 1621; Elizabeth, baptized 23rd January, 1623; Elizabeth, baptized 27th June,

<sup>1</sup> Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*) is in error in identifying J. Birde of Luton with J. Bird, rector of Wendlebury, Oxon., 1614-53. The dates of the births of the children in each case, and the record of the burial of the rector of Wendlebury, 13th September, 1653, preclude the possibility of their being one and the same. There was also another J. Bird, both in the same county and a contemporary of the vicar of Luton, who was vicar of Hawnes, being sequestered 1646.

<sup>2</sup> He is the first vicar whose induction has been noted. "Fee for certificate of induction of vicar of Luton, 3s. 4d., apud Ampthill, 1st October, 1617" (*Administration Account Books of the Archdeacon of Beds., Beds. N. and Q., iii.* 38). From this it would appear that he was inducted before his institution, which took place 2nd October.

<sup>3</sup> His name appears in three separate wills of the Crawley family, leaving him money for funeral sermons, the two earlier of which imply his residence at Luton during 1618. Richard Crawley of Dunstable Lane, 28th June, 1618, leaves him 6s. 8d., Christian Crawley, widow, 12th September, 1618, 10s.; and Thomas Crawley, 22nd April, 1637, 10s. He was also left 13s. 4d. by Thomas Parratt, gent., of the Vyne, Luton, 20th September, 1620, "to preach at my burial" (*Beds. N. and Q., iii.* 213, 214), and £10 by Sir Robert Napier, 1635, "to my loving friend, John Burd, our vicar."

1627; Thomas, baptized 28th May, 1628; Elizabeth, baptized 20th August, 1629; Mary, baptized 1st May, 1631; Matthew, baptized 24th October, 1632; Rachel, baptized 2nd, buried 3rd July, 1634; Joseph, baptized 2nd July, 1635, buried 20th January, 1640; Edmund, baptized 14th July, 1636; Francis, baptized 4th December, 1637; Joseph, baptized 23rd April, 1641, buried 28th July, 1642.

It is, perhaps, a little significant that this last entry of his name in the register, which is also the latest occurrence of any intimation of his residence at Luton, was made only a few weeks before the breaking out of the Civil War (22nd August). His name then disappears from all documents at Luton. And, as a change of handwriting occurs in the parish register at this period, he would seem to have retired from Luton about this time. There need not necessarily, however, have been any connection between the two events, even if he quitted the parish at that time. He does not, at least, seem either to have retired with the king to Oxford, as his two chief parishioners (Sir Francis Crawley and Sir Robert Napier, the second baronet) did, or to have taken any active or overt part in support of the king. If he had, it would probably have been brought up against him, as against other of the clergy.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing, in fact, to show where he spent the next six years. At the close of that period he is found settled at Cheddington, where the entry of the burial of his son Robert occurs in the parish register, 10th September, 1648. The names of other members of his family are also henceforth met with there, viz., the marriage of Robert Cheney, clerk (probably the son of Rotheram Cheney, of Luton, born 1617), with Christian Bird, 1st January, 1652; the burial of John Bird, son of J. Bird, clerk, 2nd July, 1656; and the marriage of Lieutenant John Cooke with Elizabeth Bird, 14th May, 1657. Then follow the burials of his own wife, and, finally, of himself—Susanna Bird, wife of J. Bird, clerk, 27th April, 1658, and John Bird, rector of Cheddington, 1st February, 1666. Of his sons, one, Matthew, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, A.B. 1660, A.M. 1664, became a clergyman, holding the vicarage of Ivinghoe, Bucks, from 24th January, 1684, until 1688.

<sup>1</sup> Two Bedfordshire clergymen had their livings sequestered for attending on the king. Nathaniel King, vicar of Renhold, December, 1643, "for long absence and being in the king's army," and Dr. Francis Walsall, vicar of Sandy, January, 1644, "for long absence and residing at Oxford."



From the foregoing it appears that Birde lived to the ripe old age of eighty-two years, witnessing alike the fall and restoration of both monarchy and episcopacy, and surviving the appointment to Luton not merely of four or more intruded ministers during the Civil War and Commonwealth, but also the canonical institution of another vicar after the Restoration.

In the *Calendar of State Papers* there occurs the following reference to Luton, under the date of 17th June, 1618: "Sir Robert Napier and Arthur Crawley to the council. The town of Luton is much injured by pulling down fair dwelling houses, with making and erecting in their place cottages for the poor, for the profit of certain private persons." This is accompanied by a list of persons who have destroyed their houses. The complaint was clearly not against the erection of cottages for the poor, required by the new Poor Law, but against the action of those who were trying to turn the provisions of that law in some way to their own profit. That Sir Robert was not unfriendly to the poor is evident from his will, in 1635, proved 1637, in which he left houses for their use, as well as a charge upon his land for their benefit. Lord Chief Justice Montague wrote to stay the pulling down of the houses, unless certificates giving the reason for so doing were forthcoming.

It is during Birde's vicariate that we first meet with gifts of land and charges upon property "for the sustaining and amending of the *parish church and steeple*." In most of the earlier wills we find some small legacies, varying from two to twenty pence (equivalent, however, to a much larger sum at the present time), both to "the mother church of Lincoln," and (mostly for tithes forgotten or omitted) to the high altar at Luton, and, also, generally to a much larger amount, for the reparation of the parish church. Besides J. Penthelyn's legacy of forty shillings in 1445, Joan Cantlow, a rich London widow but born at Luton, in 1492 left a hundred shillings for the reparation of Luton church; J. Sylam, of Bramhanger, in 1508, £3; in 1511, Thomas Crowley, forty shillings; in 1529, Richard Spayne, six shillings and eight pence; in 1581, Thomas Crawley, of Dunstable Lane, ten shillings; and, in 1620, Thomas Parratt, £5 for the same object. But in 1624 Thomas and Edward Crawley gave a messuage and five acres in the common fields, and, at about the same time, George Rotheram, of Someries, made an annual charge of £4 upon certain lands for the reparation of the parish church.

In 1623 (November 17th) license<sup>1</sup> was granted to Sir Robert Napier, and to his son and his brother, to enclose 300 acres in the Hundred of Flitte to make a park, with free warren in their land there—the origin and nucleus of the present Luton Hoo Park, now comprising about 1,600 acres.

At the same time the crown severed its last special connection with Luton church, making a grant of the king's right to the advowson of the vicarage, as well as of the tithes of Chiltern Green, to Sir Robert, now lord of the manors of both Luton and Luton Hoo.

These grants conduced to the permanent residence within the parish, during the two succeeding centuries and more, of one who was both the patron of the church and in great measure the representative of the rector. This was the first occasion of such an event since the establishment of the vicarage, for though Leland speaks of S. Ann's as having been a summer residence of the abbots of S. Alban's, not a single instance of even a temporary visit of any of them is on record. Such an occurrence can hardly have failed at some portion of that period to have given a help and impetus to any restoration or improvement of the church.

It is in the will of this Sir Robert (1635) that, apparently, we first find authority for assigning the aisle, or at least part of the aisle, of the south transept, together with the vault beneath it, to the family residing at Luton Hoo. The possession and occupation of these by the Napiers, along with their contemporary residence at "the Hoo," rather than any connection of the family of Hoo with that aisle,<sup>2</sup> was probably the origin of the name still attached to it—that of "the (Luton) Hoo chapel." Sir Robert desired to be buried "in my chappell in the vault, as near my wyves coffin as may be," as his son Sir Robert did likewise (1661), "in the vault belonging unto my family," being followed therein by Sir Theophilus (1715), "in my vault in the parish church," and by Sir John (1747), "in Luton Hoo family vault in the parish church of

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Dom. Ser.)*, 1623, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> In the days of the Hoos—the last of the name who held the manor of Hoo dying in 1455—there was no such custom as that of allocating or appropriating either seats or special parts of a church for the use of any particular family, except in those cases where a person had built an aisle or chapel for the use of himself and his descendants, for the purpose of worship and burial, and the family kept it in repair at their own cost. Of any of the Hoo family having done this at Luton there is neither any intimation nor any probability.

Luton." It is to be presumed that from at least the year 1635 and onwards the family occupied seats<sup>1</sup> of some sort in their "chappell."

A brief notice of what was probably the state of ecclesiastical matters at Luton during Birde's vicariate may be of interest. Whether King James's order that his injudicious letter concerning the *Book of Sports* should be read out in the church was complied with or not we have no means of knowing. His directions, issued at the same time—during the first year of Birde's incumbency (1618)—that catechising should take the place of a sermon in the afternoon, though meant chiefly to restrain the clergy from preaching on certain controverted points of doctrine, were, if followed, wholesome and useful. But the book recommending dancing, archery, leaping, and other sports on Sunday afternoons, on the plea of encouraging manly exercises and discouraging worse occupations, was calculated to be hurtful to the consciences of many, and to make men to distrust the religion of the court. The republishing of this book in 1633 by his son Charles, on the advice of Archbishop Laud, in order to discourage a Puritanical observance of the Sunday, with a similar order that the king's command should be read in all parish churches, roused even many of the clergy into resistance, and began the troubles of the archbishop.

By Birde's time it may be presumed that the chancel had been not merely covered in and otherwise restored, but also furnished in some measure and used again for the celebration of the holy mysteries; for the metropolitical visitation of Archbishop Laud<sup>2</sup> was not likely to allow either of these matters to remain unattended to. To him more than to anyone else the Church of England is indebted for the introduction of greater reverence into her reformed services—services which were gradually losing all outward appearance of worship, even at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. With a view of checking and correcting this,

<sup>1</sup> As the northern half of this aisle probably formed the chapel of the "Holy Trinity," taken possession of and furnished by the parish guild, it is interesting to notice, as giving us, seemingly, the earliest intimation of seats in the body of the church, that mention is made, in the extant *Book of the Fraternity*, for payment "for borde to mend the setys with in the chapelle" (*Beds. N. and Q.*, i. 174). So the Napiers may have found the aisle provided with seats of some kind.

<sup>2</sup> Held by Sir Nathaniel Brent, vicar-general of the archbishop, who sat at Ampthill for the southern part of the county, 30th May, 1634.

"the protection of the holy table and its right position in the church had been from the first an object of his care. In cathedral churches the altars usually stood under the eastern wall. But in parish churches the custom had come in vogue" (allowed indeed by the eighty-second canon for a special reason and object) "of moving them into the body of the church at the time of the celebration of the holy communion, and this had led to much irreverent use of them."<sup>1</sup> Laud now ordered that altars should stand at the east end of the church, raised above the floor of the church, and be fenced in with a rail,<sup>2</sup> at which the communicants could kneel, to protect them from irreverence." The enforcement of this order, perhaps more than almost anything else in the attempt to promote reverence in the services of the Church, gave offence to those puritanically inclined. "To those used to sit carelessly with hats on during service time, to have the holy elements brought to them in their pews, to hand the cup from one to the other instead of receiving it from the priest, all these seemed terrible innovations."<sup>3</sup>

It was, then, in the diocese of Lincoln,<sup>4</sup> and apparently more

<sup>1</sup> "In Laud's time you might see in the middle of the church a poor common table, the receptacle of any chance article. There would be no chanting, no priestly dress, even of white linen, but the minister would read in his black gown or cloak."—Hore, *History of the Church of England*, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> The introduction of rails seems to have specially excited the wrath of many in those times. Laud reported to the king in 1636 that in Bedfordshire there was great opposition both to the erection of altar-rails and to the kneeling before them; and that the people in some places refused to do so. In the neighbouring county of Herts, in 1640, the rails of five churches were pulled down by soldiers who had just been disbanded (24th August). At King's Walden, in September, twenty-four soldiers, who had been billeted in Beds under the command of Captain Brocket, entered the church on a Sunday, and seating themselves in the chancel, waited until after the sermon. Then, in the presence of the congregation, they pulled down the rails, invited themselves to the churchwardens to dinner, exacted money from the minister, and forced him to read the evening service in the presence of an excommunicated person. The only one, however, upon whom the authorities declared they were able to lay hands, for these and other misdemeanours, was Edward Dickinson, of Luton, whom the jury presented.—Justices of Herts to the Council, September 17th, 1640, *Calendar of State Papers (D. S.)*, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>3</sup> Perry, ii. 421.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, the bishop of the diocese, on receiving a complaint from the parishioners of Grantham, a few years before this, in 1629, that their vicar had moved the holy table from the midst of the chancel, where it had been wont to stand, to the east wall of the church, where it stood in the place of the ancient altar, had issued an order that when it was not in use it should be placed at the

especially in the county of Bedford, that the contest raged concerning the place and position of the holy table. The archbishop's visitation settled the matter for the time, and though later on, for a few years, a different custom generally prevailed, yet it is owing to his timely and courageous interference on that occasion, as metropolitan, that, on the Restoration, the east end of the chancel came to be recognized as the most appropriate place for the altar at all times, as it had been before the Reformation.

It was, perhaps, in connection with a revived care for God's house and its services, thus originated, that the small bell (known some years ago as "the alarum bell") was cast. It was hung until lately in the turret attached to the church tower, but is now in the belfry of S. Mary's Hall. It bears the short inscription on it, "R. O.," Robert Oldfield being the name of the founder, and was erected in "1637."

At the close of Birde's ministry at Luton there would seem to have been at least four lay rectors who, having incurred the liability of keeping the chancel of the church in repair, had in consequence the right of a choice of seats therein. For, as in the *Inquisitio post mortem* of John Wingate, 1642 (the inheritor of three at least of the original five portions of the tithes), mention is made of only two of those portions, viz., those of Biscot (with Lymbury, Bramlingham, and Woodcroft) and of Legrave—and as at this time Trinity College owned those of Stopsley, and Sir Robert Napier those of East and West Hyde—the remaining portion, viz., those of "Luton and Challney," had evidently (as well as those of East and West Hyde) been disposed of before this by the Wingate family. The representatives of each of these four rectorial tithe-owners might have claimed a seat therein. Sir Robert, however, both as lessee of the Stopsley tithes and as

east end, not altar-wise, but table-wise, and when used for holy communion that it should be carried into the middle of the chancel, or anywhere in church where the minister could best be heard. This direction was evidently made to please the Puritan party in the Church, his own practice being completely opposed to it. It was this action on his part, favouring Presbyterianism, and encouraging a practice alien to the Church of England, that chiefly moved Laud to hold a visitation of the diocese, and suspend for the time the jurisdiction of the bishop. No such visitation had been known in the diocese since the days of Cardinal Pole, a hundred years before. At the visitation "certificates were required from the churchwardens of each parish that the order as to the table had been complied with."

owner of those of the Hydes, evidently waived his rights in the matter, and coming into possession either by inheritance from the Brockets, or by vote of vestry, of the Hoo chapel, was content therewith.

Although the more violent measures<sup>1</sup> directed against the Church during the period of Puritan ascendancy did not take place until after Birde's retirement from Luton, yet even before that time enough had been done by Parliament to sow dissension in every parish and to stir up feelings of distrust and animosity against all clergy loyal to their Church. "The committee for scandalous or malignant ministers" (the latter term, though used synonymously with the former, meaning those disaffected to the Parliament), appointed towards the close of 1640 (19th December), endeavoured everywhere to worry and root out the clergy supposed to be favourable to the king, inviting and encouraging accusations against them, ejecting many of them from their benefices on no more serious grounds than that they bowed at the name of Jesus, or towards the altar, or had set the holy table altar-wise against the east wall of the chancel. A later committee (1642), that "for plundered ministers" (that is, those who had been ejected for Nonconformity, or by the king for disloyalty), took upon themselves to place in the vacant benefices those thus ejected, and others favourable to Parliament. No special charge seems to have been made to either committee or by either of them against Birde,<sup>2</sup> but some action on the part of the latter committee, and its subordinate county committee, a year or so later, evidently led to the severance of Birde's connection with Luton.

As these measures concerned the clergy especially, so others related to the interior fittings of the church. In January, 1641, commissioners were appointed by the House of Commons for the visitation of churches, who were required to "deface and remove out of churches and chapels all images, altars, or tables turned

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of these will be found Part IV., *Church Affairs during the Civil War and Commonwealth, with special reference to Bedfordshire*.

<sup>2</sup> His name, happily, does not appear in the infamous book published by J. White, the chairman of both committees, entitled *The First Century* (i.e., the first hundred cases) of *scandalous, malignant Priests, etc.*, printed by order of Parliament, 17th November, 1643, in which he applies the most scurrilous and offensive epithets to, and makes the basest insinuations against, many to whose character their parishioners of all classes bore the highest testimony.

altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures and other monuments and relics of idolatry." These terms gave a wide latitude to those who were hostile to the Church's system, and to the internal beauty of her fabrics. By the action of these commissioners, and that of fanatics who thought they had the right to follow their example, a spirit of vandalism was awakened, and thousands of sculptured figures, stained glass windows, altar-tombs, brasses, niches, piscinæ, and other ornaments and monuments of antiquity, which had been spared even in the height of the iconoclastic zeal of the early Reformers, were, under various pretences, during the next nineteen years, in both cathedrals and parish churches, ruthlessly and irreparably destroyed. As Gwynneth during the reign of Edward was sure to have defended and preserved as far as possible all the images<sup>1</sup> and ornaments of his church, it is very probable that it was not until the middle of this seventeenth century that Luton church was despoiled of many of its mediæval treasures, its painted windows broken, and the beautiful niche and piscina in the Wenlock chapel, and other ornaments elsewhere, mutilated. How great the loss it sustained it is impossible to say. In comparison with many other churches it seems, happily, to have been small; there is cause for thankfulness that so much has been preserved which might have been swept away. It is probably to the thoughtfulness and affection of some individual at this time that is to be attributed the preservation of the piscina in the Hoo chapel, which, having been walled up and so hidden, escaped the hammer of the mutilator. It is possible, however, that when the guild was dissolved a century earlier, the loving hand of some member, in anticipation of what might befall it, thus concealed it from view. Whether Birde was equally able, by any means, to stay off the hand of the destroyer from the

<sup>1</sup> The only images the mention of which has been met with are those before which certain persons in their wills direct lights to be burned or themselves to be buried. These are, that of the Blessed Virgin Mary over the high altar, where Edw. Sheffield was buried, "in the chauncell before Our Lady" (1525); another of the same, "where Our Lady standeth in S. Nicholas Chapel" (1519); "of the holy cross in the rood loft" (1501 and 1504); "of the holy cross in the grene roode" (1509); and "the holy cross enthroned" (1509); of S. John the Baptist, S. Catherine, S. Margaret, S. Sithe, S. George, and S. Clement (1504). There was presumably one also of S. Nicholas in his chapel. The only niche for an image still existing, independent of any attached to a piscina, as in Barnard's recess, is that in the easternmost pillar of the south aisle.

treasures under his care, until his leaving Luton, cannot be determined.

In the autumn of the same year (9th September, 1641), a committee of the Commons (which continued to sit and act after the prorogation of the House) issued orders to churchwardens, requiring, among other things, the removal of the holy table and of the communion rails from the chancel, and the levelling of the chancel itself, thus virtually seeking to undo Archbishop Laud's work, but, as the order was illegal, it is doubtful if it was carried out anywhere except by those who approved of it.

Early in the succeeding year, Parliament having usurped all power into its own hands, the bishops, after twelve of their number had been sent to the Tower (30th January, 1642) for protesting against certain proceedings, had all their jurisdiction taken from them (2nd February), so that they had no longer any legal control over their clergy, or their churches—a jurisdiction henceforth vested in a committee of the House of Commons. Twelve days later they were further deprived of their seats, and consequently of their votes, in the House of Lords. By this latter act the clergy were left without any representation in either House, and the king deprived of many of his chief supporters in Parliament. These proceedings, however, were but the precursive mutterings of the storm which was about to burst upon the national Church.

As most of the clergy were Royalists, and Birde a nominee of the crown, a theologian, and a personal friend of Sir Robert Napier, it may be presumed that both in Church matters and in politics he at least sympathized with the king. Though not charged with any overt act of disobedience to the Parliament, his sentiments may have been well known—he may have signed the petition to the king of January, 1641,<sup>1</sup> in support of the Prayer Book and the existing form of Church government—and so, when, in 1643, or early in the succeeding year, pressure was put upon him, either by the county committee or by the central committee for plundered ministers, in the hope of its being only a temporary measure,<sup>2</sup> he may have deemed it prudent to relinquish rather than to resign Luton, and to give his assent rather than “consent” to the nomi-

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (D. S.)*, 1640-41, pp. 445-46.

<sup>2</sup> The term “sequestered” adopted by the committee implied only a temporary assumption on their part, and was often—though not very often—followed, on submission, by restoration; in many cases the grant, even of a benefice, being made only “until further orders.”



nation of a substitute whose views were more in accordance with those of the committee, and perhaps also with those of a good many of his parishioners. This, it seems, under the circumstances, must be the interpretation of his successor being appointed with his "consent."<sup>1</sup> He was not, strictly speaking, ejected. It is not unlikely that the fact of his holding two livings was used as an argument<sup>2</sup> for his resigning one, and with the prospect of coming troubles he may not unnaturally have preferred to retain the smaller and quieter, though less lucrative, parish of Cheddington.

The exact date of Birde's relinquishing Luton seems to be nowhere recorded, but the following extracts will show that towards the close of 1643 a special crusade was directed against the Bedfordshire clergy, and that even the officers of the Parliamentary

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS., Brit. Mus.*, 15,670, fo. 38. *Beds. N. and Q.*, iii. p. 171. "7<sup>th</sup> Martij 1645, Whereas y<sup>e</sup> vicarage of y<sup>e</sup> parishe church of Luton in y<sup>e</sup> county of Bedd. was by order of this com'tte sequestred by consent of Mr. Bird to y<sup>e</sup> use of Samuell Austine, etc." Dr. J. Brown (though perhaps it is only a clerical or printer's error) speaks (*J. Bunyan*, p. 72) of "J. Godwin of Leighton Buzzard" as being at this time "vicar of Luton," and ejected. It is clear from the above that he was not vicar of Luton, and equally clear from other entries in the same document that he was vicar of Leighton, his sequestration being referred to 22nd March, 1644, when he petitioned, unsuccessfully, to be restored to the said vicarage, and again, 5th July, 1645. (*Ibid.*, 15,669, fo. 39b, 78b, and 102. *Beds. N. and Q.*, iii. p. 169.) The Puritan petition to the House of Commons from Bedfordshire (16th March, 1641-2) had asked that a "learned, pious, and conscientious ministry may be provided and maintained, especially in market towns and populous places." The vicars of the two large towns of Luton and Leighton seem to have been amongst the earliest in the county attacked by the committee, both being practically driven from their benefices about the same time, apparently in 1643, or early in 1644, the latter vicar "for seuell misdemeands," not named. Dr. Brown seems also to be in error—led astray probably by the date 1641 being affixed to the "Broadside" (containing the account of the above Puritan petition)—in implying that that petition was presented in 1641, and only about two months after the Royalist petition. If it contains, as he describes it, an expression of gratitude for the abolition of the Courts of the Star Chamber and of High Commission, and for taking away of the bishops' votes in Parliament, as these courts were not abolished until 5th July, 1641, and the bishops not deprived of their seats and votes in the House of Lords until 14th February, 1642, the real date of the petition, though then both written and counted as 1641 (as was necessary when the year ended on 25th March), was what we now reckon as 1642, and therefore was not presented until fourteen months after the other petition.

<sup>2</sup> His namesake, the vicar of Hawnes, though charged with sundry misdemeanours, was discharged from that parish only on the ground of his having another benefice with cure of souls.

army were enlisted in it. In April, 1643 (*Perry*, p. 466), and September 6th following, local and county committees were appointed to examine the life and doctrine of any suspected clergy, to ascertain if they had deserted their cure or joined or assisted the forces against the government, and to transmit the account to the committee in London. On November 4th, the London committee was ordered to consider some way and means to put good ministers in the *County of Beds* in place of the disaffected, and to give power to gentlemen of the county to examine the delinquency (*i.e.*, their loyalty to their sovereign) of such ministers and to certify the same to the committee. Any clergyman to whom the county committee offered the Covenant (binding him by oath to extirpate episcopacy, the form of government to which he had already at his ordination promised allegiance), and who refused to take it, was to be proceeded against as a delinquent, be removed from his benefice and his goods seized.

Perhaps this county committee were too slack in proceeding against their neighbours, or perhaps they were incapacitated just at this time from doing so, because Sir Lewis Dyve, the leader of the Royalists of the county, had ridden into Ampthill in the autumn of this year (1643) with a party of horse, and carried off as prisoners to Oxford "divers of the well-affected gentry and freeholders, who were met as a *committee* appointed by Parliament."<sup>1</sup> At all events, a suggestive order of the House appears December 9th, "that Sir Samuel Luke, Captain Harrison and Captain Fenton be added to the Committee of Beds and join with them in putting in execution the ordinances of sequestration and other ordinances of Parliament, and that the lord general be desired that these other gents, being *officers of his army*, may sit and reside with and assist the Committee of Beds."

The earliest record of the proceedings of the central committee which has been discovered commences June 2nd, 1644.<sup>2</sup> As neither in this nor in any subsequent record occurs any mention of the date of the sequestration, it seems most likely, bearing in mind the above extract, that it took place within six months or so previous to June, 1644.

The same act (1643) which constituted county committees (called also committees of sequestration and standing committees),

<sup>1</sup> Wallington's *Historical Notices*, ii. 73, quoted *J. Bunyan*, by Dr. J. Brown, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Duke of Marlborough's MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.).*

and empowered them to sequester the benefices of the clergy, required them to sequester also the estates of notorious delinquents among the laity. Among these latter sufferers were the two foremost men of the parish, Sir Robert Napier and Sir Francis Crawley, who for three years at least were deprived of their property, and had to compound for it before they received it back.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. *Intruded Ministers.*

The earliest notice met with of a substitute for Birde is the following entry in the *Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers*: "Luton Decemb<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1645. Whereas M<sup>r</sup> Samuell Austin, to whom y<sup>e</sup> church of Luton in y<sup>e</sup> county of Bedd is sequestered, hath giuen p<sup>er</sup>sonall satisfac<sup>on</sup> this day to this Com<sup>tee</sup> wherefore hee leaueth y<sup>e</sup> cure of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> church and hath desired y<sup>t</sup> an especiall care may bee taken for y<sup>e</sup> settling of some godly minister in his steed in regard of y<sup>e</sup> deuicons (divisions) of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> parishe, This Com<sup>tee</sup> doe recomend y<sup>e</sup> same to y<sup>e</sup> kn<sup>ts</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> sheire and gents of y<sup>e</sup> sayd county who are desired to take some speedy course for y<sup>e</sup> Reconsiling y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> differences and to enquire some other able and godly Divine for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> church in y<sup>e</sup> steed of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Austin. And y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Austin is desired to attend the s<sup>d</sup> kn<sup>ts</sup> and gents and acquaint them herewith. And y<sup>e</sup> Justices of peace for y<sup>e</sup> sayd county are desired to take some speedy and effectual course for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Austin his recovery of y<sup>e</sup> tythes and p<sup>er</sup>fitts of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> church due unto him."<sup>2</sup>

This is succeeded, after about three months, by two other entries: "3 March 1645 (1646). Ordered that the vicarage of Luton sequestered to the use of M<sup>r</sup> Austin and by him relinquished shall stand sequestered to the use of Thomas Atwood Rotheram, Minister of the Word. Refer him to y<sup>e</sup> Assembly to be exaied."<sup>3</sup>

"7 Martii 1645 (1646). Whereas y<sup>e</sup> Vicarage of y<sup>e</sup> parishe Church of Luton in y<sup>e</sup> County of Bedd was by order of this Com<sup>tee</sup> sequestered by consent of M<sup>r</sup> Bird to y<sup>e</sup> use of Samuell Austine a godly and orthodox Divine who hath since left y<sup>e</sup> same It is ordered y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> vicarage shall from henceforth stand sequestered to y<sup>e</sup> use of Thomas Atwood Rotherham a godly and

<sup>1</sup> App. BJ, *Sequestration of the Estates of Sir R. Napier, Bart., and Sir Fr. Crawley.*

<sup>2</sup> *Add. MSS.* 15,669, fo. 220b, vol. ii., p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MSS.* 15,670, fo. 30b.

orthodox Divine who is required forthw'th to officiate y<sup>e</sup> cure of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> church as Vicar and preach Diligently to y<sup>e</sup> parishioners there." <sup>1</sup>

From these minutes it would appear that at some time <sup>2</sup> before December 6th, 1645—sufficiently long to allow another minister to officiate before thinking of resigning—Birde had surrendered the vicarage and had been succeeded by Austin; that it was by the central committee that the benefice was sequestered and granted to Austin; that his presence there as vicar was resented by many and brought to a head, if it was not itself the chief cause of, a great schism in the parish, accompanied by much bitter feeling (a result not hinted at as taking place, from a similar cause, in any other parish in the county), and that after a while, apparently about two years, he found or made occasion to resign the benefice. Also it appears that in order, if possible, to heal the division in the church the county committee were called upon to seek some minister who, though of course a Parliamentary and Puritanically inclined, might be likely from some cause to be more or less agreeable to all parties; that, accordingly, they selected one who, besides being a native of Luton, was connected with some of the best families in the parish (presumably those most averse to Austin's teaching and practices), and who had also both been episcopally ordained and was known among them as a minister, having acted as curate or incumbent, if not in the parish itself, at least in the neighbourhood.

Rotherham, having, according to the enactment of July 29th, 1643, submitted himself to be examined by "the Assembly of Divines," a body at this period consisting chiefly of Presbyterians, and who having taken the covenant were committed to a Presbyterian programme, was appointed vicar by the central committee, March 7th, 1646.

A subsequent entry, October 4th, 1647, only nineteen months later, shows that within that period not merely had Rotherham resigned, but that another minister, a Mr. Carey, who presumably was appointed by the same committee, had also, it seems, relinquished the vicarage. Apparently all three ministers had failed to

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 15,670, fo. 38, vol. ii., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that J. Crawley, in his will dated 10th December, 1644, left 10s., not, as it was usually expressed, to the vicar, mentioning also his name, but "to the minister of Luton," is strong evidence that Birde, who had been vicar for so many years, was now no longer at Luton, and that his place was occupied by another.

unite the parish—a fact scarcely to be wondered at, considering the incompatibility of Church principles with those of Puritanism and Calvinistic Presbyterianism.

It is not easy to determine whether Austin was a nonconforming, though episcopally ordained, clergyman of the Church, like Rotherham, or a minister ordained by some Scotch presbytery. But it is highly probable that he had been episcopally ordained. For he was a Cornishman, into which county Presbyterianism can hardly have entered in his early days; he was trained at Oxford, where, both on his admission and his taking his degrees, he must have professed himself a member of the Church of England;<sup>1</sup> he was appointed by the central committee, who were ever careful that the minister should have had some ordination, and recognized, probably, only episcopal and presbyterian orders, and not by a county committee, who often appointed any kind of sectarian; and also there is a strong presumption that his son, also an Oxford man, became a Church clergyman. This fact would help to account for Birde's giving his *consent* to Austin's appointment. The following seems all that is known about him:

SAMUEL AUSTIN was "a plebeian by birth,"<sup>2</sup> the son of Thomas Austin of Lostwithiel, Cornwall, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, matriculating there at the age of nineteen, 16th July, 1625, taking his B.A. degree 21st February, 1627-28, and that of M.A., 9th July, 1630. He is thought to have been the father of another Samuel Austin,<sup>3</sup> a poetical writer, who entered at Wadham College, Oxford, as 'clerici filius,' 2nd October, 1652, took his B.A. 13th October, 1656, and is supposed to have died c. 1665."

The elder Samuel, after leaving Luton, became vicar of Menheniot, Cornwall,<sup>4</sup> and it was probably in connexion with a desire to return to his native county that he gave satisfactory reasons for

<sup>1</sup> "At Oxford a decree of convocation in 1573 commanded that each candidate for the future, before taking his degree, should subscribe the articles of religion, and in 1576, a further law extended the application of the test to every person above the age of sixteen, upon entering his name at any college or hall. In 1616 a further injunction was issued, enjoining that all who were admitted to degrees should subscribe the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon," these three having reference to the king's supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the thirty-nine articles. (Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, p. 225.)

<sup>2</sup> *Foster's Alumni Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> *Athena Oxon.*, iii. 675; Gardiner, 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Nonconformist's Memorial*, i. 356.

wishing to leave Luton. After his ejection from Menheniot, at the Restoration, he is said to have lived at Plymouth.

The name is so marked and infrequent that its occurrence in the case of a clergyman instituted 6th November, 1662, to the rectory of S. Mary Staining, London,<sup>1</sup> leads strongly to the inference that the person so described was, if not the father, at least the son above alluded to. The Act of Uniformity, enforcing the use of the Prayer Book as it appears at present, having been passed the previous May (19th), the entry, if it refers to the elder Samuel, would show that he, like many others,<sup>2</sup> after a little hesitation, conformed and got fresh promotion; if it relates to the younger, which is by far the more probable, though the mention of his having been in holy orders has not been met with, then we have here either one of many instances where the son of a Nonconformist minister returns to the Church, is episcopally ordained, and becomes one of its accredited pastors, or, as seems more likely, the son, notwithstanding the Puritan opinions of his father, always adhered to the church of his baptism. That the rector of S. Mary Staining is known to have died before 24th June, 1666, is a confirmation of the supposition that he was the younger Austin, whose death is placed about that period. The statement that the elder Austin "lived at Plymouth" after his ejection, militates strongly against his so speedily going to London.

THOMAS ATWOOD ROTHERHAM, on both his father's and mother's side, was sprung from Luton families, being the son of Nicholas (of London), a younger brother of Sir John Rotheram of Someries, and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Atwood of Luton, where he was baptized, 27th December, 1602. He was consequently first cousin of Elizabeth, Lady Crawley, the daughter of Sir John Rotheram and wife of "the delinquent" Sir Francis Crawley. In the "Additional Pedigrees" to the Herald's *Visitation of Beds.* (p. 193), under the year 1637, occurs the entry, "Thomas Atwood Rotheram, minister of Luton, in com. Beds, and *after*, of Ickleford, in com. Herts." As he was instituted rector of Ickleford and vicar of Pirton, 21st May, 1629, when Birde was certainly *vicar* of Luton, Rotherham, though here styled "minister," could not have been "vicar" of Luton *before* he went to Ickleford. If the order of events here given be correct, he must, and can only, have been

<sup>1</sup> Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, Edw. Fowler, rector of Northill, who eventually became Bishop of Gloucester.

Birde's *curate*. And, considering his position, it is by no means improbable that he was ordained for Luton and served as Birde's curate for the three or four years before he was appointed to Ickleford. As, however, he became eventually vicar of Luton, it may possibly be only a misstatement of the time when he was "minister" there, though in that case the entry must have been made long after its professed date of 1637. Whilst holding Ickleford, at no great distance from Luton, if he did not actually reside at the latter place he at least brought some of his children to be baptized and buried there, his eldest son, John, being baptized there 21st October, 1630, and a daughter, Jane, buried 3rd March, 1640. On resigning Ickleford and Pirton he was instituted rector of S. John Zachary, London, 15th March, 1643, where he remained for two years, till he was recalled to his native town in the vain hope of reconciling its religious differences. Some time after leaving Luton he was (March, 1648) appointed "Minister of the Word of God" at Boreham, Essex, and dying there was eventually brought back and buried at Luton, 2nd December, 1657.

Though episcopally ordained, Rotherham was neither appointed by the legal patron nor canonically instituted by the bishop. The patron, Sir R. Napier, having been declared a "delinquent," his patronage of the vicarage had been usurped, and even when the sequestration of his estates was removed, this right was still withheld, as, it will be seen, was the case throughout the Commonwealth.

Rotherham's successor was a MR. CAREY, of whom mention is made in the same *Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers*,<sup>1</sup> where he is found, having quitted Luton, to have made application for some better remuneration for his services whilst there than what he had received from the vicarage.

There is no doubt a mistake in the following minute in calling the benefice a rectory instead of a vicarage—an error easily made and of not infrequent occurrence both in the *Proceedings* and elsewhere—but there need be no hesitation in accepting it as referring to Luton, and therefore as giving us the name of the above third minister, who, like the others, had been intruded into the vicarage and had quickly relinquished it.

"October 4th, 1647. It is ordered that the sequestration of the rectory of Lewton<sup>2</sup> in the co. Bedd doe satisfy MR. CAREY, Minister

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.* 15,670, vol. iii., p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Though this is a rather unusual way of spelling the name, yet it occurs

of the Word, for the tyme that he did officiate the cure of the said church, or shew cause to the contrary before this committee on the 20th day of November next ensuing." The minutes of the proceedings of the committee cease before this latter date (the last entry being on 30th October), so we have no record of what took place further, and as, unfortunately, Carey's Christian name is not given, neither his past nor future career can be traced with certainty.<sup>1</sup> The central committee was not likely to let the nomination pass from its hands to the county committee; and as his appointment to Luton does not occur in the extant proceedings, it may, therefore, be inferred that it took place between 5th October, 1646, and 1st May, 1647, during which period there is a blank in the minutes for about seven months. As episcopacy had been abolished and committees appointed since 1643 to examine and ordain ministers in the established Presbyterian religion, it is probable that Carey was a Presbyterian.

The return to their homes and properties at about this time of Sir R. Napier and of Sir F. Crawley, with their houses despoiled and means curtailed, and with feelings embittered by their treatment at the hands of the dominant party, was not likely to conduce to the comfort of any intruded minister. Moreover, the presence of two such churchmen and royalists must have helped to sustain the spirits of their co-religionists, leading, as it did, after a few years, to an organization which culminated, as soon as ever it was possible, in their supporting a Church minister for themselves. Before this consummation, however, and indeed within twelve months of his compounding for his estate, Sir Francis was gathered to his fathers (13th February, 1650), and buried in Someries chapel (the Wenlock chapel), which he had acquired from the Rotherhams along with the manor house of Someries. His son and successor, Francis, however, declared himself on the same side, and being proclaimed as a delinquent had his estate, also, from 1655, annually decimated, a special income tax of ten per

twice in a document of this very date, viz., in the marriage licence issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury: "1647, Sep. 25. Geo. Scott of Lincoln's Inn, gent., bachelor, 24, and Eliz<sup>th</sup> Cheyne of Lewton, Beds, sp<sup>r</sup>, 22, her father dead; at Lewton afs<sup>d</sup>." (*Beds. N. and Q.*, ii. 74.) Also it is repeated six times in the will of Thomas Crowley, 1511, and is found in No. 27,349, *Add. Charters, Brit. Mus.*, 1571, in two other charters, 1646 and 1648, and as late as 1673, in the marriage licence of St. John Docwra of Potteridge, *Beds. N. and Q.*, ii. 116.

<sup>1</sup> His name does not occur in the *Nonconformist's Memorial*.



cent., "the Decimation Act," being levied from the royalists. How it fared at Luton between October, 1647, the date when Carey is mentioned, and 1650, has not been ascertained. We cannot now determine whether another minister, in succession to Carey, had also been appointed by the committee during the seven months of blank in the *Proceedings* (5th October, 1646, to 1st May, 1647); or whether, after October, 1647, when the record ends, another was appointed; or whether for the next three years the parish was, like very many others at this period, left without any stated minister at all.

At the opening, however, of the last half of the century we find a new minister there, THOMAS JESSOP. By whom he was appointed (for the old committees had fallen into abeyance) cannot be determined, nor how it happened that Sir R. Napier, the proper patron, whose sequestration had now been removed, did not nominate. Nor is it easy to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to whether Jessop was a Presbyterian or an Independent minister; though, considering the times and his appeal to Cromwell, it seems most probable that he belonged to the latter body, which had no objection, in those days, either to the connexion between Church and State or to being maintained by Church endowments. The following entries of members of his family occur in the parish register: "Thomas Jessop, son of Mr. Thomas and Mary, *baptized* 30th October, 1651, buried 14th December, 1652. Elizabeth Jessop, daughter of Mr. Thomas, minister, and Mary, born 31st December, 1655, buried 18th December, 1657."

A petition<sup>1</sup> which he sent to Oliver Cromwell gives us the date of his appointment, and at the same time throws much light upon the state of feeling and the doings of the Church party at Luton during the last years of the Commonwealth. "1658, May 27th. Petition of Thomas Jessop, minister of Luton, co. Beds, to the Protector. I have served here *eight years* struggling against a malignant and prelatical party because I was not episcopally ordained, and they *now* withdraw the people from my communion and worship in prelatical form, so that I must surrender my charge, without redress. On May 3rd (1658) they brought Lady Crawley, widow of Judge Crawley, in the night to be buried, hearing of which I offered the religious liberty to bury her *by their own minister* and for him to give an exhortation, if they would not use the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Dom. Ser.)*, 1658, p. 37, No. 59.

Prayer Book service. On this her younger son, Thomas,<sup>1</sup> who has served in the late king's army, called me 'scoundrel' and 'clown,' and said *you* allowed the Common-prayer Book in London, so they broke open the church doors and Thomas Crawley read the Burial service. My condition becoming insupportable, I beg some order for my relief." (May 27th.) "Order thereon in Council that the serjeant-at-arms bring up Thos. Crawley in custody and that the petitioner attend with witnesses to prove the charge against him."

As there is no further allusion to this matter in the State Papers, and as O. Cromwell died within four months of this time, it may be presumed that the whole affair was allowed to drop; and from other evidence<sup>2</sup> it would appear that Jessop continued at Luton until the Restoration, some two years later, when an episcopally ordained clergyman was again appointed to the vicarage by the rightful patron.

From the foregoing petition it is clear that those who had continued faithful to the Church were no longer submitting inactively to the tyranny of their opponents, but, having secured the services of a rightly ordained clergyman, were again celebrating the holy sacrament, after the manner of the Church in due "prelatical form," and, joining together in some stated place,<sup>3</sup> though at the risk of banishment on the part of the clergyman, used the offices of the Prayer Book. It is evident also that there was a reaction going on throughout the parish in favour of the old teaching of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> He was the third son of Sir Francis, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and on 2nd March, 1660-1, was instituted rector of Amersham, Bucks, on the king's title, though for security sake, as the patronage belonged to the Earl of Bedford, he got a second presentation from Charles Good, the earl's steward. He was also in 1661 created D.D. by letters royal, and in the following year, 11th September, 1662, presented by the king to the rectory of Barton le Clay, Beds, where he died, unmarried, 22nd May, and was buried in the chancel, 25th May, 1677. His will is among those in the Northampton registry.

<sup>2</sup> In the Exchequer Depositions (31 Chas. II., 1679-80) it is expressly mentioned that Mr. Jessop was the "immediate predecessor" of Thos. Pomfret, though this is accompanied with the rather strange assertion that the former had succeeded Mr. Bird in the vicarage, thus ignoring Austin, Rotheram, and Carey. That Jessop remained until close to the Restoration is confirmed by another statement therein, viz., that tithe was paid to him *about twenty years* prior to January, 1680.

<sup>3</sup> If Sir R. Napier finished his chapel at the Hoo some four or five years previous to his death (March, 1662), it may have been there, removed from likelihood of disturbance, that the Church people met for divine service.

A few years previously to this (1653) (as if to throw discredit on the clergy, though it reflected as much upon the later appointed "ministers"), the parish registers were taken out of their hands in most parishes, and local registrars appointed to take charge of them.<sup>1</sup> As these latter were in general men of little or no education—more frequently than otherwise tailors and shoemakers—the entries during the next few years, at Luton as elsewhere, are for the most part made very irregularly and with great omissions, ill written and badly spelt, and so deficient in the proper designations of the individuals that it is often difficult to identify even persons of high degree.<sup>2</sup>

In 1655 George Fox, the chief founder of Quakerism, paid the first of his four visits to Luton. It is amusing to find him applying to the *Independent* minister, intruded into the vicarage, the same railing expression of a "hireling priest," which from that day to this has been so continuously applied by his sect to the Church clergy. "I was moved of the Lord (he writes) to go down into Bedfordshire (Luton is printed in the margin) to John Crook's house (who was a magistrate of the county), where there was a great meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. Several friends went to the Steeple houses (the churches) that day; and there was a meeting in the country, which Alex. Parkes went to, and towards the middle of the day it came upon me to go to it, though it was several miles from me. Many were turned to Jesus Christ that day, and came to sit under his teaching; insomuch that the judges were in a great rage, and many of the magistrates in Bedfordshire, because there were so many turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching. But J. Crook was kept by the power of the Lord, yet he was turned out from being a justice."

These judges and magistrates who thus sought to put down

<sup>1</sup> The earliest notice, however, of the appointment of a registrar at Luton is that of J. Rowley, 29th September, 1655, the fewness of the entries in the preceding year showing how irregularly the register was kept while under, apparently, the care of Jessop. The office of registrar was continued at Luton even after the Restoration, Bartholomew Harvey being appointed in 1669.

<sup>2</sup> There are, however, two notable exceptions to the latter charge in the Luton register, where, notwithstanding the dispute concerning the burial of Lady Crawley, is the following entry: "1658, May 3. The Right worshipping Lady Crawley, widdow, of Someries;" and in the same year, "July 16. The Right honorable and virtuous Lady Penelope Napier, wife of Sir Robert, Knight and Barronett."

Quakerism by force were probably all at this time Independents, the party who had so lately cried out for liberty of conscience.

George Fox appeared again in Luton three years afterwards (1658), the year alluded to in the petition, when there was another "glorious meeting," and a constable with a party of horse was sent to arrest him, though by some means, not clearly explained, he managed to escape. This also took place while the Independents were in power.<sup>1</sup>

Fox passed through Luton again in 1677, and spent a good part of a day there some years afterwards with his friend, J. Crook, but these two *unmolested occurrences* took place after the Restoration and when Pomfrett was vicar.

There is a set of entries in the parish register just previous to the Restoration which, besides exhibiting the Puritan aversion to the use of the name "Sunday" for the first day of the week, indirectly tell the tale of the substitution in church of extempore prayer in the place of the Book of Common Prayer. They relate to marriages, *e.g.*, the marriage of John Croft of Brocksborne, co. Herts, and Ann Bruce, September, 1659, to which is appended, "Published three seuerall *Lord's dayes* in the church at the close of the *Morning Exercise* (4th, 11th, 18th Sep.)." By an ordinance of the year 1653 it had been ordained that after the 29th September of that year,<sup>2</sup> banns of marriage should be published no longer by the *clergyman during* the service, but by the registrar either in church *after* the service three several Lord's

<sup>1</sup> It is not a little curious that while nearly every other form of fanaticism was being tolerated, if not encouraged, the Quakers, whose "system is something like the logical conclusion at which Puritanism arrives if its principles be carried to their extremes," shared with the Church of England and the Romanists the bitter persecution of the Puritan authorities. The gaols are said to have been full of Quakers under the Commonwealth. (*Life of Geo. Fox*, p. 6; *Perry*, ii. 475.)

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting entry in Sundon parish register, showing a successful attempt to evade this law by the marriage being celebrated a week before it came into force, and therefore probably one of the last performed in a church for many years—noteworthy, also, for its singular and open allusion to the licence of the archdeacon (J. Hacket, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1661), whose jurisdiction had been abolished in 1642, but who still, apparently, claimed and exercised the right of issuing marriage licences: "1653, Sep. 22. W. Foster, of Bedford, gent., and Anne, daughter of J. Wingate, of Harlington, gent., married by J. Lindall, Doc<sup>r</sup>. of Divinity (Wm. Lindall, vicar of Harlington, whom Bunyan styled an 'old enemy of the truth?'), by virtue of a licence from the Archdeacon."—*Gen. Bedf.*

days, or, if the party desire, in the market-place three several weeks successively. Many instances of the latter also occur in the Luton register. After banns, too, as marriage was now degraded from being a religious ceremony into a mere civil contract, the marriage was to take place, not by a clergyman, but merely in the presence of a justice of the peace, and "no other marriage whatsoever was to be accounted a marriage according to the law of England." This ordinance was confirmed by the Protector's parliament in 1656, with the omission, however, of the last clause. The directory for public worship, ratified by Parliament, 1645, had already forbidden the use of the ring in marriage.

According to his own account, the people of Luton were gradually falling off from Jessop and his ministrations towards the close of his stay there. Nor does he seem to have left many of his way of thinking behind him. Presbyterianism, as a system of Church government, never commended itself to the minds of Englishmen, and if he was a Presbyterian, it is no wonder that we hear of no community of such religionists surviving him in the parish. Congregationalism, as distinct from "the Baptist connexion," seems to have been almost unknown in Luton until the latter half of the present century, their first place of worship being opened, according to Davis (p. 74), only in 1866. Of the Baptists,<sup>1</sup> even—who had separated from the Independents in 1633—though, according to the same authority, endorsed by Dr. Brown (*Bunyan*), there were some in Luton, who formed part of the congregation at Kensworth in Hertfordshire as early as the latter part of what he calls the sixteenth—meaning the seventeenth—century, it is not until 1675 that he can reckon nineteen members<sup>2</sup> (out of the three hundred and eighty worshipping at Kensworth in 1660) as resident in Luton. In or about that date he records that they first assembled for worship at Luton, and adds, that owing to the persecution of separatists during the remaining ten years of the reign of Charles II., they betook themselves to a room in the roof of Dallow farm-house, where a sort of trap-door, still in existence, was used for an entry.

<sup>1</sup> From Jessop's baptizing one of his own children as well as other children, it must be inferred that he did not belong to that branch of the Independents, or, at least, that, like John Bunyan, who had his children baptized in 1650, and even in 1672, he had no strong feeling or opinion upon the questions relating to baptism at the time he did so.

<sup>2</sup> These, no doubt, are the Anabaptists referred to in the sermon preached at the funeral of Thos. Pomfrett.

As there can be little doubt that this house stood on the site of the old rectory house—its representative, if not something more—it is pleasant to think that the Church's children (for such they still were, though misguided and alienated), when wrongfully and harshly treated, though only receiving what they had for years been meting to others, turned in their distress, though unconsciously, towards the ancestral home of the church of the parish, the ancient parish *sanctuary* (along with the parish church), and found in it, as others doubtless had done before, a refuge from the storm which they themselves had in great measure evoked. Of any attempt, however, to interfere with them in their retreat there seems to be no record. Tradition, of course, makes J. Bunyan a frequent preacher at Dallow—"when the vigilance of spies necessitated his coming and going in disguise, or under cover of the darkness of night"—as in almost every other early Baptist meeting-house in the county. If so, as Bunyan had received a licence, 6th May, 1672, to preach in any place, room, or house licensed by the king, it would appear that the above congregation did not take out a licence for Dallow. It was not until James I., in order that he might re-introduce Popery, passed a "Declaration of liberty of conscience," in 1686, that the Baptists erected a place of worship for themselves in Luton.

As Jessop's burial is not recorded in the parish register, and his successor was instituted towards the close of 1660 (20th December), it may be presumed that he *resigned* Luton soon after the restoration of Charles II. (29th May). It was not till May, 1662, that the Act of Uniformity *drove* many of the intruded ministers to relinquish their benefices rather than to take the prescribed oath.

It was during Jessop's time that the excellent bishop, Thomas Morton of Durham, came and resided at Luton<sup>1</sup> for some years with a Mr. Thomas Robinson. After having been deprived of his estates in 1646, he had been turned out of his house (Durham House) in the Strand, London, just before the murder of King Charles, by the soldiers, who converted it into a garrison. For a short time he resided with the Earl of Rutland, but, being unwilling to live at the charge of others, he removed into the country and took up his abode first with Captain Thomas Saunders at Flamstead in Herts, afterwards with Mr. Robinson, and finally with Sir Christopher Yelverton (notwithstanding his having taken

<sup>1</sup> Dioc. Hist. *Durham*, p. 264; Winkle's *British Cathedrals*, iii. 79.

part with the Parliament) in Northamptonshire. He died there just before the Restoration, 22nd September, 1659, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. Had his presence at Luton, and the wrongs which he was patiently enduring, anything to do with the increased action and consolidation of the Church party? Did he ordain Thomas Pomfrett, or someone else, to minister to them? Sundry of the deprived bishops, both in England and on the continent, fearing an insufficiency of clergy when better times should arrive, continued to ordain in private; whilst both laymen and a few clergymen who had private means "paid stipends to promising young men to enable them to resort to the universities and study there, arranging afterwards with the few bishops still to be found in England to admit them to orders."

#### 4. *Thomas Pomfrett, M.A. (1660-1705).*

THOMAS POMFRETT, the next vicar, seems to have been a young man when he succeeded, as he did not take his degree of Master of Arts till the following year, though possibly this was owing to the confusion of the times, and he was also as yet unmarried. Lysons describes him (p. 114) as having been curate before he was vicar. If the term be strictly correct, this would seem to imply that he had been Birde's curate, for it cannot be supposed that any of the intruded ministers would have had an assistant, or that Pomfrett would either have consented to act as such, or have ever been described as their "curate." Yet, as Birde appears to have resigned some seventeen years before this period, Pomfrett, to have been his curate, must have been at least forty years old at the time of his appointment to the vicarage—an age which hardly agrees with his future history and which would make him at least eighty-five years old at the time of his decease. It seems more probable that if Lysons found evidence of his having ministered at Luton previous to his institution to the vicarage, it was as the "minister of their own"<sup>1</sup> which the petition mentions that the Church people had during the latter part of Jessop's incumbency.

<sup>1</sup> One objection, however, there is to this supposition, viz., that none of the witnesses in the trial concerning tithes in 1679, though inhabitants of Luton, ever speak of having known him before 1660. This, however, might have been quite possible if, as is suggested elsewhere, he lived at the Hoo, as chaplain (in reality, if not in name) to Sir R. Napier, and if the witnesses formed no part of his congregation.

If he continued to act as such until Jessop's resignation and the restoration of the advowson to Sir Robert Napier, it would be but natural and becoming for the latter to appoint him to the vicarage. He could hardly have done otherwise by anyone who had thus thrown himself into the breach. During his first year at Luton Pomfrett both took his master's degree and married.

The licence for his marriage is thus recorded in the *London Marriage Licences*: "Thomas Pomfrett, vicar of Luton, and Catherine, daughter of W. Dobson late of S. Andrew's Holborn, deceased. Marriage Licence dated 27 Nov. 1661. To be married at S. Andrews Holborn, or S. Mary's Savoy, Midd."

He was the father of a numerous family, though, like his predecessor, Birde, he lost five of them in their infancy. A question, however, has been raised about the accuracy of one name in the parish register, that of Thomas, entered as baptized March 12th, 1667-8, and apparently the eldest son, at least of those born at Luton. A daughter, Mary, is described as having been baptized some twenty months earlier, on July 12th, 1666. As among the entries the name of *John* does not occur, and yet a son of the vicar, with that Christian name ("the Poet"), is stated<sup>1</sup> to have been born at Luton *about the year* 1667, and also to have died November, 1703 (1702?), aged thirty-five years, it has been conjectured (Lysons) that the above name Thomas was a clerical error for John. If John, however, were born in 1668, he would only have been sixteen or seventeen years old when he took his B.A. degree at Cambridge—a not very unusual thing at that time, however—and only about twenty when he, apparently, became curate of Maulden. Pomfrett had one surviving child at least born before Mary, the earliest name of any member of the family in the Luton register, for his wife's aunt, Frances Dobson, who was buried at Luton, November 17th, 1680, in her will<sup>2</sup> makes a special bequest to her "niece Pomfrett's *eldest* daughter Frances," the next being made to Mary. It seems much more probable, therefore, especially as more than four years elapsed between the parents' marriage and the baptism of Mary, that John also was born before Mary, and that (as seems to have been the case with his sister Frances) either his baptism took place elsewhere or was performed in private and so came to be omitted from the parish register. This would admit of his having been born in any of the

<sup>1</sup> Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

<sup>2</sup> *Beds. N. and Q.*, ii. 227.



years between 1662 and 1665, either of which would make him of canonical age when ordained. There was room, however, for him to have been born between Mary and Thomas, in 1667, the year named by Johnson.

This John Pomfrett, as he became a popular poet and was probably born in the vicarage, claims a niche in this history of the vicars. "He was educated at a grammar school in the county and thence sent to Queen's College, Cambridge," where he took his B.A. degree in 1684, though he did not proceed to that of M.A. until 1698. His first cure seems to have been that of Maulden in 1688, of which parish his father was, to all appearance, the non-resident rector, but which he resigned in 1695 in favour of his son John—Thomas Bruce, second Earl of Ailesbury, being the patron. On September 13th, 1691, John married in Luton church Elizabeth Wingate, of which union the only surviving son was John, Rouge-croix Pursuivant, part author of *Pomfrett and Warburton's Collections for Beds.* (in Add. MS. B.M.), who died March 24th, 1751, aged forty-nine, and was buried in Cardington church, where there is a monument to his memory. The elder John published his first volume of poems in 1699, two more pieces being published after his death. His most popular poem was *The Choice*. Owing to a misunderstanding about an innocent passage in this poem on the part of Compton, Bishop of London, his institution to a large and valuable benefice was postponed for a time; and, while waiting for it in London, he caught the small-pox and died, not, as Johnson states, in November, 1703, but on November 25th, 1702. He had also, earlier in the year, been presented by Robert Bruce, Esq., to Millbrook rectory, to which he was instituted June 2nd, 1702, and which he held together with Maulden. He was buried in the latter parish, December 1st, 1702.

Nothing of special interest connected with the church at Luton <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, two entries in the parish register, both of them made subsequent to the Restoration; the one a few months before Pomfrett's institution, and the other a year or two after it, which were brought to the notice of the American public, to their great delight, by F. A. Blaydes, Esq., viz., the marriage of the great-uncle of Washington, and the baptism of his child.

"1660, June 26. Lawrence Washington, gent., and Mrs. Mary Jones, married."

"1663, Dec. 22. Mary Washington, dau. of Mr Lawrence and Mary, baptized."

Some time after the birth of the latter (in 1667-8), Lawrence, together with

seems to have occurred during the early years of Pomfrett's incumbency, except the death of his patron, Sir Robert Napier, in March, 1661, a loss to the whole parish. He left by his will £20 to the churchwardens for the poor. Among the witnesses to it occur the names of Elinor and Frances Dobson, the aunts of Pomfrett's wife. The former was buried at Luton, March 15th, 1662 or 1663, the latter, who bequeathed £5 to the poor of the parish, on November 17th, 1680. From the numerous legacies to the various members of the Napier family in the will of the latter, it would seem that the Dobsons were very intimate friends, if not indeed relatives, of the Napiers. This may possibly account, indirectly, for Pomfrett's introduction to Luton. He was his aunt's executor and residuary legatee.

On October 6th, 1674, however, took place an event of some interest and importance, viz., the first consecration of a chapel in the parish since the Reformation, and the earliest consecration in the parish of which we have any information. It had been erected by the second Sir Robert Napier, but was not consecrated until the days of his son, Sir John. So rare had such church building become at this period, that there was no authorized form of consecration in existence. One had been suggested in convocation in 1661, but it was not until 1715 that any was appointed. The form used on the above occasion is said by Shaw to be extant.<sup>1</sup> This chapel, destroyed by fire in 1843, is memorable not merely for its beautiful and elaborately carved woodwork, but for its stone altar, said to be an old one, made more or less after the model of the Jewish ark of the covenant, with rings attached as if for carrying it, and with the singular conjunction of inscriptions, whatever may be its date: "*In quæ desiderant angeli prospicere*;" "*Habemus Altare*;" "*Ex omnes (bibite)*;" "*Hoc in memoriam Mei*."

Was it in this chapel that the Church people worshipped during the last years of the usurpation? Was Pomfrett their minister here, then, acting as Sir Robert's chaplain? Was he admitted here, by Bishop Morton, while resident in the parish, into either his elder brother John—the grandfather of George, the President—emigrated to Virginia. On his death he left his English property to his above daughter, Mary. His wife was the daughter of Edmund Jones, gent., maltster, of Luton, who, in his will, 8th March, 1682, left 40s. to his said grandchild, Mary Washington.

<sup>1</sup> Shaw's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Chapel at Luton Park*, 1829. The see of Lincoln was vacant at the time, the bishop, Thomas Winniffe, having died in 1654.

deacon's or priest's orders, or into both? Many circumstances conspire to render an affirmative answer to each of these questions probable.

In 31 and 32 Charles II. (1679-80) Pomfrett brought actions against Edward Lanady for (the vicarial) tithes of Bramhillhanger, *alias* Bramblehanger Farm, in the hamlet of Lymbury cum Biscot, and also against William Waite for tithes of closes of land belonging to defendant called "Dallow closes," or "Three-score acres," in the same hamlet.

Owing, it appears, to the introduction of the cultivation of sainfoin, the question arose whether this was to be reckoned with corn and pulse, and so the tithe of it to be paid to the impropiator of the great tithes, or along with hay, and so to be subject to vicarial tithe. This was all that was contended for in the case of Bramhillhanger, and it seems to have been decided, and no doubt justly, in favour of Pomfrett, and here this suit closed. The decision must have been the same as to the titheable character of sainfoin in the second case. But in this instance<sup>1</sup> the defendant claimed exemption for his land from any vicarial, and apparently from all other kinds of tithe, and seemingly refused payment. Whether the permission granted by the court to the plaintiff to sue the defendant at Bedford for the tithes was a formal decision on their part that the lands in question were titheable is not clear. Much of considerable interest in connection with this history is bound up in the question, a discussion of which will be found in the Appendix, together with some details of the suit.

The following year (1681) a "controversy" arose between Thomas Cheney of Luton, gent., and John Crosse of Bramblehanger, in Limbury cum Biscot, and of S. James's, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, about a pew in church "at the east end adjoining the chancel, on the north side of the middle aisle" (nave), which the former asserted had been built by an ancestor, and in which his grandfather John and his father Thomas, as well as himself, had been used to sit. On his allowing, however, that J. Crosse had an equal right and interest in it, probably from having succeeded to the Bramblehanger manor, once the property of the Cheneyes, a licence was granted by the commissary of the archdeacon that both parties, so long as they inhabited their present residences, might stand, sit, and kneel in the said pew. Dated, March 16th, 1681.

<sup>1</sup> App. BK, *Lawsuits concerning Tithes.*

There is an extant list, in the last pages of the Parish Register No. 1, of briefs and collections for various objects of charity and interest made in the parish about this period, in which, in many cases, the amounts subscribed by individuals is also given.

In 1670, January 22nd, a collection was made "for the redemption of Turkish slaves" (*i.e.*, of Christians taken by the Turks and sold into slavery), when Sir J. Napier, Bart., gave £1; J. Rotherham, Esq., 2s. 6d., and Mr. Thos. Pomfrett, vic., 2s. 6d. Among those mentioned as being of Sir J. Napier's family (or household) are Mr. Thomas Deane, clerk (qy. his chaplain?), 2s. 6d., and Mr. W. Eaton, 2s. 6d. (the latter perhaps the father of the succeeding vicar, Christopher Eaton).

In 1680 a collection was made, to which Thos. Cheyne, gent., and Thos. Pomfrett, vic., each contributed £5 towards "the repairing of the *Cathedral of S. Paul's*," *i.e.*, building the present structure, the first stone of which was laid by Sir Christopher Wren on the 21st June, 1675, the last not being laid till 1710. The old S. Paul's had been in part destroyed, and the remainder irreparably damaged by the Great Fire of London, 1666. At the end of the year (26th Nov.) there was another brief for the redemption of the Turkish slaves, to which Sir J. Napier, Bart., and his lady subscribed £1, Mr. Cheney, 5s., Mr. Rotherham and Mr. Thos. Pomfret, vic., 2s. 6d. each.

In 1681 a collection in the town and parish was made by Mr. Geo. Rotherham and Thos. How, churchwardens, "for the repairing of the *Cathedral Church* (a prophetic expression<sup>1</sup> which has happily after two hundred years found its accomplishment), called the Abbey of S. Albans," to which Sir J. Napier, Bart., gave £2, and Thos. Pomfret, vicar, and Thos. Cheyne, gent., 2s. 6d. each.

In 1684 money was collected for repairing the church at Pearmouth.

In 1686 there was a brief for French Protestants, and

In 1689 money was collected for "the relief of distressed Irish Protestants," to which Sir J. Napier, Bart., contributed £1, and Mr. Pomfret, 5s.

During this period, too, especially it seems in the year 1680, certificates were issued under the hands and seals of the minister and churchwardens to sundry persons, "in order to be touched by

<sup>1</sup> The title of cathedral, however, was apt to be given in former days to any large church, and not merely to the church where the "cathedra" or "chair" of the bishop was.

his majesty for the disease commonly called king's evil." Among these persons are enumerated Thos. Catherall, son of Thomas, George Chapman, Mary Osbern, wife of John, Katherine and Elizabeth Hull.

When the Rye House Plot was discovered, in June, 1683, and was shortly afterwards made public, a day was appointed, Sunday, September 9th, as "a day of thanksgiving for the discovery and disappoinment of the Republican plot." On that occasion Pomfrett preached a sermon at Ampthill, which he afterwards printed,<sup>1</sup> from 1 Peter, ii. 20, 21, "But if when ye do well," etc., on the duty of passive obedience. It is styled, *A Thanksgiving for the Discovery and Defeat of the late treasonable Conspiracy against his Sacred Majesties Person and Government*. On the title-page he is called Thomas Pomfrett, *Rector of Ampthill* (which is clearly a mistake), and chaplain to the Right Hon. Robert, Earl of Ailesbury, to whom, as his *patron*, and "one of the lords of his Majesties most Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Privy Council," he dedicates his sermon. That he was not rector of Ampthill is certain, for on the 28th of March in that very year Wm. Barnewell was instituted to the rectory, being married there also on 30th July (nine days after the date of the sermon), and his son being baptized there the following year. Considering that he was at this time vicar of Luton, and had been so for upwards of twenty years, it would have been strange if this fact had not been meant to find a place on the title-page. Evidently the above designation was an error on the part of the printer for "vicar of Luton," or for "rector of Maulden." In his sermon he charges Calamy, Jenkins, Baxter, Owen, Calvin, Beza, Knox, and Buchanan with having by their writings made people disaffected towards both king and church.

Just after the accession of James II., 1685,<sup>2</sup> Pomfrett was appointed by Geo. Abbott, Esq., of Steppingly parish, high sheriff of Beds., to preach the customary sermon before the judges and prisoners at the spring assizes, presumably at Bedford. The notorious Chief Justice Jeffries—the presiding judge at "the Bloody Assizes" before the close of the year—was the chief judge of the circuit. Pomfrett's text was on the subject of "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, that would not bow their knee to an idol at the command of the king." Either the choice of the text and the

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Lib.* (<sup>790-9-11</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury*, p. 160.

suggestion conveyed therein, or the opening of the sermon, so irritated the Chief Justice that he rose up in a passion, and but for the expostulation of his brother judge, was like to have "plucked the preacher out of the pulpit." However, Pomfrett "flying from his text and uttering all loyalty and obedience," the judge was equally "impatient, as he had been fiery at the first, to embrace the preacher coming down the steps, thanked him for his loyal and good sermon, ordered him to print it and to dedicate it to him," and, adds the Earl of Ailesbury, "took him to dinner, and I fear the bottle went too fast."

In the same year (1685) he published the *Life of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. and Religious Lady, Christian, late Countess Dowager of Devonshire*,<sup>1</sup> who, for three years after the battle of Worcester (1651),<sup>2</sup> lived at Houghton Park,<sup>3</sup> the seat of her brother, the Earl of Elgin, and where, as Pomfrett remarks, "she both lightened her griefs and her expenses." By her correspondence, not merely with many Royalists, but with Monk and others, she kept alive the hopes of the loyalists, and was mainly instrumental in restoring Charles II. She was distinguished no less by her bountifulness than by her loyalty. "The war," says Pomfrett, "had made loyalty poor, and sequestration upon the priests of God had reduced the clergy to such lamentable want that they had nothing left to cloath them but their own righteousness; nor anything to feed on, but a good conscience and their passive virtues. Here our noble lady saw and pitied, and became the succourer of the righteous cause."

Like many others, both then and at most periods of history, Pomfrett was a pluralist, holding for eleven years along with Luton the rectory of Maulden (1684-95), to which he was appointed by Robert, Earl of Ailesbury, whose chaplain he was. He was also prebend of Milton Manor in Lincoln Cathedral from the same year until his death.

Having begun his ministry at least as early as the trying times of the Commonwealth, he passed through the dissolute days of Charles II., the reactionary reign of his brother James, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Lib.* (1112. c. 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Lysons*, p. 97, though this contradicts Pomfrett's statement that she left Houghton in 1650, and then went to live at Roehampton.

<sup>3</sup> Houghton House had been built by Mary, Countess of Pembroke, "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," in 1615. It is now the well-known "Houghton Ruins." In 1630 it and the park were granted in fee to Lord Bruce, and became the country seat of his descendants, Earls of Elgin and Ailesbury, till sold in 1738 to John, Duke of Bedford.

Revolution of 1688 ; lived to see the establishment of the House of Orange upon the throne, and closed his days in the reign of good Queen Anne, having been vicar of Luton for forty-four years. He was buried, however, not among his own flock, but, for some unknown reason, in the neighbouring churchyard of Caddington.

On the occasion of his burial there, 10th March, 1705, a forcible funeral sermon, on Rev. xiv. 13, "I heard," etc., was preached in that parish church by the Rev. A. Humphreys, rector of Barton, which was published at the request of the auditors.<sup>1</sup> In speaking of Pomfrett's character he dwells, among other things, upon his care for his children, which seems to have called for much self-denial on his part ; his ability for his calling and diligence in it ; his constant preaching and catechising and use of other means of instruction, and, lastly, "his dispute with the Anabaptists of his own parish, showing how capable he was to manage controversies in divinity." Yet, "the very Dissenters had so much respect for him that they seemed to resent his late hard usage more than himself,"<sup>2</sup> and if I am not wrongly informed, offered to bear a share in the charge of it."

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Lib.* (1418, f. 1).

<sup>2</sup> An endeavour to trace what is alluded to here has not been successful, unless it relates to the withholding of tithe and the expenses of consequent lawsuits.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE GEORGIAN ERA (A.D. 1714-1837).

GEORGE I.—GEORGE II.—GEORGE III.—GEORGE IV.—WILLIAM IV.

1. *Christopher Eaton, M.A. (1706-1745).*

CHRISTOPHER EATON held the vicarage for nearly forty years, being vicar when both Steele (1711-19) and Blomefield (1724-34) paid their visits to Luton and wrote their accounts of its church. His wife's maiden name has not yet been ascertained; her Christian name was Elizabeth, and as he had a daughter (Elizabeth) baptized at Luton, 25th March, 1705, a year, *i.e.*, previous to his own institution, it may perhaps be inferred that he acted for a time as curate to his predecessor, though, as he was appointed by Sir J. Napier, it seems not improbable that he was the son of a Mr. W. Eaton, whom we find reckoned amongst Sir John's household in 1670, and therefore might on the above occasion have only been staying temporarily in the neighbourhood. A son, Richard, was also born to him at Luton, after he became vicar, 30th June, and baptized 7th July, 1709.

William Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, having in 1705 been consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at once issued articles of inquiry as to the state of his parish to every clergyman in the diocese. The returns to these he embodied and tabulated in a volume now in the Lincoln Library called *Speculum Dioceseos*. Throughout his episcopate of eleven years he continued the same plan, making the necessary additions and alterations, as did also his successor, Bishop Gibson. The result of these returns, as regards Luton, beginning with 1706, will be found in the Appendix.<sup>1</sup> From these entries we learn the following interesting facts: Luton then contained no less than 400 families. Eaton resided, not in the vicarage, though it was in good repair, but in a hired house. The value of the benefice was £160. Procurations to be paid by the churchwardens amounted to 13s. 4d., by the vicar, 8s. Divine service was held in the church twice on Sundays, once on festivals,

<sup>1</sup> App. BL, *Speculum Dioceseos*.



and on Wednesdays and Fridays. Catechising took place in Lent and at other times. Holy Communion was celebrated four times in the year. Dissenters were numerous . . . fifty; . . . the greater number of them Anabaptists, some Quakers. (These two last entries were probably later additions.) The former had a licensed conventicle. Dominus Wainwright was the licensed master of the school, his stipend being £15, part of a sum appropriated to other charities. Four pounds a year had been left to be distributed in bread, and four more for repairs of the church. A note is annexed, probably by Bishop Gibson, "Sir J. Napier lives here, and his estate in this place is reckon'd at £3,500 per annum. In his house is a neat chapel, consecrated and very decently kept."

On comparing this return of the charities of the parish at this date with the table of "charitable donations" (*post*), some strange omissions will appear in the former, whilst it will be seen from the latter that the greater number, as well as the last of the donations, were made shortly after this date, and while Eaton was still vicar.

The earliest grant towards a school at Luton is that of Cornelius Bigland of Luton, barber-surgeon, who, by his will "about 1673" left £6 per annum charged upon a messuage called "Tavern," "for cloathing, maintaining, schooling, and educating six poor children of this town." In 1695 Roger Gillingham, late of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., left by will £10 a year from the manor of Shillington for ever, "to a schoolmaster at Luton, to be nominated and appointed by Sir J. Napier and his heirs male, so long as such issue shall be lords of the manor of Luton Hoo, and in default of right heirs, by the lord of the manor of Hoo, to teach gratis children of the parish nominated by Sir J. Napier." Two later grants for schools are recorded, that by J. Richards of Luton, who in 1736 left by will a messuage to support five boys at school with the master of the *church school*; and that of Thomas Long, citizen and merchant tailor of London, who in 1736 bequeathed £1,000 to the *churchwardens*, to be laid out in South Sea annuity stock, to the master and boys of the *free school* of this town; £15 of it to the master, the rest to put boys of the school out as apprentices.

In 1637 Sir Robert Napier, besides assigning four houses on Tower Hill as almshouses for four poor people, charged his Breach Farm with 2s. weekly to be given away in bread every Sunday after divine service for ever.

In 1642 George King, maltster, of Luton, by a deed, charged two

pieces of land in Blackwater Field, of six and three acres respectively, with 52s. a year, of which 1s. a week was to be given each Sunday in bread.

These grants were no doubt designed to be given as an expression of sympathy with fellow-worshippers and as an encouragement to attend church, to those Church people who were present at that service of the Church, immediately after which the distribution was to take place.

Up to this last period all such attendants were at least nominal members of the Church. But the Baptists having during the succeeding half century separated from the Church, later donors, who wished to help especially the poorer members of the Church, had to attach to their grants some words of limitation. Thus in 1715 Sir Theophilus Napier, in leaving by his will £5 a year to be distributed in bread, added, "to the poor conformable to the Church of England, every Sunday morning immediately after divine service."

Elizabeth Rotheram, also, in the same year, after charging upon certain of her lands £2 12s. a year, of which 1s. a week was to be expended in twelve penny loaves to be distributed every Sunday, adds, "to poor women who shall that day be present to hear divine service." This was supplemented by J. Richards of Luton in 1731, who by will left a two-penny loaf to be given "to six poor widows who do not receive the collection (church offertories?) every Sunday morning after divine service." These three last legacies, it will be observed, were later than the return to the bishop. As the charges, however, left by the two earlier donors amounted to £7 16s., and the return gives only £4, it would seem, if Eaton did not make a mistake, that the poor had by this time somehow lost nearly half their legacy.

From the amount returned as designed for the reparation of the church being only £4, and as that is the exact amount of George Rotheram's gift in the early part of the seventeenth century, it would appear that the grant by indenture of Thomas and Edward Crawley, in 1624, of a messuage, and five acres in the common field, "to sustain and amend the parish church and steeple for ever," had already come to nought.

No notice, it will be observed, occurs in the return to the bishop of any income from lands, etc., given for the support of the poor other than that to be distributed in bread, although such existed, an indication that this latter, like the other charities mentioned in the return, was regarded as a *Church* charity.

It was perhaps owing to these inquiries of the bishop that the earliest extant terrier<sup>1</sup> of the church was drawn up in the following year, 1707. It is a valuable document. Whilst recounting the particulars of the income of the vicarage as returned to the bishop, it indirectly, by its recital of lands exempt from tithes, gives evidence concerning the ancient rectorial lands. It also furnishes us with the names of the proprietors and tenants of the estates into which the Farley Hospital and the rectory lands had by this time been broken up. Mr. Richard Crawley is found in possession of the farm of Stockwood, valued at £70, comprising the old manor of Whippersley, owned in 1658 by Luke Norton, Esq., and Ann his wife, whose daughter Katherine was born 29th August and baptized 1st September in that year. A Thomas Rotheram, Esq., still owned both Old and New Farley, valued respectively at £200 and £45. All these lands had belonged to the hospital, and had been purchased from the crown by George Rotheram in Queen Mary's reign. Zaich Neale and Edward Symonds owned Onyions and part of Chall End, estimated at £30, and J. Copping, Esq., another part of Chall End, estimated at £40. These seem to have belonged either to the hospital or to the church. All the following had belonged to the latter. Mr. Waites owned the "Three-score acres" or "Dollow grounds," £20, now belonging to Mr. Macnamara; R. Ettrich some land adjoining, £10; William Hale and John Rotheram, the Dollow Farm, £100; Sir J. Napier, Bart., "land belonging to Dollow Court," £16, and "land in Dollow Liberty," £20; W. Chanteley, Broadwater closes, £60, and Mr. Roberts, S. Anne's close, £5.

Mr. Richard Crawley dying in 1712 was succeeded by his son John, whose marriage settlement with Susanna Sambrooke, dated 22nd May, 1740, giving particulars of the family property bearing on the history of the tithes of the parish, is among the Crawley Papers. This is supplemented by an indenture, 17th June, 1772, by the said John's eldest son, John, making over to his brother Samuel all his Luton property. From these it appears that, besides Stockwood, the family possessed the Stopsley Manor, with Eaton Green Farm and Faulkner's Hall, Nether Crawley, Crawley Green, with S. Ann's Close, Biscot Manor, with the capital messuage or manor-house called "Biscot Place," etc., etc. They owned also at this time the tithes of their lands at Leagrave, the tithes of Limbury

<sup>1</sup> App. BM, *The Terrier of the Church*.

and Biscot, called "Biscot tithes," with the tithe barn and yard at Limbury, and "the tythe yearly growing in the township of Luton commonly called 'Luton town tythes,' with the tithe barn and yard belonging, in the town of Luton." J. Crawley also in 1772 farmed the vicar's tithes of grass, hay, wood, wool, calves, lambs, etc., and the vicar's dues (offerings excepted) yearly growing upon certain premises connected with Stockwood.

There is also an interesting map of one hamlet of the parish, Biscot, and the land around it, in the possession of Mr. Crawley of Stockwood, dated only thirty years later than the terrier (1734), made for Mr. Iremonger of London, who, with Mr. Richard Crawley, shared the greater portion of the hamlet, showing the separate portions held by the several proprietors in the open fields before the subsequent exchange and enclosure took place. This is probably the earliest map of the kind of any part of the parish.

Early in his ministry at Luton, Eaton was called upon to bury his patron, Sir J. Napier, Bart., 24th September, 1711. His father, Sir Robert, the second baronet, had resigned his patent of baronetcy in order to obtain, although it seems his grandson by his first wife was still alive, a new patent in favour of his two sons, John and Alexander, the offspring of his second wife, Lady Penelope Egerton. Dying before this was made out, his eldest son, John, was created a baronet the following year, 4th March, 1662, with the precedence of 1612. He had been baptized at the Hoo, 5th July, 1636, was for some years M.P. for Bedfordshire, and in 1666 married Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus Biddulph, Bart., of Westcome, Kent—thus introducing the name Theophilus into the family. Falling twice from his horse, his injuries rendered him insane, and as such he died intestate, 15th August, 1711, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He is the only baronet of the family of whom no will is extant. Eaton buried also his widow in 1721. His son and successor, Sir Theophilus, who died May, 1719, at the age of forty-six, desired in his will, dated 26th December, 1715, to be buried by the Rev. J. Biby of Caddington. He seems at this time to have been at disagreement, if not with his vicar, at least with his two surviving brothers, Archibald and Edward, and his sister Frances, for he bequeaths them "a ring each and no more by reason of their disrespect and unkindness to" him. He charges upon his estate £400 a year for his mother, according to her marriage settlement, "to be added to the Yorkshire estate, to make that £2,000 a year." This

corroborates the largeness of the income attributed by the bishop to the preceding baronet.

As he leaves all his manors, estates, tithes, and tenths, etc., in Beds. and Herts. (subject to the above charge) to his wife, Dame Elizabeth (daughter of John Rotheram of Much Waltham, Essex), his only child having predeceased him, and after her decease to his nephew and godson, John, son of his brother Archibald, it is plain that had not Archibald died previous to the will taking effect (May, 1719), which, however, he did<sup>1</sup> (2nd February, 1718), he would have inherited the baronetcy without any estate to support it. The latter's son, Sir John, was high sheriff of Beds., 1729. It would appear, therefore, that though the widow of Sir Theophilus was probably still alive (she married, secondly, Thomas, Lord Howard of Effingham, who died *s.p.* 1725, and, thirdly, Sir Arius Darcy), some arrangement had been arrived at to enable him to reside at the Hoo. He died 2nd January, 1748 (in his forty-fourth year), unmarried, leaving all his estates, real and personal, in Beds. and Herts. and elsewhere, to his aunt, Mrs. Napier (the Frances Napier to whom only the ring was left by her brother), of Harrow in Middlesex, making her sole executrix. Apparently she was the last surviving member of the family. She can only, however, have enjoyed the Hoo a very few years, for she devised it to Francis Hearne, Esq., who was high sheriff for the county in 1762. In this same year the latter sold it to the Earl of Bute.

In Eaton's time also we first meet with the record of faculties<sup>2</sup> being granted for the erection of galleries and pews<sup>3</sup> in Luton church. Thus, in 1721, 15th March, a faculty was issued for a gallery to Edward Napier, Esq., a younger brother of Sir Theophilus. This was probably one of the three which were found later on over the north aisle.

In 1722 another was granted to the vicar for a pew for himself.

<sup>1</sup> There are great discrepancies and inaccuracies in the published Napier pedigrees. In that inserted in *Bib. Top. Brit.*, No. VIII., p. 56, Alexander is entered as succeeding his father in the baronetcy, all mention of his elder brother Theophilus being omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Rev. S. Corbett from Mr. Thos. Hornbuckle, Bedford Registry, 30th August, 1798, in possession of the vicar.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest date at which any gallery in a church is known to have been erected is 1550. One was erected at the west end of Leighton Buzzard church in 1634 (Bloxxam).

In 1723, 3rd September, a third, for a gallery for Thomas King, Esq., lord of the manor of (E.) Hyde. This last seems to have been erected under the middle arch of the south aisle of the nave, and to have been possessed successively by the families of Butterworth, Hibbert, and Ames.

Whether the destruction of the brasses alluded to by Blomefield ("a great number of brasses, as I am informed, were runned down into the branch that now hangs in the church") took place during Eaton's incumbency, or during that of Pomfrett, cannot be determined with certainty. But both the style of the chandelier<sup>1</sup> itself and the sordid melting of the brasses—with the want of appreciation of their historic value—look more like the work of the eighteenth than of the seventeenth century. Blomefield's form of expression, too, rather leads to the inference that the conversion had been effected not many years previously (1733-34), yet not in the immediate past. As Steele a few years earlier (1711-19) does not allude to the matter, it *may* have taken place between the two visits. But though some few of the brasses mentioned by Steele are not to be found in Blomefield's account, and have not since come to light, yet the greater number of those melted down were probably the same, or at least included the same, which Steele describes as missing from their place or lost in his days. These, together with others, of which there must have been many to form so large a "branch," may only have been stored away at the time of Steele's visit, as in either case the intimation of their being preserved somewhere, or of their having been already converted into the chandelier, was kept from his knowledge.

Eaton is the first vicar whose signature is to be found in the parish register (1722), as well as the first whose burial at Luton (21st October, 1745) is recorded. His widow survived him only a few months, being interred there also, 2nd June, 1746.

It appears that he did not reside at the vicarage house, but the reason is not given, neither is it mentioned where he took up his abode. His example in residing elsewhere than at the vicarage, if not followed by his immediate successor (of whose custom in this matter we know nothing), was imitated, it seems, by each succeeding vicar until the time of Thomas Sikes, who enlarged and improved the house—the vicarage being, it seems, throughout all those years either let out or assigned to the curate.

<sup>1</sup> This memorial of the parsimony and barbarism of the period is still to be seen in the room over the sacristy.

2. *George Barnard, M.A. (1745-1760).*

GEORGE BARNARD, who succeeded, was vicar only between fourteen and fifteen years. He was born 1715, and was the son of the Rev. George Barnard, of Harpenden, Herts., a near neighbour of the patron of Luton. He had been rector of Knebworth,<sup>1</sup> Herts., since 7th September, 1737, and retained that preferment, along with Luton, until his death.

On 8th January, 1747-48, he buried his patron, Sir J. Napier, the last baronet of the family at Luton Hoo.

In the same year he entered the following memorandum in the parish register: "Mem. That this year the Pales from the Cottage to the Ditches were set down new at the expense of the Parish. And I received £1 17s. 6d. of M<sup>r</sup> Napier for Tithe wood y<sup>t</sup> grew in the Hedges at Stopsley, on the land now rented and occupied by Fr<sup>ca</sup> Piggott. And that I received several Mortuaries, and several Fees of 6s. 8d. for burying in the Church. Signed George Barnard." He also signs the parish register as vicar, 1753, etc., but there is no mention of any member of his family in that register.

Like his predecessor he was buried at Luton (17th June, 1760), but there never seems to have been any monument erected to the memory of either of them. His death is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760 (p. 298).

The incumbencies of these three last vicars extended exactly over a century, commencing at the Restoration, and closing with the reign of George II.

During Barnard's time, the year which since the beginning of the fourteenth century had been reckoned to commence on the 25th March, and which up to this period is so distinguished in the parish register, was ordered to begin for the future on 1st January in 1752, and is consequently henceforth thus entered in the registers, as well as in all civil and legal documents. Eleven nominal days were suppressed or omitted during the previous year, between September 2nd and September 14th, 1751, so there are no entries in the parish register between those dates.

<sup>1</sup> Cussan's *Hist. of Herts.*, ii., p. 123.

3. *William Prior, D.D. (1760-1779).*

DR. WILLIAM PRIOR (1760-1779), appointed by Francis Hearne, Esq., to whom the advowson had been bequeathed, resided at Luton during his first eight years, signing the parish registers continually until 20th January, 1768; but being appointed head master of Repton School in that year, he became non-resident for the remaining eleven years of his incumbency. Even whilst dwelling here, however, he had an assistant curate, beginning a custom, in so doing, which has continued uninterruptedly till the present time. During his incumbency, owing no doubt to the new requirements of change-ringing,<sup>1</sup> the old peal of five bells, one of them being of unusual size and weight, was re-cast and made into the present set of eight bells. The only one dated during the time of his residence (viz., with the figures 1761) repeats an old Catholic legend, "I.H.S. Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum, Fili Dei, misere mei," but the others, all of them dated 1775, have no inscription except the maker's name, or doggerel rhymes.

Shortly after his appointment, the *Advowson of the Vicarage*, together with the manors of Luton, Luton Hoo, etc., passed (1763) by purchase into the hands of John, third Earl of Bute.

It was during Dr. Prior's absence from his parish that W. Cole, Esq., who resided at the vicarage in 1770, introduced Wesleyan Methodism into Luton, building a chapel afterwards (1778) in Church Street, and giving it to J. Wesley. Coriolanus Copleston was Prior's curate during the greater portion of the period of his non-residence, and continued curate for thirty years, *i.e.*, during the incumbencies also of W. Stuart and J. R. Deare, into that of S. Corbett. He died 23rd November, 1800, aged eighty-four years, and was buried, without memorial, in the centre of the nave. His son is said by Davis to have introduced Methodism into S. Albans.

Richard Gough's first visit to Luton took place in Prior's time,

<sup>1</sup> "The introduction of change-ringing in the seventeenth century produced a still greater havoc among them (*i.e.*, old bells). To meet this new mode of ringing, important changes in the bells became necessary. The old rings consisted usually of few bells and heavy ones, dignity and grandeur of tone being the chief thing sought. Now, however, a larger number of bells was required. This want was usually met by recasting the ring of, say, four heavy bells into six or eight lighter ones, and so increasing the number without buying more metal" (North).



3rd May, 1776. Dr. Prior was succeeded by the most distinguished of the vicars since the Reformation.

In Repton church there is a mural tablet to Dr. Prior, with the following inscription :

“ *Hic a laboribus requiescit,  
Qui ab ætate virili inita,  
Ad usque supremum vitæ tempus,  
Pueris vera religione et humanioribus litteris Instituendis  
Sedulus operam impendit,  
Guilielmus Prior S.T.P.  
Obiit Vic<sup>mo</sup> die Junii, anno Christi MDCCLXXIX.  
Ætatis sue sexagesimo.* ”

#### 4. William Stuart, A.M. (1779-1795).

The Hon. WILLIAM STUART, though not born or baptized in the parish of Luton, was both nurtured and buried here. Being the fifth and youngest son of John, third Earl of Bute<sup>1</sup> (the governor and afterwards the prime minister of George III., lord of the manors of Luton, Luton Hoo, etc., which he had purchased in 1762, a resident at the latter and patron of the vicarage), he was lineally descended—like the English royal house of Stuart—from Robert II., King of Scotland. He was educated at Winchester College, and at S. John's, Cambridge, being made canon of Windsor shortly before leaving Luton, and marrying in the following year. He was but twenty-four years of age when he was presented to Luton, having been born in 1755, though neither the exact day or place of his birth are recorded, and consequently being seven years old when his father purchased the Hoo. It was of him while vicar of Luton that Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, writes, “On April 10th (1783) I introduced to him at his house in Bolt Court, the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Stuart, son of the Earl of Bute, a gentleman truly worthy of being known to Johnson, being with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest, in every respect.”

After being vicar of Luton for seventeen years, he was preferred to the see of S. David's, and five years afterwards was translated to the archbishopric of Armagh and primacy of Ireland. After worthily filling the chair of St. Patrick for twenty-two years, he was taken off suddenly, in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London,

<sup>1</sup> App. BN, *The Stuart Family*.

6th May, 1822, through the unfortunate administration to him by his wife of an external embrocation in place of the prescribed medicine. His body was buried in the family vault in Luton church, where there is a monument to his memory. He married at S. George's, Hanover Square, London, 3rd May, 1796, when Bishop of S. David's, Sophia Margaret (Juliana), daughter of Thomas Penn, Esq., of Stoke Pogis, and granddaughter of the Quaker, William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, who was also buried in the same vault, April, 1847.

Neither his name nor his signature appear in the parish registers at any time throughout the seventeen years of his incumbency. During the whole period, though unmarried, he resided at Copt Hall, in the hamlet of East Hyde, leaving the vicarage to the curate, Coriolanus Copleston, who is said to have kept a school therein.

During Stuart's time, John Wesley, who had preached twice before at Luton (in 1772 and 1778), preached again on four several occasions, viz., January 6th and December 5th, 1782, December 3rd, 1784, and October 31st (or November 1st), 1785. Although still, and to the end of his life, he gloried in being a clergyman of the Church of England, and had "more invitations to preach in churches than he could possibly accept," yet he could not well have been asked to occupy the pulpit at the parish church, as he had consented to receive the grant of a chapel<sup>1</sup> erected close to the churchyard.

Stuart is said to have inserted the circular-headed domestic window, which was found to occupy and disfigure the east wall of the chancel at the late restoration; he is also said to have painted in bright colours, and gilded, the stone baptistery. On Richard

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's society, which he originally intended to be supplementary and ancillary to the Church of England, as the religious orders had been to the Church of Rome, had by this time become in great measure antagonistic to it, if not (according to the terms of his own sermon, *On the Sin of Schism*) schismatical from it. The Wesleyan Chapel in Church Street bears on its face the inscription that it was "erected by W. Cole, Esq." (one who, it is said, rented the vicarage for some years), "and presented in the year 1778 to the Rev. J. Wesley, M.A., whose last sermon here was preached Nov. 1, 1785." It is a perfectly erroneous accusation against the Church of that period that Wesley was ever driven out of the Church. It was in one of the above years (1784) that his brother Charles reminded him, and truly, "The bishops have left us alone to act just as we pleased for fifty years. At present some of them are quite friendly to us, particularly to you. The churches are all open to you, and never could there be *less pretence for a separation*."

Gough's second visit to Luton, 29th October, 1782, he described the east window as "quite modern in brick," and as he also mistook the stonework of the baptistery for wood, the painting of it must have taken place, and the other changes made, at the very commencement of Stuart's ministry. Pennant, on his "Journey from Chester, 1782," had evidently, just previous to Gough, inspected Luton Church and described it, as the latter quotes his account.

The upper room of the sacristy was used as a school-room at this period, the ascent to it being by a flight of stairs from the Wenlock Chapel (*Gough*).

#### 5. *James Russell Deare, LL.B.* (1795-1798).

The presentation to the vicarage falling, by custom, to the crown, on the promotion of W. Stuart to S. David's, JAMES RUSSELL DEARE was appointed by George III., but resigned it after about three years, having a few months previously married, at Marylebone Church (16th February, 1798), Miss Helen Deare, daughter of the late Lt.-Col. Charles Deare, presumably his relative (*Gentleman's Magazine*). Two years afterwards (1800) he took his LL.B. degree at Cambridge, but does not seem to have enjoyed any other preferment.

#### 6. *Stuart Corbett, M.A.* (1798-1804).

STUART CORBETT, his successor, received his appointment from his uncle, John Stuart, first Marquis of Bute. He was the son of Capt. Andrew Corbett, of S. George's, Hanover Square, Middlesex, and Lady Augusta, sister of the marquis. Exchanging from Luton after six years, he eventually became Archdeacon of York, and held other preferments. A few months after his institution he married, at Loughborough, Leicester (18th October), Miss Ann King, youngest daughter of the late Thomas King, Esq., of Cosington (*Gentleman's Magazine*).

There are the following entries relating to his family in the parish register :

"1799, August 28th. Baptized. Anne Jane, daughter of Rev. Stuart Corbett and Anne his wife."

"1801, August 20th. Baptized. Frances Caroline, daughter of Rev. Stuart and Anne Corbett."

The former of these in 1827 married Dr. Collingwood, of Sunderland, and died 1881, leaving issue; the latter died unmarried in or about 1883.

He seems to have acted as curate to his predecessor for a few months (in addition to C. Copleston), for he signs the register April 10th, 1798, as "curate." According to Davis, in 1799 a change was made in the course of the river, which had previously run close to the vicarage house, but which was now diverted through a new brick bridge, and by being removed further from the vicarage left two slips of ground, one of 20 poles between the vicarage and the lane leading over the foot-bridge, and the other of 2 roods, 5 poles, between the vicarage and the river. These having been purchased by a succeeding vicar (Thomas Sikes), are now added to the vicarage grounds.

7. *Charles Henry Hall, D.D. (1804-1827).*

CHARLES HENRY HALL, who had exchanged from Yorkshire with Corbett, was born in 1763, and was the son of Charles Hall, Dean of Bocking, Essex. He was a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, when he came to Luton, and successively Regius Professor of Divinity, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Dean of Durham. He did not relinquish Luton until his death; but, it is said, he never appeared again in the church after reading himself in. His signature, consequently, is not to be found in the parish registers.

King Louis Philippe, then Duc d'Orleans, seems to have resided for a while in the parish, unless it was merely a temporary visit to the Marquis of Bute, in the year 1807. There is a letter from him dated 20th May in that year from Luton (Hoo) Park to the Earl of Dartmouth, begging him to inform the king of the death of his brother, le Duc de Montpensier. (11 *Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. iv. 5.)

The following year (1808) one of the few known enclosure acts of the parish was passed, dividing, however, only "about 35 acres of commonable land, called 'Lammas meadow,' and of waste ground called 'Little Moor,' etc., between John, Marquis of Bute, Lord of the Manor of Luton and of the Hundred of Flitte, J. Crawley, Esq., and other owners of messuages, etc., having right of common over said lands." (Vardon's *Ind. to Local Acts, Inclos.* 48 *George III.*, c. 22).

During his incumbency, in 1823, a deep gallery was put up at the west end of the church, extending to the middle pillar of the nave, and consequently the baptistery had to be removed from under one of the arches of the south aisle, and was placed in the south transept, under the large window. The cost of the gallery, etc., is said to have been £400; and at the same time an organ, by Lincoln (300 guineas), was erected in the Wenlock Chapel. All this must have been effected while Daniel Basley was curate in charge.

Amongst the papers relating to the church in the possession of the vicar is one containing a copy of *Particulars of the Church and Vicarage House, etc., of Luton, made by order of the Right Rev. (the Hon. George Pelham) the Bishop of Lincoln at his Visitation in 1825*. It contains so much matter of interest that it is reproduced in the Appendix.<sup>1</sup> Some points, however, mentioned therein, as giving the earliest intimation of certain changes in the interior arrangements and fittings of the church, call for notice here. It is stated that "on the south side of the chancel is an antechapel through which is the entrance to the Marquis of Bute's gallery." This seems to be the first allusion to this gallery since Steele, a century previously, assigned it to the Napiers as lords of the manor of Hoo. The church only contained "four private pews, besides the minister's. All the rest are considered as belonging to the church, and are kept in repair at the expense of the parish." As we possess the order or faculty for three of these pews, viz., the one assigned (1681) to the two families of Cheyne and Cross, "at the east end of the church adjoining to the chancel on the north side of the middle isle" or nave, and the two galleries granted over either aisle of the nave, in 1721 to Edward Napier, and in 1723 to Thomas King, besides that for "the minister" in 1722, the fourth is evidently that of the marquis, the faculty for which is not in the parish chest. In the nave was "one pulpit and reading desk, surmounted, etc., with another desk for the parish clerk," and a reading desk also in the chancel. The "one large brass chandelier" was still in use, "suspended from the roof by an ornamental chain, consisting of branches for eighteen lights." The following item must be presumed to contain a strange clerical or grammatical error: "Belonging to the church is an elegant Gothic baptistery of an octagon form, containing a font or

<sup>1</sup> App. BO, *Particulars of the Church and Vicarage House*.

baptisterium composed of stone, and standing on five pillars with a marble vase *or board therein*, purchased and presented to the church by several inhabitants of the parish, the size thereof being 2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft." The books mentioned are "one large Bible and *ditto New Testament with the Apocrypha*, two large Common Prayer Books, the Book of Martyrs (*imperfect*) with the inscription on the cover, 'This Book of Martyrs was given unto the Church of Luton by John Adams, 1666,' and the Book of Homilies." The chancel was ornamented with "one *altar* picture<sup>1</sup> in an oak frame, the subject thereof being Noah's offering." Four tablets were affixed in the chancel, having printed thereon the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. "One communion table with *two* purple cloth covers; one carpet on the floor of the *altar*." "The King's arms" were hung up somewhere, but whether on the marquis's gallery, or above it over the chancel arch, the most usual place, or at the west end of the church, is not stated. The "two dishes for the offertory" were only of pewter, but the flagon and its cover were of silver, having on them the sacred monogram, I.H.S., and a Latin inscription. There were "two silver or silver gilt cups," or chalices, and as the "silver gilt salver" was of less weight than either of the chalices, and there is no mention of a paten, this presumably was used as a paten. The last furniture of the church must have been a rare, if not unique, provision for the clergyman, viz., "one *weather box* for the use of the minister at funerals." The chief events of the incumbency of the succeeding vicar took place during the reign of Queen Victoria.

<sup>1</sup> This had been presented to the church by the Marquis of Bute, and was hung "at the back of his gallery" (*Davis*).

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE VICTORIAN AGE (A.D. 1837- ).

1. *Canon William M'Douall, M.A. (1827-1849).*

WILLIAM M'DOUALL was another connexion by marriage of the patron, John, first Marquis of Bute, being the nephew of Patrick, fifth Earl of Dumfries. Had not the earl's only daughter, who married the eldest son of the marquis, been capable of inheriting the earldom, M'Douall or his son would eventually have succeeded to it. He was born in 1775, and married about the year 1817 Euphemia Gaudin, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Of the former, two are in holy orders, W. Sutherland, rector of Ousden, Newmarket, and Patrick George, late rector of Cosgrave, Stony Stratford. The following entries of the marriages of his daughters occur in the parish register :

"Sept. 28th, 1843. George Hathorn, Capt. R.N., aged 39 years, and Mary Isabella M'Douall, aged 26 years."

"Sept. 23rd, 1847. J. Wardlaw Ramsey, 22 years, and Penelope Eleanor M'Douall, 26 years, married by Rev. W. S. M'Douall."

Like his relative Wm. Stuart, M'Douall did not inhabit the vicarage, but resided at Copt Hall. He was vicar for twenty-three years, and was buried in Luton Church, where there is a monument to his memory.

About a year after his coming to Luton, he and the parishioners took the first step towards anything that could be considered either an improvement in the appearance of the interior of the church or even an accommodation to the worshippers. Unhappily, however, they fell into the prevailing practice of separating the congregation into classes according to their grade in society. Taking down most of the high square pews, which had been introduced probably towards the close of the seventeenth century, they erected instead oblong pews, some with and some without doors, and open benches towards the west end<sup>1</sup> of the church, the two latter for

<sup>1</sup> The open benches for the poor down the centre of the nave mentioned by Mr. O'Neill, and found to be in existence in 1862, as they are not marked on this plan were perhaps a later addition.

"men of low degree." As six hundred sittings were now declared to be "free," it would seem that the better pews were henceforth appropriated. There is a plan of the church in the care of the vicar dated 31st January, 1829, signed by M'Douall and the two churchwardens, J. Brett and W. Yardley, which shows where a few old seats were allowed to remain and where the new seats were placed. This plan probably gives the earliest complete delineation of the arrangements in the interior of the church which is likely to be met with. The font is shown erected in the south transept. In 1831 M'Douall became Prebendary of Peterborough.

A few months before his institution, J. Kaye, Bishop of Bristol, had been translated to Lincoln. He was the first bishop of the see who seems to have made any serious effort in later times for a division of his unwieldy diocese. As a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, first permanently established and incorporated in 1836, he succeeded in reducing the diocese almost to its present boundaries. Until then, although the diocese of Ely had been taken out of it in 1108, that of Peterborough in 1541, and that of Oxford in 1542, it included the counties of Lincoln, Hunts, Beds, Bucks, and the greater part of Herts. Bedfordshire had formed part of it, not merely since the bishop's seat was fixed at Lincoln shortly after the Conquest (*circa* 1078), but during the three hundred years previously, when it was located at Dorchester in Oxfordshire. This connexion of more than eleven centuries with the see of Lincoln was broken off 19th April, 1837, when by an Act of Council the county and archdeaconry of Bedford were transferred from the diocese of Lincoln to that of Ely,—itself, as has been seen, an earlier and larger fragment of the same extensive diocese. Thenceforth, the Church in Bedfordshire has had to look to Ely and its successive bishops as its centre of unity and for its "ordinary" authority, and to regard the Cathedral of S. Etheldreda—almost as beautiful a sanctuary as that of S. Mary of Lincoln itself—as the mother church of the diocese. At this time Joseph Allen was Bishop of Ely, being succeeded in 1845 by Thomas Turton, whilst M'Douall was still vicar.

On the 20th June of the same year as the transference (1837) began the glorious reign of Queen Victoria, a lengthened period—still happily not brought to a close—marked continuously by a well-directed zeal on the part of the national Church in erecting and beautifying her houses of prayer, in an improvement in the



character and number of her religious services, and in the multiplication of instrumentalities to enable her the better to fulfil her mission of bringing the gospel to the poorest homes.

Some little of this zeal began to be exhibited at Luton three years later (1840), when, in distant imitation of the division of the diocese, steps were first taken towards a subdivision of the parish, together with the building of a church as a chapel of ease at East Hyde. This, however, for nearly twenty years was served by a curate of the parish church, until in 1859 the chapelry was formed into a distinct ecclesiastical district, an endowment provided, and an incumbent appointed.<sup>1</sup>

It was during M'Douall's vicariate, viz., in 1836, that a law was passed converting tithes into a rent-charge. Accordingly, in 1844 (June 15th), a commutation took place at Luton, and a fluctuating rent-charge was substituted for all sorts of tithes. The following persons were found to be the rightful owners and impropiators of the *rectorial tithes*, and the annexed amount to be annually due to them :

	To whom due.	Amount due.
		£ s. d.
For Luton . . . .	S. Crawley, Esq. . .	350 0 0
„ Limbury-cum-Biscot <sup>2</sup> .	„ . . . .	148 14 3
„ East and West Hyde .	Marquis of Bute . .	160 10 6
„ Stopsley . . . .	Trinity College, Oxford	820 0 0
„ Leagrave . . . .	Sir Edward Filmer . .	7 4 0
Total, Rectorial Tithes		<u>£1,486 8 9</u>

By the same award the gross tithe rent-charge assigned in lieu of *vicarial tithes* (including tithe of glebe, 15s.) was :

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* East Hyde Church.

<sup>2</sup> The two hamlets of Biscot-cum-Limbury and Leagrave having been in 1866 constituted a separate ecclesiastical district, the owner (J. S. Crawley, Esq.) of the above tithe rent-charge of the former, generously granted it as an endowment of the church which he also himself built for that new parish.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
From the Township of Luton <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	208	15	7			
„ Limbury-cum-Biscot . . . . .	238	3	4			
„ East Hyde <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	183	14	9			
„ West Hyde . . . . .	298	12	7			
„ Stopsley <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	326	0	2			
„ Leagrave . . . . .	95	8	7			
	<hr/>					
Total . . . . .				1,350	15	0

In addition to these rent-charges, the following items are mentioned in the advertisement of the sale of the advowson (which took place a few months later, 29th November), as forming part of the vicar's income, viz. :

	£	s.	d.
Surplice fees . . . . .	40	0	0
Burial ground and Easter offerings . . . . .	28	0	0
Rents of two closes and cottage . . . . .	10	12	0
	<hr/>		
			78 12 0
	<hr/>		
			£1,429 7 0
	<hr/>		

Before the close of this year the estate of Luton Hoo was sold by the Marquis of Bute (29th November, 1844), and at the same time the advowson of the vicarage, which was purchased by the curate of the parish. M'Douall survived some five years longer, welcoming to the parish J. Shaw Leigh, Esq., who in 1848 purchased from Mr. Ward (who had bought them from the marquis, but had never come to reside here) both Luton<sup>2</sup> and Luton Hoo

<sup>1</sup> Portions of these rent-charges, as will be seen presently, have since been assigned by one of the vicars of Luton to the several vicarages subsequently established in the parish; other portions have been redeemed.

<sup>2</sup> In the inventory for sale, 1844, "the Manor of Luton" is thus described: "Called in the ancient description the Manors of Luton Brache, Luton Hoo, Dollow, Bayliffs, Aynells, Hallyard, and Woodcroft," with view of frankpledge and court baron. The profits consisted of rents for shops in the market house of Luton, tolls received on market days, stallage of the fair and statute days, and tolls payable for sheep and pigs. To which is added, "The rents and tolls have never been strictly exacted, and at this time do not exceed the sum of £30 per ann." Quit rents, £33 12s. 3½d., exclusive of the reliefs and quits due on death or alienation. The total value of the manor was therefore £63 12s. 3½d.

manors, with the mansion of the latter and the rest of the property which had belonged to the Napiers.

There is a map of the vicarage grounds dated 1845.

After M'Douall's decease there came a quick succession of vicars, there being through exchange and resignation five incumbents instituted within thirteen years.

## 2. *Thomas Sikes, M.A. (1850-1854).*

THOMAS SIKES had been curate of the parish throughout the incumbency of M'Douall, and for a great part of the same period rector of Puttenham, Herts (1835-1848), where M'Douall's youngest son was for a while his curate. He was married by licence at Luton, December 29th, 1829, and had two sons and two daughters born and baptized there. The following entries of members of his family occur in the parish register :

"Thomas Burr, son of Thomas and Helen Sikes, Luton, clerk, born 19 Jan., 1831, baptized 2 Aug., 1831, by Thomas Sikes, curate."

"Helen Louisa, daughter of Thomas and Helen Sikes, born 17 Nov., baptized 1 Dec., 1833, by W. M'Douall."

"John Churchill, son of Thomas and Helen Sikes, Luton, clerk, born 12 July, baptized 4 Aug., 1837, by W. M'Douall, vicar."

"Alice Mary, daughter of Thomas and Helen Sikes, Luton, clerk, born 16 Feb., baptized 22 Feb., 1846, by W. M'Douall, vicar. Admitted into the Church, 10 Sept., 1846, by T. Sikes, curate."

Both of his sons took holy orders and are still alive, the elder, T. B. Sikes, being rector of Warbleton, Hawkhurst, Sussex.

On November 29th, 1844, he purchased the advowson of the vicarage, and the following year bought from Mr. Burr the land adjoining the churchyard and vicarage grounds on the south, and closing up Blackwater Lane Causeway, which ran parallel with the church on the south of the churchyard and vicarage grounds, made the present Holly Walk between the vicarage and churchyard instead. He also purchased the slip of land between the vicarage garden and the river, caused by diverting and straightening the course of the latter. This is now annexed to the vicarage grounds.

Both while he was curate and vicar he lived at the vicarage

house, during the latter time doing much towards its improvement by encasing the oldest part with bricks and adding a drawing-room and several bedrooms to it. When M'Douall died (December 17th, 1849), the Rev. Alexander King was in treaty with Sikes for the purchase of the advowson. As this agreement could not be completed during a vacancy, Sikes, as being still the patron, had to present to Luton. Receiving, however, at this very time, for himself, a presentation from the Bishop of Lincoln to the rectory of Sherington, Bucks, he was allowed to make over that benefice to Mr. King, in exchange, as it were, for Luton, and presented himself to the latter. Mr. King immediately after this became the patron. In 1853 Sikes lost his wife, the daughter of W. Burr, Esq., of Luton. A mural tablet to her memory was erected in the chancel of the church.

After being vicar for five years he exchanged with his successor to Chevening, Kent, where he died at an advanced age in 1888.

### 3. *Thomas Bartlett, M.A.* (1854-1857).

THOMAS BARTLETT, the son of Thomas Bartlett, of Henley, Oxford, gent., was born in 1789. When he came to Luton, his family was grown up. He had exchanged from Chevening with Sikes, but finding the care of the parish of Luton too onerous, after about three years he resigned it and accepted the rectory of Burton Latymer in Northamptonshire, where he died in 1872, aged eighty-three years. His incumbency, though short, was marked with sundry occurrences of importance. During his initial year, the first interment in the church cemetery took place (21st July), that in the general cemetery having preceded it by a few months (17th May). To him is due the credit of making a further and successful effort towards removing some of the disfigurements in the interior of the church and rendering it more appropriate for worship. In 1855 the Bute gallery under the chancel arch, which effectually blocked the view of the chancel, and also the galleries over the aisles, were taken down, the flat ceiling which concealed the oak beams of the chancel being also removed. An experiment was tried at the same time, for acoustic purposes, which, however, did not prove successful, of transferring the pulpit, reading-desk, and clerk's desk from their old place close to the first pillar on the south side of the nave to the north pillar of the chancel arch. In

his last year a second district church, "Christ Church," was built and opened for divine service (June 18th, 1857). Bartlett was one of the "Six Preachers" of Canterbury Cathedral.

#### 4. *Thomas Williamson Peile, D.D. (1857-1860).*

DR. THOMAS WILLIAMSON PEILE before coming to Luton had been Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Head Master of Repton School (like his predecessor, Dr. Prior), and a tutor at University College, Durham. He had purchased the advowson and presented himself. In 1859 (February 2nd), the chapelry and district of New Mill End were formed into a separate parish, henceforth termed "East Hyde;" when Dr. Peile, in his double capacity of patron and vicar of Luton, assigned to it permanently a portion of the vicarial tithe rent-charge arising out of that district. "Christ Church" being consecrated the following year, September 23rd, 1860, and, with a district annexed to it, formed into a perpetual cure, Dr. Peile assigned to it also part of the vicarial tithe rent-charge. A few months later, a church being in course of erection at Stopsley, and a district having been marked out, Dr. Peile appropriated to that perpetual cure also part of the same charge. Having made this partition of the vicar's rent-charge, he disposed of the advowson and patronage of the three cures, and then parted with the advowson of the vicarage of Luton itself, and resigned the benefice immediately afterwards.

The appropriations of the vicarial tithe rent-charge left this part of the vicar's income thus :

Tithe rent-charge as commuted, 1844, £1,350 15s. 0d.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Allotted to East Hyde Church, 1859	150	7	0						
„ Christ Church, 1860	102	19	3						
„ Stopsley, 1860	203	1	0						
				456	7	3			
Vicar of Luton, 1861				894	7	9			
							1,350	15	0

After an incumbency at Luton of little more than three years he accepted the perpetual curacy of S. Paul's, Avenue Road, Hampstead, and subsequently became rector of Buckhurst Hill, Essex, where he died in 1882. He had been a distinguished scholar

at Cambridge, 1st class mathematics and classics, Davies' University scholar and Chancellor's medallist, and was the author of sundry works.<sup>1</sup>

5. *George Quirk, M.A.* (1861-1862).

GEORGE QUIRK, the second son of James Quirk, of Douglas, Isle of Man, was born in 1824. Although not instituted until February 21st, 1861, he signs the registers as vicar December 30th in the preceding year. His incumbency lasted but fourteen months, when he resigned. He published his farewell sermon preached at Luton. After holding a benefice in Lancashire for twenty-four years he became in 1888 rector of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight. He died December 1st, 1895, and is buried in the churchyard there.

6. *James O'Neill, B.D., R.D.* (1862-1896).

JAMES O'NEILL was born April 11th, 1821, in the parish of Kilcoleman, in the county of Kerry, Ireland. After passing a short time at the Church Missionary College at Islington, he was ordained deacon in 1845, and priest in 1846, by Bishop Blomfield; and, marrying in the latter year, he went out as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Ceylon. Here, after two years, his wife and fellow-labourer died, leaving two young children. He continued, however, in the same sphere for seven years longer. Returning to England, after enrolling himself at Trinity College, Dublin, he held two or three temporary appointments between 1855 and 1862, in which latter year (April 25th) he was, on his own presentation, instituted to Luton. The degree of Bachelor of Divinity was conferred upon him *honoris causa* by John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 16th May following, and in 1887 he was appointed Rural Dean of Luton by Lord Alwyn Compton, Bishop of Ely. He was also a surrogate of the diocese.

When he began his ministry at Luton the population of the whole parish amounted to about 18,000. Although his pastoral care of this number had been reduced by nearly half, through the severance of the districts of East Hyde, Christ Church, and

<sup>1</sup> *Annotations on the Epistles, Miracles of Healing Power, and Sermons Doctrinal and Didactic, bearing on the Religious Topics of the Day.*

Stopsley, with their separate churches and clergy, yet the rapid increase of population, first in the direction of High Town, and then in that of New Town, created an imperative demand for church extension and further division of the original parish. The growing hamlets of Legrave and Limbury-cum-Biscot, at a considerable distance from the parish church, were still unprovided with either a resident clergyman or even a mission room. The declining income of the vicarage of Luton, with burdens continually increasing upon it, rendered it unwise to reduce it still more by appropriating any further portion of it to new district churches. Help, however, came shortly. In 1866 the proprietor of the *rectorial* tithe rent-charge of Limbury-cum-Biscot, on the occasion of that hamlet, together with Legrave, being formed into a separate parish, endowed it with that rent-charge, thus constituting it what it is entitled to be called, a rectory—"Biscot-cum-Limbury," as the founder named it. A mission also having been established by the vicar in High Town in 1873 with a district and a temporary church, three years later S. Matthew's church was opened, an endowment being provided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. After a similar mission for a few years in New Town, S. Paul's church was erected, being dedicated in 1891. The vicar of this church is supported by voluntary contributions.

Thus, besides those ministered to at Biscot, provision was made for the spiritual needs (so rapidly had the number increased), in the one case of 7,800 souls, and in the other of 4,500, whilst still leaving to the mother parish of S. Mary's 7,000 more.

It was mainly also through O'Neill's initiation, indomitable resolution, untiring energy, and artistic taste that the fabric of the parish church and its interior adornments and arrangements are such as they are—a cause of grateful pride and pleasure to parishioners, and awakening the feeling in the hearts of many, which was expressed on one occasion by a visitor: "What a devotional church!" Of the various stages in the work of renovation—a restoration conducted throughout upon right principles—he has himself happily left in writing a full and detailed account.<sup>1</sup> No one else could have related them with such accuracy. To these he has prefixed a short outline of earlier restorations as far as he could find any mention of them. There is in the care of the vicar a plan of the

<sup>1</sup> App. BP, *History of the various Restorations of Luton Church*, by James O'Neill, vicar.

church showing the arrangement of the pews in 1862, before the restoration began.

On the occasion of renewing the western buttress of the north transept wall in May, 1893, an interesting discovery was made, viz., of three or more blocks of a doorway of Transitional character (late twelfth century), the moulding having been happily turned inwards, and so escaping injury. These, there is every reason to believe, formed part of the entrance into the south aisle,<sup>1</sup> the arch into which from the south transept is of the same character.

In December of the following year, in repairing the parapet over the north aisle, the workmen came upon another antiquarian treasure, still more conveniently made use of, a slab with an incised cross, and another piece of sculpture. Whether this had any connexion with the above doorway, or where it was placed, remains to be determined. A special interest, however, is attached to it, as it would seem to be, not merely the earliest, but the only mediæval cross remaining in the church.

The falling in of the lease of property in Park Street, bequeathed for the support of the church and steeple, which took place before his decease, was welcomed by the vicar as saving him from any further anxiety about funds for completing the work of restoration.

Early in his vicariate the churchyard was enclosed with rails, having been previously without any proper protection.

The cause of religious education in the parish also found in him a strong supporter. After firmly establishing the old parish school in Queen's Square, he built S. Matthew's schools in 1873, those at New Town some years later, and by degrees the large schools for girls, infants, and Sunday school under the roof of, and adjoining that very valuable institution, a parish room, also his erection, "S. Mary's Hall."

Though at first opposed to the introduction into the town of a school board, in great measure on account of the increased

<sup>1</sup> The south doorway was always in early times the *chief* entrance into the church, except where the village or town was upon the north side of it, the north door being generally reserved for special ceremonies. This doorway, therefore, was probably a very familiar object to the eyes of those who entered the church for some two centuries or more. Did not this number include, besides Magister Roger de Luiton and the various vicars of the period, if not Baldwin de Bethune and other lords of the manors, at least the devout Simon de Montfort, who, in 1257, signed his deed in favour of the church "at Luton," most probably, as was wont, within the church itself, and laying it, for acceptance, upon the altar?



taxation which would be necessary, yet when the Department in 1874 ordered its establishment, accepting it as a fact, he allowed himself to be elected on it, coming in at the head of the poll, and for sixteen years helped vigorously to carry on its work in an efficient manner, being appointed its chairman for two of the usual terms of office.

He died at the vicarage, wherein he had always lived since he came to Luton, on December 28th, 1896, after a long illness, and a vicariate of thirty-four years, and according to his own choice was buried (December 31st) in the highest corner of the newly-consecrated portion of ground in the church cemetery. It was also in accordance with his wish that his feet were turned towards the west instead of towards the east, thus pointing in the direction of the parish church, and agreeable also to the Irish custom, by which the clergy are laid to rest facing their flock. By his desire a choral celebration of the Holy Communion, a mutual recognition of the continuity of the Communion of Saints, was held in the early morning of the funeral, at which there were nearly a hundred communicants—a special hymn also having been chosen by him for the occasion.

His wife, who lost her life in giving birth to her second son, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Arthur Adams, of Mayfield, Walsall. They have left two sons, James Arthur O'Neill, a physician practising in Devonshire, and Henry Edward O'Neill, formerly in the Royal Navy, and now Her Majesty's Consul at Rouen. The latter inserted in the Wenlock Chapel, in 1897, both as a memorial of his father and mother, and as a peculiarly appropriate record of his father's personal share in the nineteenth century restoration of the church, a stained-glass window (unveiled October 4th), containing, together with medallion portraits of his parents, representations of the four distinguished personages who were, it is believed, more especially connected with the church of the parish as founders or restorers. They consist of figures of King Athelstan, presumably the founder of the Saxon church (who died 940), Robert (Fitzroy), Earl of Gloucester, the founder of the Norman church (died 1147), John de S. Alban's, the first vicar of Luton, and to whom the church is probably indebted for the north aisle (died 1226), and John, Lord Wenlock, the builder of the splendid chapel in which the window is erected (died 1472). In the matter of zeal and care for the fabric of the church, the late vicar was unquestionably entitled to be thus associated with these early

benefactors and beautifiers of God's house, and no more suitable place could have been chosen for such a memorial. The parishioners have also erected in the church a monument to his memory.

7. *Edmund Robert Mason, M.A.* (1897- ).

EDMUND ROBERT MASON, the second incumbent bearing this family name, was presented to the vicarage by the Peache trustees. The original purchaser of the advowson having died suddenly, intestate, the perpetual presentation was sold, and bought by the above body. The work of the restoration of the exterior of the church still continues, and with the funds which have lately come into the hands of the churchwardens, it is hoped that the complete renovation of the decayed parts of the building, especially of the tower, and the much-needed, and originally designed, ornamentation, both of that and of some other parts, such as the south porch, will soon be effected.

Mr. Mason is one of the surrogates of the diocese.

# RECTORS AND VICARS.

DATE.	RECTORS.	PATRONS.
<i>temp.</i> Edw. Conf.	Morcar, "the Priest" . . . . .	The King.
<i>temp.</i> Wm. I. . .	William, "the Chamberlain," the elder . . . . .	Wm. the Conq.
<i>temp.</i> Stephen . .	William, "the Chamberlain," the younger.	
c. 1139. . . . .	Gilbert de Cymmay, chaplain to K. Stephen. . . . .	Robert, Earl of Glos.
	RECTOR'S VICAR.	
1153-4. . . . .	Geoffrey . . . . . Balderic de Sigillo, clerk, archdeacon of Leicester, 1158-1189. Adam, "the clerk of the Church." Pensioned 1173.	Gilbert de Cymmay.
	TEMPORARY VICAR.	
<i>vic.</i> 1197 . . . .	Magister Roger de Luiton (?). . .	Ab. and C. of S. Albans.
	PERPETUAL VICARS.	
DATE OF INSTITUTION.		
<i>ante</i> 1219 . . . .	Mag. John de S. Albans . . . . .	"
1227 . . . . .	Adam de Belescot (Biscot), chaplain	"
1247-8 . . . . .	Henry, chap., late vic. of Kenebell, Bucks. Vacant by ingress of Adam, last vic., into the Order of Friars Preachers . . . . .	"
1248-9 . . . . .	Geoffrey . . . . .	"
1274-5, 14 Feb. .	Roger de Murale, presb., on death of Geoffrey. . . . .	"
1277, 29 Sep. . .	Hugh de Baneburgh, chap., on d. of Roger . . . . .	"
1315, 15 Dec. . .	John de Wilden, presb., on resignation of H. de B. . . . .	"
<i>vic.</i> 1321 . . . .	Robert de Wyboldeston.	
	Roger de Salesbury, exchanged to Eversholt.	
1331-2, 13 March	John de Standfordham exchanged from Eversholt, exch. to Warrington . . . . .	"

DATE OF INSTITUTION.	PERPETUAL VICARS.	PATRONS.
1346, 17 June .	Dominus John de Luton, rec. of Werington, Dioc. of Cov. and Lich., exchanged with J. de S. Will dated at Luyton, Thursday, the Feast of S. Gregory (12 March), 1348-9 . . . . .	Ab. and C. of S. Albans.
1349, 7 April .	Mag. Andrew Power de Mentmore, presb., on d. of J. de L. . . . . Dom. Richard de Rochele.	"
1349-50, 24 Feb.	William de Chaumbre de S. Neots, deacon, on res. of R. de R. . . .	King Edward III.
1353, 4 Aug. .	John Lybert, of Strixton, chap. presb., on deprivation of W. de C.	A. and C. of S. Albans.
1393-4, 3 March.	Mag. Walter Ixworth. Mag. John Peche, LL.B., presb., on res. of Mag. W. I. . . . .	"
<i>viv.</i> 1413-17 . .	Mag. John Blomham. <sup>1</sup> Mag. John Penthelyn, LL.B. Will dated 10th, died 18 Feb. 1443-4. (Brass.) Will proved 6 March, 1444.	"
1444-5, 1 March.	Mag. Roger Burgh on d. of Mag. J. P., rec. of Strawleigh, Somt., 21 June, 1460-64 . . . . .	"
1454, 22 July. .	Mag. John Lammer on res. of Mag. R. B., rec. of S. Anne's, Aldersgate, presb., 30 May, 1446; res. <i>ante</i> 2 July, 1454; rec. of Reed, Herts, A.M., 28 Feb., 1476; died 1477 . . . . .	"
1477, 12 Oct. .	Mag. Richard Barnard, M.A., vic. of Hillingdon-cum-Uxbridge, by bp. of London, 18 Nov., 1471-78, on d. of J. L. . . . .	"
1492, 5 Nov. . .	Adrian Castellan ( <i>alias</i> de Castello), Papal Collector in England, 1492; preb. of S. Paul's, 10 May, and rec. of S. Dunstan's in the East, 17 May, 1492; bp. of Hereford, 1502; cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, 1502-3; bp. of Bath and Wells, 1504, Papal Secretary. Deprived of all his preferments, 1518 . .	"
1502, 9 May . .	Mag. Edward Sheffield, presb., LL.D., void on consecration of A. C.; canon of Lichfield, 1508; rec. of Cambourne, Cornwall, 3 Nov., 1508, res. 1522; rec. of Yatt, Glos. Will dated 5 Dec., 1525, pr. 7 Feb., 1526. Brass in Luton Church . . . . .	Sir Rob. Sheffield, Speaker of the H. of Commons and Recorder of London <i>pro hac vice</i> , by concession of Ab. and C. of S. Albans.

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned as vicar, and one of his executors, in the will of J. Spitele, dated 16 March. 1413; proved 6 March, 1417.

DATE OF INSTITUTION.	PERPETUAL VICARS.	PATRONS.
1526, 31 March .	Richard Doke, on d. of Dr. E. S. ; Fell. Ex. Coll., Ox., 1501, Proc. 1509; M.A. 1510, B.D. 1515, D.D. 1516; vice-chan. 1519; archdeacon of Salisbury, 1526; preb. of Wells, 1537. Died 1539	Cardinal Wolsey, Papal legate, commendatory of S. Alban's Abbey.
1535 . . . .	Mag. Thomas Herytage, vic. at the Eccles. Visitation, 1535; Oriel Coll., Ox.; principal of S. Mary Hall, 1506-21; sen. proctor, 1509; dean of South Malling, Sus.; rec. of Hackney, pres. by Hen. VIII. 22 June, 1536; precentor of Lichfield, 28 Nov., 1536. Will dated 21 Oct., 1537, pr. 10 July, 1538. Died Dec. 1537.	
1537, 23 Dec. .	John Gwynneth, clerk, on d. of Mag. T. H., rec. of Stotesbury, Northants, 9 Dec., 1528; Mus. Doc., Ox., 1531; appointed rec. <i>sine curd</i> , or Provost of Clynogfawr, Dioc. of Bangor, by H. VIII. (1534-9), instit. Oct., 1541; rec. of S. Peter's, Cheap, Lond., pres. by Thos. Lord Audeley, by concession of the Abbot of S. Albans, 19 Sep., 1543, which he resigned 19 Nov., 1556 . . . . .	Stephen Vaughan, bygrant of Edw. Awpart, sen. citizen of Lond., and he by grant from S. Alban's Abbey.
1558, 1 Dec. . .	George Mason, chorister Mag. Coll. 1502; demy, 1506; M.A. Ox. 1512; preb. of Hereford 1515-40; rec. of S. Mary, Matfellow, <i>alias</i> Whitechapel, 1553-55; rec. of S. Mary Abchurch, Midd., 1555-56; rec. of Bradwell juxta Mare, Ess., 1555; canon of Windsor 10 Jan., 1560. Died <i>a.</i> 20 Nov., 1562 .	
1562-3, 10 March	Thomas Rose, on d. of G. M.; vic. of West Ham 27 Jan., 1551-2, by Edw. VI.; deprived by Q. Mary <i>a.</i> 5 June, 1554; restored by Q. Eliz. res. <i>a.</i> 8 March, 1563-4. Resigned Luton 1575 . . . . .	Queen Elizabeth.
1575, 6 July . .	William Horne, on res. of T. R.; Ox. B.A. 1566, M.A. 1569; rec. of Nursling, Hants, 1569; vic. of Hemel Hempstead, 1571-80; preb. of Lichfield, 1575. Died <i>a.</i> 20 Sept., 1594; buried in the chancel	"
1594-5, 22 March	Edmund Brockett, M.A., rec. of Graveley c. Chisfield, Herts, 1617; deprived <i>c.</i> 1645.	"

DATE OF INSTITUTION.	PERPETUAL VICARS.	PATRONS.
1617, 2 Oct. . .	John Birde, Ex. Coll., Ox., æt. 16, gen. fil. Bucks; student of Ch. Ch., B.A. 1604, M.A. 1607, B.D. 1615; rec. of Cheddington, Bucks, 1611. Bur. at Cheddington 1666	James I.
	INTRUDED MINISTERS.	
1644 . . . .	Samuel Austin, res. 1646. Vic. of Menheniot, Cornw., ejected.	
1646, 7 March .	Thomas Atwood Rotherham, cur. of Luton; rec. of Ickleford and vic. of Pirton, Herts, 1629-42; rec. of S. John Zachary, Lond., by D. and C. of S. Paul's, 1643; rec. of Boreham, Ess., 1648. Bur. at Luton 1657.	
1646 . . . .	Mr. Carey.	
1650 . . . .	Thomas Jessop. His petition to O. Cromwell, 1658.	
	VICARS.	
1660, 20 Dec. .	Thomas Pomfret, Trin. Coll., Cam., M.A. 1661; rec. of Maulden, Beds., 1684-95; preb. of Milton Manor, Linc., 1684. Buried at Caddington 10 March, 1705-6 .	Sir Rob. Napier, 2nd Bart.
1706, 24 May .	Christopher Eaton, on d. of T. P., B. N. C., Ox., B.A. 1698, M.A. 1701. Bur. at Luton 21 Oct., 1745 . . . . .	
1745, 19 Dec. .	George Barnard, on d. of C. E., Mert. Coll., Ox., 1732, B.A. 1737, M.A. 1739; rec. of Knebworth, Herts, 7 Sep., 1737-60. Bur. at Luton 17 June, 1760 . . . .	Sir J. Napier, 4th Bart.
1760, 14 Nov. .	Dr. William Prior, on d. of G. B., Pemb. Coll., Ox., 1740, aged 19, pleb. fil., B.A. 1743; Queen's Coll., Cam., B.A. by incorp. 1752, M.A. 1752, S.T.P. 1775; head master of Repton School, Derby, 1 Jan., 1768, where he died 20, and was bur. 25 June, 1779 . . . . .	Sir J. Napier, 6th Bart.
1779, 21 July .	Hon. William Stuart, on d. of W. P., b. March, 1755, 5th son of J., 3rd Earl of Bute; Winchester Coll., S. John's Coll., Cam., M.A. 1774, S.T.P. 1789; canon of Windsor 1793; bp. of S. David's 1795; abp. of Armagh 1800. Died 6 May, 1822, æt. 67; bur. at Luton	
		Francis Hearne, Esq., of Luton Hoo.
		John, 3rd E. of Bute.

DATE OF INSTITUTION.	VICARS.	PATRONS.
1795, 6 Feb. . .	James Russell Deare, on prom. of Hon. W. S. to See of S. David's, Chr. Coll., Camb., LL.B. 1800 .	{ The King (G. III.) for this turn, by virtue of his royal preroga- tive.
1798, 6 Feb. . .	Stuart Corbett, on res. of J. R. D., Mert. Coll., Ox., 1792, B.A. 1796, M.A. 1800, B.D. and D.D. 1816; P.C. of Wortley, Yk., 1801-45; exch. from Luton to Kirk-Bramwith rectory 1804-45, and rec. of Scrayningham, Yk., 1816-45; arch-deacon of York 1837; preb. of York 1841. Died 27 Aug., 1845 .	
1804, 9 April. .	Charles Henry Hall, D.D., on cess. of S. C., Ch. Ch., Ox., 1779, B.A. 1783, M.A. 1786, B.D. 1794, D.D. 1800; can. of Ch. Ch. 1799-1809; Reg. Prof. Div. 1707-9; dean of Ch. Ch. 1809-24; dean of Durham 1824-7; vic. of Broughton 1794, and of Brampton Lea, and preb. of Ex. 1798; rec. of Kirk-Bramwith 1799; exch. for Luton 1804. Died 16 Feb., 1827 . .	John, 1st Marquess of Bute.
1827, 20 Dec. .	William McDouall, on d. of C. H. H., Ball. Coll., Ox., 1791, B.A. 1795, M.A. 1798; can. of Peterborough 1831. Died 15 Dec., 1849. Buried in Luton Church .	"
1850, 3 Jan. . .	Thomas Sikes, on d. of W. McD., Queen's Coll., Cam., A.B. 1827, A.M. 1830; curate of Luton 1828; rec. of Pottenham, Herts, 1835-48; R.D. of Dunstable; exch. from Luton to Chevening rec., Kent, 1854. Died 4 Dec., 1888, aged 83 years . . . . .	"
1854, 25 March .	Thomas Bartlett, on cess. of T. S., S. Edmund Hall, Ox., 1809, B.A. 1813, M.A. 1816; rec. of Kingston, Kent, 1816-52; rec. of Chevening 1852-54; rec. of Burton Latimer, Northants, 1857-72. Died 28 May, 1872 . . . . .	{ J. Sikes, of Sud- bury, and J. Burder, of Par- liament Street, Westminster, for this turn.  Rev. Alex. King, rec. of Shering- ton, Bucks.
1857, 30 Sep. .	Thomas Williamson Peile, D.D., on res. of T. B., Fell. Trin. Coll., Cam., A.B. 1828, A.M. 1831, D.D. 1843; head master of Rep-ton School 1841-54; tutor at Univ. Coll., Durham, 1854-7; vic. of S. Paul's, Hampstead,	

DATE OF INSTITUTION.	VICARS.	PATRONS.
	1861-73; rec. of Buckhurst Hill, Ess., 1880-82. Died 28 Nov., 1882, aged 76; buried at Buckhurst Hill . . . . .	Rev. Dr. T. W. Peile.
1861, 21 Feb.	George Quirk, on res. of T. W. P., Worc. Coll., Ox., B.A. 1846, M.A. 1863; cur. of Brighurst, Leic., 1847-60; rec. of Martins-thorp, Rutland, 1849; vic. of Overkellet, Lanc., 1862-88; rec. of Yarmouth, I. of Wight, 1888. Died 1 Dec., 1895; bur. in Yarmouth churchyard . . . . .	J. Forster Baird, Esq., of the Inner Temple.
1862, 25 April	James O'Neill, B.D. and R.D., on res. of G. Q., missionary in Ceylon, Trin. Coll., Dub.; degree of B.D. conferred by Abp. of Cant. 16 May, 1862. Died 28, and bur. 31 Dec. in the church cemetery 1896 . . . . .	Rev. Jas. O'Neill.
1897, 8 April	Edmund Robert Mason, on d. of J. O.N., Queen's Coll., Ox., B.A. 1871, M.A. 1875; cur. of S. George's, Edgbaston, 1871-76; Assoc. Sec. C.M.S. (Rugby) 1876-81; vic. of Ch. Ch., Birmingham and preb. of Tachbrook in Linc. Cath. 1881-88; commiss. to bp. of Sierra Leone 1883; vic. of Orton, Dioc. of Southwell, 1888-97 . . . . .	The Peache Trustees.

A motley procession, no doubt, this series of upwards of fifty incumbents, yet not an incongruous or an ignoble one. Clad in different garbs and with differing mien, of many nationalities—Saxon and Norman, English and Irish, Scotch and Welsh, French and Italian—they pass in single file, in slower or quicker succession, down the centuries of the National Church, falling into line at every stage of life; of varied character and ability, of diverse schools of thought and doctrine, with different ritual and vestment, speaking even at times a different language, and yet through eight hundred successive years ministering the same divine sacraments and teaching the same eternal truths to five-and-twenty generations of the inhabitants of Luton.

Of some few, indeed, little or nothing is known beyond their names and institution, early records being scarce and meagre. Of



others a goodly portion of their career has been handed down. Some have, of themselves, left their mark yet visible, though perhaps not always recognized as theirs, upon the material fabric of church, or parsonage, or school. Others have transmitted to our day, in the parish registers or elsewhere, indisputable evidence of their presence and handiwork, in autograph or memorandum. Of only five, however, of this long succession is there remaining the record of their burial among their people, and of only about the same number is there any memorial whatever to be found in the church at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the earliest extant parish register only commences in 1602—there being no earlier record in which burials in the parish are entered—and many of the clergy since that period having obtained preferment were doubtless buried elsewhere, we have only the notice of the burials here of Eaton, 1745, G. Barnard, 1760, Primate Stuart, who was brought from London, 1779, McDouall, 1849, and O'Neill, 1896. There can be little doubt, however, that many if not most of the earlier vicars were buried here, probably in the chancel, such as John de S. Albans, apparently the first vicar, 1226, and Lammer, 1477; John de Luton, 1349, Penthelyn, 1444, and Sheffield, 1526, whose wills we possess dated at Luton shortly before their decease; Gwynneth, 1558, and Rose, 1575, both of whom probably died here, and Horne, 1595, whose gravestone was formerly in the chancel. The interment of Rotheram, an intruded minister, whose body, though he died elsewhere, was brought back to be buried at Luton, is recorded in the parish register, but was no doubt performed without the Church's burial service. Five of the remaining memorials are those of Penthelyn and Sheffield, brasses, and of Stuart, McDouall, and O'Neill, monuments, and there is another, probably of Richard Barnard, 1492, a recumbent effigy. Pomfret's burial is recorded as taking place at Caddington, but no monument seems to have been erected to his memory.

CURATES AND OFFICIATING MINISTERS<sup>1</sup> OF  
ST. MARY'S, LUTON.

Vicars.			Curates.
E. Brockett, 1595-1617	1604		John Blackwall, B.A., Emman. Coll., Camb. (A.) Vic. of Streatley, 1613. Died 1630.
J. Birde, 1617-1642	1626?		Thos. Atwood Rotheram.
W. Prior, 1760-1779	1762		Allen Walker, B.A., S. John, Camb. Ordained Deacon to cure of Luton.
" "	1766		Thos. Mills, Thos. Craston, W. Paddon.
" "	1767		Wm. Langford, Thelwall Salisbury.
" "	1768		Jas. Smythe.
" "	1771-1800		Coriolanus Copleston. Died Nov. 23, 1800, aged 84.
W. Stuart, 1779-1795			" "
J. R. Deare, 1795-1798			S. Corbett.
S. Corbett, 1798-1804	1800		Thos. Mills.
" "	1801		John Horseman.
C. H. Hall, 1804-1827	1804		Sundry Off. Min., Daniel Basley.
" "	1805-1823		Daniel Basley.
" "	1824		Jas. Broadhurst, Off. Min.
" "	1826		H. Jeremy Hale, Fred Sullivan, H. Halford, sub-curate.
Wm. McDouall, 1827- 1850	1827		Edw. R. Williamson, Off. Min., J. Forster, Off. Min.

<sup>1</sup> The following names, especially the earlier ones, have been derived chiefly from the parish registers, where some of the writers describe themselves as curates, and others as officiating ministers. Many of these latter were, therefore, probably only temporary assistants, and not licensed curates.

Vicars.		Curates.
Wm. McDouall, 1827-1850	1828-1850	Thos. Sikes, (A.) Vic. of Luton.
T. Sikes, 1850-1854	1850-1853	Rob. Fisher, (A.) Inc. of Biscot.
" "	1853-1859	W. H. Iggulden, cur. of District Chapelry of "New Mill End."
" "	1853-1854	Edw. Hubbard Boardman.
T. Bartlett, 1854-1857	1854	J. C. A. Clarkson, H. Mackenzie.
" "	1856	J. W. Boyce.
T. W. Peile, 1857-1860	1857-1858	S. W. Parry, Chas. Bullock.
" "	1858	H. G. Cordeau.
" "	1859	W. S. Sprague, J. Ellis.
" "	1860	T. W. S. Collis.
G. Quirk	{ 1862	E. W. Holmes.
Jas. O'Neill		J. Buncher.
"	1866	Geo. M. Love.
"	1867	H. Tite.
"	1869-1872	F. W. Fowler.
"	1873	E. H. Garrard, Cur. of High Town.
"	1873-1876	G. S. Clarke.
"	1874-1878	J. Wood, (A.) Vic. of S. Matthew's, High Town.
"	1878-1880	G. H. Moxon, Vic. of Sundon, 1881-89.
"	1881-1883	Jos. Morris, M.D.
"	1884-1887	T. A. Gurney, M.A., S. John's, Camb., Rec. of Swanage.
"	1886-1890	H. Dawson, T.C.D., Cler. Asst. Sec. C.E.S.S. Inst., 1890.
"	1887-1890	W. A. Pippet, S. Aidan.
"	1891	Jas. Frk. Hamlyn, M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb.
"	1892	W. White (S. Paul's).

Vicars.		Curates.
Jas. O'Neill	1895-1896	Alfred Sidney Pendleton. (A.) Chapl. S. Philip's, Rangoon, Burmah. Died April 5, 1898.
E. R. Mason, 1897	{ 1896 1897	J. E. Westerman, B.A. A. Houghton.

CHURCHWARDENS OF THE PARISH CHURCH.<sup>1</sup>

## FROM EASTER TO EASTER.

Year.	Churchwardens.	Vicars.
1800.	. . . . .	S. Corbett.
1801.	. . . . .	"
1802.	. . . . .	"
1803.	. . . . .	"
1804.	. . . . .	C. H. Hall.
1805.	Thomas Brown, . . . . .	"
1806.	" . . . . .	"
1807.	" . . . . .	"
1808.	" . . . . .	"
1809.	" Chas. Thomson. . . . .	"
1810.	" " . . . . .	"
1811.	" Chas. Fullwood. . . . .	"
1812.	" " . . . . .	"
1813.	" W. Yardley. . . . .	"
1814.	John Brett, " . . . . .	"
1815.	" " . . . . .	"
1816.	" " . . . . .	"
1817.	" " . . . . .	"
1818.	" " . . . . .	"
1819.	" " . . . . .	"

<sup>1</sup> As the following names have had to be derived mostly from the signatures of the various individuals as churchwardens, and not from any record of their appointment, it has been found impossible in many cases, owing to the date of their entry upon the office being coincident with the movable feast of Easter, and not with the beginning of the year, to decide with certainty in which year exactly their office commenced or ended; but the succession is probably perfectly correct.

# CHURCHWARDENS OF THE PARISH CHURCH. 267

Year.	Churchwardens.		Vicars.	
1820.	John Brett,	W. Yardley.	.	C. H. Hall.
1821.	"	"	.	"
1822.	"	"	.	"
1823.	"	"	.	"
1824.	"	"	.	"
1825.	"	"	.	"
1826.	"	"	.	"
1827.	"	"	.	W. McDouall.
1828.	"	"	.	"
1829.	"	"	.	"
1830.	Walter Scott,	John Tomson.	.	"
1831.	J. Tomson,	Thos. Smith.	.	"
1832.	"	"	.	"
1833.	"	W. Clarke.	.	"
1834.	"	"	.	"
1835.	"	"	.	"
1836.	Walter Scott,	"	.	"
1837.	"	"	.	"
1838.	W. Clarke,	Fred. Burr.	.	"
1839.	"	"	.	"
1840.	"	"	.	"
1841.	"	"	.	"
1842.	"	Thos. Haydon.	.	"
1843.	"	W. Phillips.	.	"
1844.	"	"	.	"
1845.	"	J. Brett.	.	"
1846.	"	"	.	"
1847.	"	"	.	"
1848.	"	"	.	"
1849.	"	"	.	"
1850.	"	"	.	T. Sikes.
1851.	"	Thos. Swarder.	.	"
1852.	"	"	.	"
1853.	J. Brett,	"	.	"
1854.	"	W. Phillips.	.	T. Bartlett.
1855.	"	"	.	"
1856.	"	"	.	"
1857.	"	"	.	"
1858.	J. Cumberland,	Francis Cook.	.	T. W. Peile.
1859.	Francis Cook,	Evan Owen Williams.	.	"

# 268 CHURCHWARDENS OF THE PARISH CHURCH.

Year.	Churchwardens.	Vicars.
1860.	John Cumberland, George Bailey.	T. W. Peile.
1861.	" "	G. Quirk.
1862.	" "	J. O'Neill.
1863.	Julius Gaboriau Shepherd, F. Pearman.	"
1864.	J. Sambrook Crawley,	"
1865.	" "	"
1866.	" Samuel Oliver.	"
1867.	Thos. Dunne,	"
1868.	Francis Cook, J. Cumberland.	"
1869.	" "	"
1870.	" "	"
1871.	" "	"
1872.	" "	"
1873.	" "	"
1874.	" "	"
1875.	" G. Bailey.	"
1876.	H. Pigott Newland, "	"
1877.	" "	"
1878.	" "	"
1879.	" G. H. Chambers.	"
1880.	J. Higgins,	"
1881.	" "	"
1882.	" "	"
1883.	" J. Cotchin.	"
1884.	" Hugh Gunn.	"
1885.	R. S. Tomson, "	"
1886.	" J. W. Green.	"
1887.	H. O. Williams, "	"
1888.	" "	"
1889.	W. Wren, G. S. Duberley.	"
1890.	" "	"
1891.	H. O. Williams, Hugh Cumberland.	"
1892.	" "	"
1893.	Alfred Pilgrim, Edmund Tydeman.	"
1894.	" "	"
1895.	" "	"
1896.	" "	"
1897.	" "	E. R. Mason.
1898.	" "	"
1899.	" "	"

## DISTRICT CHURCHES.

## EAST HYDE.

In the year 1840, during the incumbency of W. McDouall, vicar of Luton, the hamlet of East Hyde was formed into a chapelry or curacy, named "New Mill End." A site for a church or chapel of ease, and for a parsonage adjoining, was given by the Marquis of Bute, then patron of the vicarage of Luton, and the foundation stone of the church was laid 21st April of the same year by Mrs. Ames, of "The Hyde." The church was built by the late Benjamin Ferrey, Esq., and was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. A parsonage house was erected, and when all was finished, early in 1842, the Rev. E. Bullock Webster was appointed curate. The registers of baptisms and burials date from May of this year.

When, in 1844, the advowson of Luton vicarage was sold by the marquis, it was charged with the annual payment to the curate of New Mill End of £45. The advowson being, in 1859, in the hands of Dr. T. W. Peile, who had become vicar of Luton, and, as such, had the presentation of the chapelry, he endowed it with £150 7s. of the tithe rent-charge due to him as vicar, and then sold the advowson of the chapelry to Captain Ames.

By an order in council, 2nd February of that same year, "East Hyde" was made a separate benefice, by consent of J. Forster Baird, Esq. (provisional patron), and Dr. T. W. Peile, vicar, the Rev. W. H. Iggulden being appointed the first incumbent. On 26th June, 1866, the chapelry or perpetual cure of East Hyde was declared to be a vicarage, and W. H. Iggulden gazetted a vicar.

There is the following note in the vestry book of this year: "Towards the end of the year 1866 an alteration was made in the church, by raising the floor at the east end, paving the same with encaustic tiles, and placing oak seats, reading desk, and communion table, and a stone pulpit, and organ; likewise stencilling, in encaustic colours, the apse of the church, at a cost of £400."

In addition to the above endowments, which are invested, two fields adjoining the parsonage, which belong to the patron, are

allowed to go with the vicarage. Pres. inc., T. R. C. (commuted at) £170; av., £129; endow., £40; fees, £3; gross inc., £172 and house; pop., 349.

## CURATES.

	Patrons.
1842. Edward Bullock Webster . . .	W. McDouall
1849. Thomas Baker . . .	„ and T. Sikes.
1850. Francis R. Powell . . .	T. Sikes.
1853. William H. Iggulden . . .	„

## INCUMBENT AND VICARS.

1859. Inc.	} Wm. H. Iggulden, Emm. Coll. Camb., A.M., (F.) cur. of Louth, 1851-53, cur. of Luton, 1853-59, exch.	
1866. Vic.		
	with successor to S. Luke's, Jersey, 1873; Warden of Brown's Hosp., Stamford, 1880; died, 1889. .	J. Forster Baird, Esq.
1873. Edw. Guille, S. John's Coll. Camb., A.B., (F.) P.C. S. Luke's, Jersey, 1846, Res. E. H., and died 1884 . . .		Capt. Ames.
1880. Walter Begley, late Sch. C. C., Camb., A.B., (F.) cur. Weston-sub-Edge, 1862-72, Ch. Ch. East Hackney, 1872-74, S. Stephen's Mart., Avenue Road, Regent's Park, 1874- 76, All Saints, Finchley Road, 1876-79 .		„

## CHRIST CHURCH.

	Vicars of Luton.
1856. District provisionally carved out of old parish of S. Mary . .	T. Bartlett.
Foundation stone of church laid by Mrs. Crawley of Stockwood .	„
Cost of church, including site, £3,500, raised by subscription .	„
15 June, 1857. Church opened for divine service by licence, as a chapel of ease, served from S. Mary's . .	T. W. Peile.



Vicars of Luton.

T. W. Peile.

- 1857-1860. Charles Bullock, curate in charge .
- 29 July, 1860. First incumbent (Wm. Pearce) appointed by Dr. Peile . . . . . "
- 22 Sept. " Church consecrated ("Christ Church") by Thos. Turton, Bp. of Ely . . . . . "
- 20 Oct. " Parish registers (of baptisms and marriages) commence . . . . . "
- 13 Dec. " Deed of Eccles. Commrs. (under 58 Geo. III. c. 45, etc.) constituting an assigned district to be a separate benefice, and the former chapel of ease to be a parish church; allotting pews, etc. (signed by royal manual, 4 Feb., 1861) . . . . . "
- " A tithe rent-charge of £102 19s. 3d., being that portion of the vicarial T. R. C. issuing out of the township, within the limits of the new parish of Ch. Ch., assigned to it, by T. W. Peile, patron and vicar of the vicarage of Luton . . . . . "
- " The patronage of the new benefice sold by T. W. Peile to W. Pearce . . . . . "
1862. The patronage of the benefice sold by W. Pearce to Rev. T. Jones Lee . . . . . Jas. O'Neill.
- Nov. " On resignation of W. Pearce, T. J. Lee appoints himself incumbent Parsonage house (at cost, including ground, of £2,130) built by T. J. Lee, with aid of Eccles. Commrs. . . . . "
- 4 Dec., 1864. Church enlarged at cost of £1,200 (with 220 free sittings for the poor), and new tower, and new part consecrated by E. H. Browne, Bp. of Ely . . . . . "

Vicars of Luton.

- 26 Jan., 1866. "By District Church Tithes Act, 1865," the parish constituted a vicarage, and the incumbent a vicar . . . . . Jas. O'Neill.
- 5 Feb., 1875. The Eccles. Commrs. commence making an annual grant of £106 to the vicar.
- Patronage of church transferred by T. J. Lee to the Bp. of Ely.
- 23 Nov., 1881. New chancel (at cost of £2,190) consecrated by James Russell Woodford, Bp. of Ely, and 180 more free sittings provided.
- 19 May, 1887. New organ erected and opened.
1888. Oak choir stalls, etc. (£200).
- Income, T. R. C., £60; av., £45; fees, £24; pew rents, £140; Easter offerings, £27; Q. A. B., £27; Eccl. Commrs., £106; gross inc., £342; net, £280, and ho.; pop., 11,647.

## CURATE IN CHARGE.

Patrons.

- 1857-1860. Charles Bullock . . . . . Dr. T. W. Peile.

## INCUMBENT.

- 29 July, 1860. Wm. Pearce . . . . . „

## INCUMBENT AND VICAR.

- Nov., 1862. T. J. Lee on res. of W. P.; vicar,  
1866 . . . . . T. J. Lee.

## VICARS.

1875. Wm. T. Harrison, M.A., on d. of  
T. J. L.; Hon. Can. Ely Cath.,  
1879; vic. of S. James's, Bury  
S. Edmunds, 1883; Bp. of  
Glasgow, 1888 . . . . . Bp. of Ely.

Patron.

- 24 Sept., 1883. Elgood George Punchard, D.D.,  
 Oriental Fell. of S. Aug. Coll. Cant.,  
 1877-79; vic. of Linslade, Bucks,  
 1880-83; Hon. Can. Ely Cath.,  
 1896; author of "Commentary  
 on Ep. of S. James" in Bp. Elli-  
 cott's New Test. Com. 1879,  
 and other works . . . Bp. of Ely.

## ASSISTANT CURATES OF CHRIST CHURCH.

## Vicars of Christ Church.

- |                 |            |  |
|-----------------|------------|--|
| W. Pearce.      | } 1861-62. | S. York, M.A., Oxon, curate in charge.                                       |
| T. J. Lee.)     |            |  |
| "               | 1864-66.   | C. Marriott, B.A., Oxon.   |
| "               | 1866-68.   | Arthur H. Baldwin, B.A., Oxon.   |
| "               | 1870-71.   | E. Green.  |
| "               | 1871-75.   | A. J. Hunter.  |
| W. T. Harrison. | 1876-80.   | E. H. Lowe.  |
| "               | 1878-79.   | W. P. Anderson.  |
| "               | 1879-80.   | A. J. Abbey.   |
| E. G. Punchard. | 1880-83.   | G. Moore.  |
| "               | 1880-85.   | Wycliffe Vaughan.  |
| "               | 1883-86.   | W. R. Finch.   |
| "               | 1884-86.   | W. T. MacMichael.  |
| "               | 1884-89.   | J. E. Turner, vic. of Riseley, Beds.   |
| "               | 1886-88.   | J. S. Poole, B.A.  |
| "               | 1886.      | W. F. Ommaney.   |
| "               | 1887-89.   | P. Harvey, M.A.  |
| "               | 1888-91.   | C. J. Walls, L.Theol.  |
| "               | 1889-91.   | A. B. Sharpe, M.A. (S. Saviour's),<br>Cowley Mission, Philadelphia,<br>1891. |
| "               | 1889-91.   | W. Eglesfield Bathurst Norman,<br>M.A., vic. of Biddenham, 1891.             |
| "               | 1890.      | Alfred Arthur Hancock, B.A., Dur-<br>ham Univ.                               |
| "               | 1891-96.   | Frederick Bedale, B.A., Ox., vic. of<br>Pirton, Herts, 1896.                 |

## Vicars of Christ Church.

E. G. Punchard.	1891-93.	George Jas. Fredk. D'Arcy, B.A., S. Edmund Hall, Ox.
„	1892.	J. Chas. Trevelyan, M.A., Trin. Hall, Camb., 1875, cur. of S. Jas. and S. Philip, Ox., 1889-91 (S. Saviour's).
„	1892.	William Bernhard Rumann, B.A., Jesus Coll., Camb., R. 24 Dec., 1893 (S. Saviour's).
„	1893.	Albert Rust, B.A., Selwyn Coll., Camb., Deac. 24 Sept., 1893.
„	1896.	Alfred Edmund Sasse, M.A., S. Mary Hall, Ox.

## S. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH (CHRIST CHURCH).

## Vicars of Christ Church.

## Curates.

W. T. Harrison.	1877.	Site purchased and nave of church built at cost of £950.	
E. G. Punchard.	1889.	Chancel, organ chamber, etc., added, at cost of £450 . . . .	A. B. Sharpe, c. in charge.
	1889-91.	Curate in charge, A. B. Sharpe . . . .	J. C. Trevelyan.
	8 Oct., 1892.	Chancel dedicated; curate in charge, J. C. Trevelyan.	
	1 Jan., 1893.	District separated from Christ Church.	
	9 May, 1898.	North aisle of church consecrated by Lord Alwyn Compton, Bp. of Ely. In addition to interest of £1,466 de- posited with the Eccles. Commrs., being £44, £106 a year is paid out of the benefice of Ch. Ch.	

## VICAR.

*Net value, £150.*

Instituted.

Patron.

14 June, 1893. J. C. Trevelyan . . . . Bp. of Ely.

## CURATE.

1892. Wm. Bernhard Rumann, Jes. Coll. Cam., Ely Coll., 1891.

1894. Harry Edward Malden, B.A., Pemb. Coll. Camb., (F.)  
cur. of Ampthill, 1891-92; c. of Glemsford, Suff., 1892.

## S. ANDREW'S (CH. CH.), CRAWLEY ROAD.

1887. Site given by J. S. Crawley, Esq., temporary church built at  
cost of £400. Served by curates of Ch. Ch.

## STOPSLEY.

Vicars of Luton.

4 Feb., 1861. District assigned; part of vicarial  
tithe rent-charge of Stopsley,  
amounting to £203 1s., appro-  
priated as endowment of incum-  
bency of Stopsley by Dr. T. W.  
Peile, as patron and vicar of Luton T. W. Peile.  
The advowson sold by Dr. T. W.  
Peile to Col. Sowerby.

2 June, 1862. A church built (by J. Pearson, of  
Luton, architect) at cost of £1,150,  
dedicated to S. Thomas, and  
consecrated by Joseph Cotton  
Wigram, Bp. of Rochester . . . Jas. O'Neill.

1863. Parish registers commence . . . "  
Gross inc., £203, and house; pop.,  
882.

## INCUMBENTS AND VICARS.

Patrons.

1861. Saml. Cumming; vic. 1865; rec. of  
Little Carlton . . . . Col. Sowerby.

1871. Albert Aitkins; chaplain, Hospital,  
Bath . . . . Rev. Jas.  
Gilman.

	Patrons.
1872. Thos. Henry Papillon . . . .	Rev. Jas. Gilman.
1875. Jas. Jos. Frew; d. 1876 . . . .	"
1876. Alexr. Jos. Schwartz; vic. of Gawcott . . . .	"
1877. George Henry Turner; vic. of Tolleshunt, 1883 . . . .	Exors. of J. Gilman.
1879. Jn. Finch Smith; exchanged with successor; vic. of Edensor . . . .	M. N. But- tanshaw.
1882. Paul Marland Walker, T.C.D.; res.	M. N. But- tanshaw, Esq.; Rev. J. F. Rowe.
24 Aug., 1893. J. H. Cowan . . . .	Archdeacon Bathurst.
28 Feb., 1898. Arthur E. Love . . . .	"

## CURATES.

Vicar.
S. Cumming. 1870. J. Hutchins.
T. H. Papillon. 1874. J. J. Frew.
P. M. Walker. 1888. A. J. Willson.
„ 1891. A. W. Sutherland.

## BISCOT.

In 1866 the two hamlets of Legrave and Limbury-cum-Biscot were formed into a separate ecclesiastical district called "Biscot." On the 15th June in that year, J. Sambrook Crawley, Esq., of Stockwood, the lord of the manor of Biscot and the proprietor of the rectorial tithe rent-charge issuing out of Limbury-cum-Biscot, made over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the site for a church and a parsonage at Biscot. Both of these he soon afterwards built at his own expense, endowing the church with £148 14s. 3d., the whole of the rectorial tithe rent-charge of Limbury-cum-Biscot. Biscot is accordingly a "rectory," although the incumbents have hitherto, in order to avoid certain fees and expenses, only been instituted as vicars. The patronage is vested in Mr. Crawley and his heirs and assigns. The above endowment, together with £50

granted annually by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, forms the income of the incumbent. Present gross income, £162, net £131, and house. But the patron, Francis Crawley, Esq., having contributed £50 towards a further endowment, this will be met by a like grant from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, so that a small increase will henceforth be made in the income. Population, 1,004.

## INCUMBENTS (RECTORS).

Patron.

1866. Edward Richard Adams, Caius Coll.,  
Cam., B.A. ; (F.) cur. of Linslade,  
Bucks ; (A.) cur. of S. Paul's, Bedford,  
1875-79 ; S. Paul's, Brighton,  
1879-81 ; vic. of S. Paul's, Camden  
New Town, Lond., 1881 . . . J. S. Crawley, Esq.
1876. George Morris, A.K.C., (F.) cur. of  
S. Peter's, Eaton Sq., 1872-75 ; (A.)  
incumb. of Lochee, N.B., 1878-80 . . . "
1877. Robert Fisher, M.A., B.N.C., Ox., cur.  
of Luton, 1850-53 ; Shaw and Little-  
borough, Lanc., 1853-65 ; Ch. Ch.,  
Accrington, 1865-68 ; Blackley, 1868-  
70 ; S. Matth., Chadderton, 1870-72 ;  
Hollingswood, 1872-77 ; res., 1894 . . . "
1894. Erskine William Langmore, M.A.,  
Keble Coll., Ox. ; (F.) cur. of Lin-  
slade, Bucks, 1879-81 ; Leighton  
Buzzard, 1882-90 ; Sarsden w.  
Churchill, 1891 . . . "

## S. MATTHEW'S, HIGH TOWN.

Vicar of Luton.

1873. Wooden church, formerly at Woburn,  
erected and served by curate of  
parish church, E. H. Garrard.  
District assigned . . . Jas. O'Neill.
- July, 1875. Foundation stone of present church  
laid by Elizabeth, Duchess of  
Bedford . . . "
- Church built at cost of £6,700,  
raised by subscription.

Vicar of Luton.

Church Patronage Soc. gave £500  
to build a chancel.

12 Dec., 1876. Licensed for D. service. Parsonage  
erected.

22 Apr., 1879. Consecrated by Jas. Russell Wood-  
ford, Bp. of Ely.

1892. Anonymous gift of a screen . . . Jas. O'Neill.

Original vicar's income, Eccles.

Comm., £200 per ann. Fees  
and house.

W. R. Heald, Esq., J.P., Parr's-  
wood, Didsbury, Lanc., having  
given a benefaction of £500, this  
was met by Eccles. Comm. with  
a similar sum.

Present income, Eccles. Comm.,  
£230. Fees and house.

Pop., 7,800.

1875. Par. reg. commence . . . ,

In connection with S. Matthew's there is an iron church  
mission hall (S. John's), the church being licensed for Holy  
Communion, and the district worked by lay evangelists, at  
present by the Church Army.

## VICARS.

Patrons.

1873. E. H. Garrard . . . Ch. Pat. Soc.

1877. John Wood, M.A., Ox., (F.) curate  
of the parish church ; d. 1883 . Trustees.

1884. Wm. Hind, M.A., Sch. Ball. Coll.,  
Ox., (F.) cur. of S. Jn. Evang.,  
Kilburn, 1879-82 ; cur.-in-charge  
Ch. Ch., Melcombe Regis, Wey-  
mouth, 1882-84 ; Assoc. Sec. Col.  
and Cont. Soc. . . . ,

1886. Thomas Warrington, T.C.D., (F.)  
rec. of S. Philip's, Manchester.  
(A.) rec. of Offord D'Arcy, Hunts,  
1890 . . . ,



## Patrons.

- 22 Mar., 1890. Francis L'Estrange Fawcett, M.A.,  
S. Mary Hall, Ox.; Wycliffe Hall,  
1884. (F.) cur. of S. Martin's,  
Birmingham, 1884-90; res. 31  
Mar., 1894. (A.) vic. of S. Mary's,  
Bury S. Edmunds, 1896 . . Trustees.
- 16 June, 1894. Harry Coate, Lon. Coll. of Div.,  
1886. (F.) cur. of S. Matt., Canon-  
bury, Lond., 1888 . . . . . „

## CURATES.

## Incumbents.

- J. Wood . . . 1878. W. H. Griffiths.  
„ . . . 1879. J. J. Wimperis.  
„ . . . 1881. W. F. Salt.  
„ . . . 1882. S. C. Thompson.  
J. Wood and W. Hind 1883. G. E. Laws.  
„ . . . „ J. E. Turner.  
T. Warrington . . 1886. W. Ranger.  
„ . . . 1889. T. F. Hood. (A.) cur. of Leighton  
Buzzard.  
F. L. Fawcett . . 1890. Rob. W. Hall Stuart, B.A., S. Cath.  
Cam.; cur. of S. Cath. Birm.  
(A.) chap. Calcutta Add. Cur.  
Soc.  
„ . . . 1892. Alfred Webb.  
H. Coate . . . 1894. Bertram Preston Hurst, B.A.  
„ . . . 1897. Stephen Swabey, B.A., Sch. Pemb.  
Coll., Ox.

## S. PAUL'S, NEW TOWN.

## Vicars of Luton.

- 21 Apr., 1890. Site made over by deed . . . . . Jas. O'Neill.  
The Ashton trustees had given this  
site for schools, but not being  
large enough the Peache trustees  
bought new premises and ex-  
changed for above site.

Vicars of Luton.

- 7 Aug., 1890. First stone laid by Ld. Alwyn  
Compton, Bp. of Ely . . . Jas. O'Neill.
- 15 Sep., 1891. Dedicated as a chapel of ease by  
Ld. A., Bp. of Ely. Cost of  
building, £4,000 . . . „
- 8 Oct., 1892. Consecrated as a parish church.

## INCUMBENT.

- 26 Oct., 1892. William White, Chich. Coll., 1888,  
licd. cur. of Luton, 1892. (F.)  
cur. of S. Barn., Derby, 1889-92.  
(A.) vicar of Box, Wilts . . . „

## VICAR.

Patrons.

- 29 Aug., 1895. Thos. Bulman, lic. Lon. Coll. of  
Div. ; cur. of S. Stephen, Lam-  
beth, 1884-89 ; cur. of Islington,  
1889 . . . } Peache  
Trustees.
- Pop., 4,500. Net val., 1890, £160.

## THE STAFF OF CLERGY AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

Since the census of Domesday (1086) the flock at Luton has increased from five or six hundred souls to some thirty-five or thirty-six thousand ; where there was but one church then, and one parish, there are now eight separate ecclesiastical districts, daughter churches, with an equal number of consecrated " places where prayer," according to the ancient forms of the Church, " is wont to be made," and where—instead of the one solitary priest of Saxon times—some thirteen or more clergy now minister. And, as the shepherds have thus in increasing number been uninterruptedly provided for this portion of His fold by the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, so has the succession of worshippers in the mother church of the parish been continually maintained ; and they who bend the knee there to-day form part of that continuous flock, which for more than seven hundred and sixty years has met

together on the same sacred spot, to adore the Creator and to learn His will. For the last six centuries, too, the members of that flock have been baptized in the same "font of regeneration," which yet stands, as of yore, at the entrance of the church, to welcome rich and poor alike, and to unite all in one divine brotherhood in Christ.

What the full staff of clergy at Luton has been throughout the various periods, it is impossible of course to ascertain with any degree of accuracy or completeness; yet a short enquiry may not be without interest as throwing some additional light upon the state and working of the Church's parochial system at different epochs.

It is probable that most, if not all, of the early rectors and vicars down to 1492 resided in the parish, and so would not require, as some later vicars did, a permanent substitute. Yet so many privileges and advantages were attached to being a "clerk," even in minor orders (to which abbots were permitted to ordain), that a very large number, often more than a hundred candidates, were admitted to orders at a single episcopal ordination. Consequently in every town and large village, in later mediæval times at least, there were always many clerks ready to be engaged for the very frequent church functions which were then maintained. It seems likely, therefore, that all through the thirteenth and the two following centuries, if not even earlier, there were at least one or more assistant priests, together with sundry persons in lesser orders, connected with Luton church.

The first Norman rector, William the Chamberlain, though he was very likely in priest's orders, was so much occupied in secular business that he may have appointed for the parish work some Saxon priest who knew the language of the people.

His successor, William, also a chamberlain, but an usurper of the emoluments of the church, though he lived at Luton, and most probably at the rectory itself, was a layman, and therefore must, in all reasonable probability, have employed one or more priests for spiritual offices, especially as the population was fast increasing and Earl Robert's new church had to be occupied and served.

Gilbert de Cymmay (1139), King Stephen's chaplain, being in holy orders, could himself officiate, and being a married man, with a family, no doubt lived at the rectory; as however, even if he could speak the language of the people, after an incumbency of some fifteen years or more he died of a lingering dropsy, it may

fairly be inferred that he too had some priest to help him. But it is during the time of his successor, Geoffrey (1153), Gilbert's vicar, who had apparently a life interest in the rectory, that the name first occurs of one who clearly acted as curate or assistant priest. This was "Adam, clerk of the said church," who, as payment for his services, received by decision of the king the land of the rectory. At the same time one Balderic de Sigillo, clerk, was granted two-thirds of the rector's income, and therefore was probably also required to officiate in the church.

These two clerks, however, being after a few years dispossessed of their emoluments (which were given to the non-resident archdeacon of Poitiers), other provision, we may well suppose, was then made by Geoffrey. Perhaps Adam continued or resumed for a time his former post as "clerk of the church;" for, as we have seen in the history, he eventually received a pension from the abbey (1173). In the meantime, Abbot Robert of S. Albans, who had become patron of the church, issued his ordinance, to take effect on the death of Geoffrey and the lapse of the archdeacon's portion, that, whilst the tithes, etc., should go to the abbey, the profits of the land of the rectory should be employed in the support of "*Two priests* to minister in Luton church." All this, independent of other considerations, leads to the supposition that up to this period at least there were two or more clergy always attached to the church.

Whether Abbot Robert's plan was ever fully carried out is doubtful. The name of only one priest appears who can with any confidence be reckoned as the abbey's stipendiary and removable vicar, "Magister Roger of Luton." The abbey, also, some years afterwards, probably on the death of Roger, is said to have appointed, not two priests, but only one. This, there is reason to think, was Magister John de S. Albans (called in the *Dunstable Chronicle*, in the like manner as Roger in *Reg. Abb. J. Wheat- hamstead* and *Pedes Finium*, "Magister John of Luton"), who was in 1219 apparently confirmed in his vicarage and made the first perpetual vicar. Still, it is very probable that according to the custom of the time each of these had their assistant priest (and perhaps as far as regarded a stipendiary vicar this was Abbot Robert's design), supported either by the abbey, or by themselves, or by the offerings of the people. Within the next few years, in 1222, the Council of Oxford ordained that there should be in large parishes (and Luton would certainly have been included in

the number), according to their needs, *two* or *three priests* or more.

How far this order was carried out by the earlier vicars of Luton cannot be determined; but, from the wills of certain priests and other inhabitants of the parish during the next and succeeding centuries, it would certainly seem that throughout these years, and especially during the fifteenth century, there was a considerable staff of clergy connected with the church, which, however, gradually diminished in number; so that in the reign of Edward VI. the return was made that besides the vicar there were but the two unlearned and infirm chaplains of the guild, to perform divine service in the church and minister to the people.

Thus, one of the executors of John de Luyton, vicar, 1349, was Sir Wm. Hauck<sup>1</sup> (a clerk), probably his assistant. William Wenlok, the master of Farley, 1391, besides bequeathing a larger sum to "John, the parish chaplain of Luton" (a title equivalent probably to what would now be called the curate),<sup>2</sup> left a smaller sum to another "parish chaplain," Wm. Walters (perhaps the priest of a district chapelry, such as that at Limbury, or an assistant curate), and a still smaller amount "to all the parish chaplains of that church," as well as "to all the deacons there," and, again, a further reduced sum "to all other clerks in said church."

John Spitele, 1413, who signs himself chaplain, *i.e.*, probably of S. Mary's church, left the vicar, if present at his funeral, 3s. 4d.; to each of the parish priests then present and at the mass to be celebrated the next day, 20d.; to each of the stipendiary priests of the said church and of the whole parish (*cuiuslibet sacerdoti stipendiar eiusdem ecclie et totius parochie predictae*) present on those occasions, 12d.; to the deacon there, 8d.; to each parish clerk, 6d. As he also

<sup>1</sup> The title Dominus, or Sir, is said to have been usually prefixed to the name of clergy who had taken no academical degree. If so, as J. Gwynneth, a Doctor of Music, is called "Sir" twice over in E. Crawley's will, 1544, it would seem to follow, unless the ascription of the title to him was an error, both that such a degree did not count in the matter, and also that Gwynneth had never taken a degree in arts.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew de Assheton, rector of Shillington, canon of York, Linc., etc., in his will, just about this date, 27th December, 1400, makes bequests to "my chaplains, Richard Gladyon, Robert Messenger, and Thomas;" Richard Gladyon, chaplain, being also one of his executors; and the above Dom. Thomas, this time styled "*parish chaplain*," being, along with R. Messenger, one of the witnesses. This seems to warrant the supposition that by parish chaplain is meant assistant priest or curate to the incumbent, whose chaplain ("my chaplain") he virtually was.

bequeathed to the church a new antiphonarium notated by his own hand, "on the condition that it shall always be placed on the north of the choir there, and not before the vicar on the south side, for matins and the other hours of the day," it would seem both that there was every day a regular choir, presumably of clergy (for the usual composition of modern parochial choirs is said to have been unknown in pre-Reformation days in country parishes), and also that the desk whereon it was to be placed was that which he was in the habit of occupying himself. Spitele's executors were J. Blonham, the vicar, and Dom. W. Keterynge, probably one of the vicar's assistants.

John Penthelyn, vicar, after appointing (1444) that "a chaplain at Luton" should say masses for his soul during a year, directs that "every priest" who shall attend his funeral and subsequent mass, and "every deacon" and "every other clerk," who shall do the same, shall receive a gift proportionate to his order. These clergy, indeed, need not necessarily have all belonged to the parish, but it seems reasonable to suppose that many of them did. He also mentions two clergymen, Dom. John Thomas and Dom. Nicholas Thomas, the latter a relative of his own, both apparently residing at Luton, and partaking of his bequests of furniture and clothing; and one J. Herbert, a chaplain, was witness to his will, dated at Luton, 1444. Shortly before 1460, unless some modification in the original work has since taken place, sedilia in the chancel of the church for *five clergy* were provided by Abbot Wheathamstead.

The guild of the Holy Trinity in the church, established in 1474 by the vicar, John Lammer, and others, was licensed to support two chaplains for their own altar, and also to aid in the "augmentation of *five other clerks*, celebrating divine offices in the same church."

Archbishop Rotherham in 1498 evidently considered that there would be the usual complement of three officiators at the altar in Luton church when he left to the church there one suit (of vestments) for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon (celebrant, gospeller, and epistoler).

These instances evidently imply a considerable staff of clergy officiating either in the parish church or in district chapels, some of them, perhaps, confining their ministrations to singing masses for particular persons or families in special chantry chapels within the church. Nothing short of six or seven assistant clergy, at the least, are required to come up to some of the terms above used.

At this time, and for some while afterwards, the vicars were pluralists, and, as they held more dignified offices elsewhere, it is probable that they were at least frequently non-resident at Luton.

Adrian de Castello (1492-1502), who was even installed by proxy in each of his cathedrals, was probably in like manner excused from being either inducted in person or visiting Luton church, and therefore presumably had to provide a substitute.

E. Sheffield, who had prepared his gravestone with its brasses for Luton church, designing, no doubt, to be buried there, and who seems to have died at Luton, probably resided there at times (he was witness to a will there in 1511); but, as he had two other parishes at a distance and a canonry also, he, too, must have had a permanent curate. In his own will Sheffield makes no allusion to any clergy, but in sundry Luton wills of this period—of laymen, and therefore in general not containing bequests to the several classes of the clergy—mention is made of divers clergy with various titles. Thus, besides the general expression of “suitable priests” being appointed to sing masses, “Dom. William Godfrey, chaplain,” was witness to three wills (J. Dermer, 1504, J. Barbour, and W. Blackhead, 1509), and Dom. Thomas Jamys, clerk, to one (J. Barbour, 1509). E. Sheffield, vicar, was himself a witness to Thomas Crowley’s will, 1511, and together with him, Robert Wright, priest; and Sir W. Wernus, preste, was a witness to that of Richard Spayne, 1519, whilst John Aleyn, *parish priest of Luton*, was witness to J. Sylam’s will, 1514. As this latter testator bequeaths 6s. 8d. to Lymbury chapell, it may be inferred that a stipendiary priest resided and officiated there. J. Aleyn would appear from the above to have been the responsible curate, at least in 1515.

Both R. Doke and J. Herytage held many preferments and dignities, and were not likely to have resided much at Luton. During the vicariate of one or other of them, a Sir Robert Bushop was witness to J. Perette’s will, 1529, and a Sir W. Baston is mentioned by J. Crawley in 1530 as his confessor. These probably held some office in the church.

J. Gwynneth, though for thirteen years of his incumbency of Luton he held also a London city church, certainly resided chiefly, if not altogether, at Luton, being a witness and supervisor of a will (E. Crawley) in 1544, supervisor of another (Roger Barber) 1546, preaching in the parish church in 1553, and being supervisor of one will (T. Welles) and witness to another

(J. Hayle) in 1557. In 1554 and 1557 he also published, as "vicar of Luton," his two volumes against Frith's book, "the heretic" in the dialogues in both of them being, not a townsman, but a "countryman." During his vicariate, owing to the Reformation movement, and the consequent diversion or confiscation of funds which had supported the clergy, the former large staff of clergy in the various churches of the country was everywhere greatly reduced. That it was so at Luton is clear, for in 1545-47 it is expressly recorded that though the number of "the housely people" (communicants) there was fifteen hundred—the population therefore probably two thousand—yet that "no more prestes were appointed to said parish or church but the vicar thereof and the said two brothers (chaplains of the guild) for to help to minister to said parish." For the previous seventy years his predecessors and himself, in addition to any parish priest appointed by themselves, had had the help of the priests of the guild (of which Gwynneth was, at its close, the master), and presumably some "augmentation" or sustentation towards the support of assistant clerks. For the last ten years, however, of his incumbency, the guild having been dissolved, he seems, as far as can be ascertained from existing records, to have been left to minister alone, although, as he states, in advanced years. Chantry priests do not seem, as a rule, to have helped in the services of the church. There seems nothing to show whether Sir John Johnson, a witness to E. Crawley's will, December 20th, 1544, "writer of this testament," or, as he calls himself in Roger Barber's will, March 20th, 1545-46, to which he was also a witness, "J. Jonson, preiste," and to which the note is appended, "written by Mr. J. Jonson, then being priest in Luton and now vicar of Chidham," Suss., was a chantry priest or Gwynneth's curate. He is not to be confounded, it appears, with one of the same name who was at this time one of the guild priests, and who shortly afterwards was pensioned (*vide ante*, p. 181).

G. Mason, who had begun his ministerial life some fifteen years before his predecessor, must also have been in the decline of life when appointed to Luton. He survived scarcely four years. There is no record of his presence in the parish nor any allusion to an assistant minister, yet it seems most probable that even if he resided he must have had one of the latter. These were, however, at this time difficult to be met with of the Reformed faith.

Of T. Rose, on the other hand, it is recorded that he "was at



last quietly settled at Luton, where he was preacher" (for eleven or twelve years) "and where he lived to a very great age."

As his successor, W. Horne, is mentioned as overseer of the will of G. Rotheram, 1579, and a witness to the wills of T. Crawley and T. Preston, 1582, it may be inferred that he also resided at the vicarage.

E. Brockett had a numerous family, and from the almost annual entry of the baptism of one or other of his children in the parish register it is evident that he, too, was a constant resident. It is during his vicariate, however (1605), that we first meet with the notice of a curate being licensed to Luton. This was J. Blackwall, but as he was instituted to Streatley vicarage in 1613, he probably, though not necessarily, relinquished the curacy of Luton at that time.

His successor, J. Birde, although also a resident for twenty-five years or more, had as his curate for a time T. Atwood Rotheram (Hennesy, *Nov. Repert. Eccl.*, p. lxx., g. 296).

These instances, the record of which happens to have come to light, make it probable that were a search instituted in the Bishops' Registers, it would be found that not merely these last two vicars, but most, if not all, of their predecessors also, for many years, had assistant clergy.

During the Commonwealth, on the other hand, it is almost certain that the minister was at all times single-handed, even if it was not the case that more than once the parish was left for some time without any minister at all.

At the Restoration, owing to the dearth of qualified ministers, the clergy were allowed to hold two or more benefices, if not too far apart, on condition, however, that they provided a curate for those parishes in which they themselves did not reside.

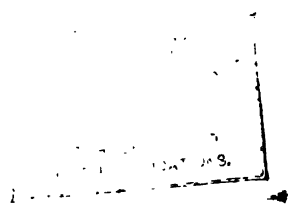
T. Pomfret, though for eleven years of his incumbency of Luton (1684-95) he held at the same time the rectory of Maulden, resided continually, it would appear, at the former. There is no intimation, however, of his having any permanent curate there, though it does not seem unlikely that at times he may have had the assistance of his son, John, and towards the close of his ministry, of his successor, Christopher Eaton.

C. Eaton and G. Barnard, the latter rector also of Knebworth, Herts, and apparently unmarried, were both residents. They seem also both, as was too customary at the time, to have worked single-handed among a large population.

W. Prior, almost from the date of his appointment, had some one, though at first only a deacon just ordained, to assist him, and from that period to the present, as will be seen by the accompanying roll, there has been a succession of curates—at times of more than one—amounting altogether to upwards of forty. The dates of their appointment are given as accurately as can be ascertained.



VIEW OF CHURCH FROM SOUTH-EAST, WITH HOO CHAPEL.



## PART II.

### THE CHURCH OF S. MARY.

THE parish church of Luton is one of thirty-seven sacred edifices in the county dedicated to the memory of S. Mary the Virgin. In the will of William Wenlock, 1391, it is entitled "the Church of the Blessed Mary," and though the *dedication* of many churches, even of some within the county, is known to have been changed in late, as well as in early times, from the original title, there is no reason to suppose that this has been the case at Luton. The fact that the fair at Luton<sup>1</sup>—confirmed, if not granted, by Baldwin de Bethune to Abbot J. de Cella at least as early after the foundation of the present church as 1212—was to be held "on the Feast of the *Assumption of the B. Marie*" (August 15th), is sufficient evidence that the church bore the same title at that period also.

It is built in the form of a Latin cross—thus, "in its very structure," according to the symbolism of all Gothic architecture, "expressive of the great doctrine of the atonement"—and consists at present of a nave and aisles of five bays, with north and south porches, a western tower, north and south transepts—each with an eastern aisle, that of the south transept being known as "The Hoo Chapel," and that of the north having been enlarged and converted into the Wenlock, or Someries Chapel—a large chancel and a sacristy, or priest's chamber of two stories.

Its total length, inclusive of the tower, is 182 feet; its extreme width in the transepts, 101 feet; the width of nave and aisles, 57 feet; the height of both nave and transepts, 40 feet.

Its area, therefore, exceeds that of any other church in the county (seating 2,000 persons), and in this respect it stands also high among the parish churches of England.

The tower, too, is in size above the average of those of parish

<sup>1</sup> *Plac. q. warranto, Ed. III., 1327-77, p. 23; Gesta Abb.*

churches, being on the outside 28 feet square, and inside 17 feet, 8 inches square, and nearly 100 feet high.

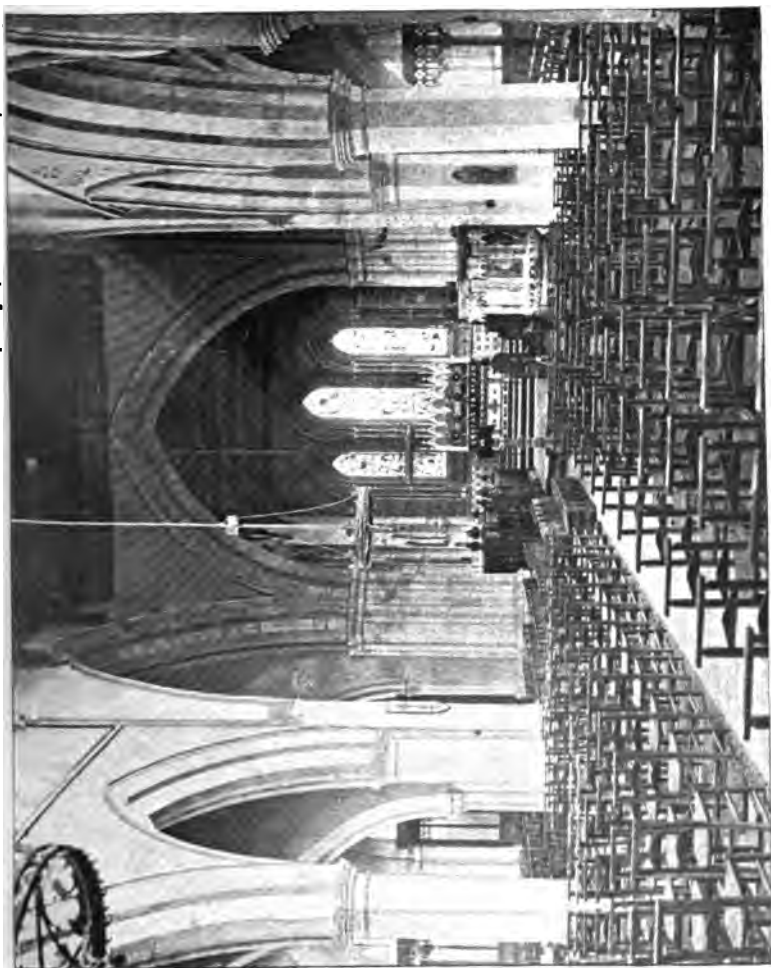
The choir, like that of Totternhoe Church (H. Fowler), is generally described as inclining a little to the north, "symbolizing the inclination of Christ's head on the cross" (A. E. S.), but the irregularities and deflections are not confined to the choir or nave, and can only be comprehended by a reference to the ground plan. The causes of these deviations from right angles cannot well be determined, but many of them arose probably from mere carelessness at the several early restorations.

According to Shaw (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Chapel at Luton Park*, 1829), "In the eastern division of Luton Church there appear to have been formerly three chapels: the Wenlock; the Chapel of our *Lady of Atbridge or The Brach*, in the parish of Luton, and the Chapel of the Gild or 'Fraternity of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and the Most B. Virgin Mother, of the Parish Church of Luton.' In the first (he continues) an oak screen still remains, dividing it from the north transept, which exactly corresponds in design and execution with the carved work at Luton Hoo. Of the two other chapels very little can be decisively ascertained, but one of them, used as a chancel, has the remains of a holy sepulchre and four magnificent stalls, intended for the Abbot of S. Albans, the officiating priest, deacon, and subdeacon. The other chapel probably occupied the south aisle or transept, where now is seen the large and lofty baptistery<sup>1</sup> of stone tabernacle work. One of these chapels appears to have contained the identical screen work and other embellishments now at Luton Hoo, which were removed by Sir Robert Napier in the seventeenth century from their roofless abode in order to adorn the newly-erected chapel or oratory."

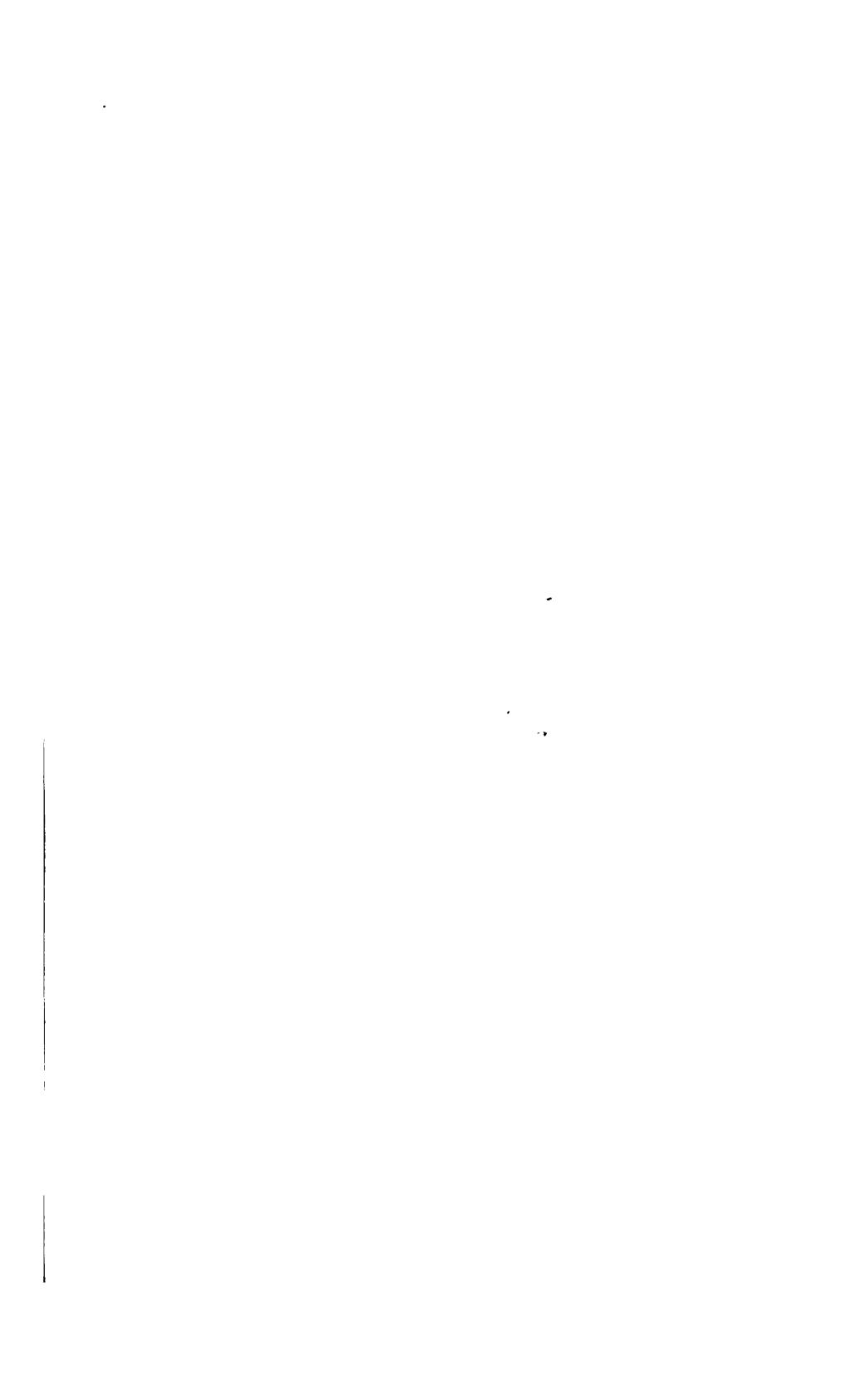
#### *The Chancel.*

The present east wall, with its Early English triplet window, was rebuilt by G. E. Street in 1866—the window replacing an eighteenth century circular-headed domestic window—but on taking down the old wall vestiges both of a Perpendicular and of a lancet window were met with, the former being perhaps the insertion of Abbot Wheathamstead, and the latter evidencing the extent eastward of the original Early English church.

<sup>1</sup> The baptistery at one period stood in the south transept.



INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.





In Pre-Reformation times, according to the law of the Church, which required either a figure or a picture of the patron saint to be so placed, no doubt an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>1</sup> to whom the church had been dedicated, stood over the high altar in the chancel. This accounts for the expression in Canon Sheffield's will, wherein he desires to be buried "in *the chaunsell before our Lady*."

The mosaic reredos over the present altar—a representation by Salviati, of Venice, of Leonardo da Vinci's fresco of the "Last Supper," and the diapered alabaster dado, were put up by the vicar in 1882.

In the north wall is a blind Perpendicular window of good design, and dissimilar from any other in the church, which was brought to light during the late restoration, having been blocked up, apparently, for some centuries. It is now filled with mosaics representing the "Three Maries at the Sepulchre."

For some years its position and possible use presented a difficulty. For against its exterior is found the sacristy of a clearly *earlier style of architecture*, which must have effectually hindered the transmission of any light through the window into the chancel; and yet, as the arch and mullions of the window appear on the side of the two rooms of the sacristy, as well as towards the chancel, it could never have been intended as a mere ornamental arcade. The late distinguished architect, Mr. Herbert Carpenter, immediately on seeing it suggested, what there was further evidence to confirm, that, though the sacristy is in itself of earlier date, yet it was not originally erected in its present place, but was transferred thither some time after the insertion of the Perpendicular window. There can be little doubt when or why this transplanting took place. When Sir J. Wenlock, in 1461, proposed to enlarge the aisle of the north transept, and to convert it into a chantry of double the area, he evidently found the sacristy in his way—abutting on the east wall of the aisle, with its doorway passing direct into the chancel. It is clear that he removed the sacristy and

<sup>1</sup> It was probably in connection with this image in the chancel—though possibly there was a special Lady Chapel besides, somewhere within the church—that two small farms of five acres of arable land, and one and a half acres of meadow, and of one and a half acres of arable, respectively, were given to "maintain a lamp burning before the image of the Blessed Mary in the church of Luton" (*Particulars for Leases, Elis. and Jas. I., Beds, Rol. iii., No. 12*).

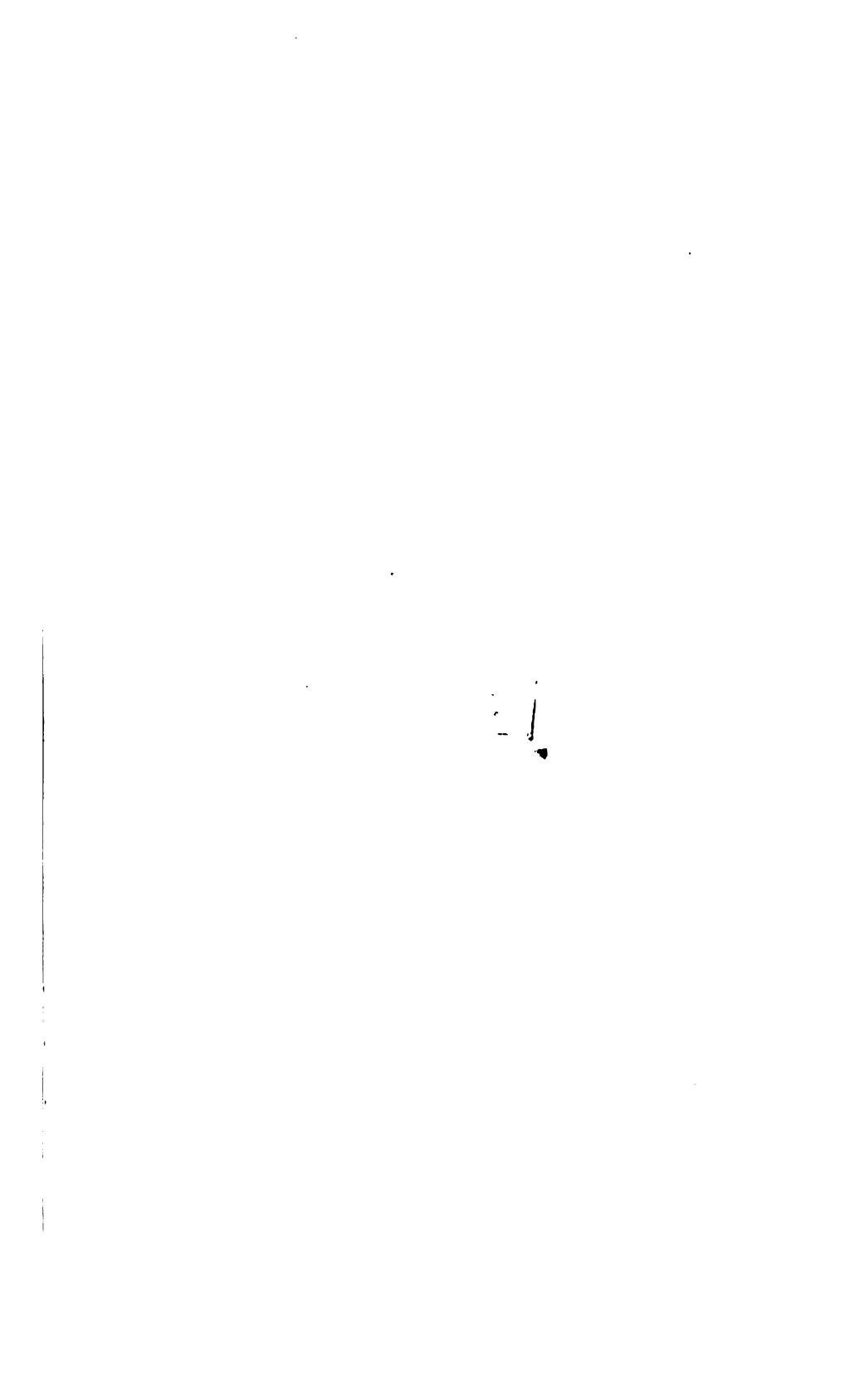
rebuilt it in its present position (the very joints between the stones marking their *resetting*), and so virtually blocked up the Perpendicular window; and as its square could not be curtailed on one side alone, so as to bring its east wall on a line with that of the chancel, that wall is found to project many inches, in an unsightly manner, beyond the latter.

There is also in the same north wall a late Decorated Easter sepulchre. As this is both unusually short, being only 5 feet, 7 inches in length, and is also situated further westward than is customary, besides being made to block up one-third of the sacristy doorway of a little earlier date than itself, it would seem that this also was at some time moved from its original place (which was presumably directly under the Perpendicular window), perhaps on the insertion of that window, and curtailed in length in order to leave a sufficient, though very narrow, passage into the sacristy. As this entrance was blocked entirely in 1461, the transplanting must have taken place previously. The base of the doorway and the floor of the sacristy are both on the same level, and so are, also, the doorway and recess on the south side of the chancel, all the intervening part of the chancel floor having been raised at the time of the restoration of the church.

It would be interesting to discover how much of the present south wall of the chancel formed part of the Early English church, as that might throw light upon the question both as to what material was used and what style of masonry was adopted in the construction of the whole edifice, whether it was entirely of Totternhoe stone or, as in the case of the later church, with flints, either split or whole. The eastern part of the wall is plastered on the outside, but appears to have been originally built of Totternhoe stone alone. The rest is so pierced with windows and doorway, hidden by buttress and patched in repairing, that, though probably the inside face of the wall retains a good deal of the early thirteenth century work, it would not be safe to hazard an opinion about the outside. But an Early English string-course extending in the interior from the east wall along both the north wall of the chancel up to the sepulchre, and for a short distance along the south wall, shows that parts at least of these walls are remains—as the east wall itself was, until lately taken down—of the Early English church. And if, as has been conjectured, the carved stone in the south wall, which projects above and behind the adjoining recess, be the remains of an Early English doorway,



CHANCEL, LOOKING NORTH, WITH ARCHES LEADING INTO THE WENLOCK CHAPEL.



as, both from its position and from its evident connection with some opening, it would seem to be, then we have evidence that a somewhat larger part of the south wall, and, if so, probably the whole of it, internally at least, is that which was erected in the thirteenth century.

The easternmost window of the two renewed within the last few years, after the pattern of the old, is generally attributed to Abbot Wheathamstead, owing to its proximity to his undoubted work, the sedilia. It may have been inserted by him, but there is no evidence to that effect; and it may be questioned whether the two works were at all contemporaneous, though, as he presided at the abbey at two distinct times, and for a rather lengthened period (1420-40 and 1451-65), he may have contributed to the repair and ornamentation of the church at two distant periods. The window, with its plain transom and debased arch, is the least pleasing of all those in the church, and seems hardly worthy of one renowned for his architectural predilections.

In this south wall there are at present four stone sedilia<sup>1</sup> (or seats for the officiating clergy during part of the service of high mass), upon the same level (which is a little unusual), rather shallow, and all under similar canopied Perpendicular niches; but there is no piscina<sup>2</sup> or stone credence.<sup>3</sup> This being rather an un-

<sup>1</sup> These were always in the south wall of the chancel. Anciently the priest occupied a wooden seat. Stone sedilia are seldom met with of higher antiquity than the thirteenth century. There are, however, at least three examples of Norman sedilia still existing, including the splendid one in S. Mary's, Leicester.

<sup>2</sup> "Piscina, a niche on the south side of the altar, containing a small basin and water-drain, through which the priest emptied the water in which he had washed his hands; also that in which the chalice had been rinsed; and if any of the wine prepared for the Sacrament had by some accident been rendered impure and unfit for the purpose, it was also poured away through the piscina. These niches frequently have a shelf across them, which was sometimes used as a credence; they are also frequently double, especially in the large churches" (Parker's *Gloss. of Archit.*, part i., p. 163). Though "the custom of washing the hands before the Communion was of very high antiquity, yet we rarely find the piscina in our churches of an earlier date than the thirteenth century, when they appear to have been very generally introduced; and after that time to have been an indispensable appendage to an altar" (*Ibid.*). "In an ancient MS. of *Injunctions for the Diocese of Lincoln*, to which Luton belonged, a provision is made for such churches as were without a piscina. A hole in the pavement by the altar was to be the substitute" (*Ibid.*, p. 164). This can hardly have been applicable to Luton in the case of either the thirteenth or fourteenth century church. Four or five Norman piscine are all that are known.

<sup>3</sup> "Credence, the small table by the side of the altar, on which the bread

usual number of sedilia, which, if it exceeded one, generally amounted to three,<sup>1</sup> the peculiar number of four, especially in connection with the absence of a piscina, which would hardly have been permitted in such a church as Luton, suggests the probability that the eastern niche originally contained a piscina and not a seat. And this supposition seems to be somewhat confirmed by the description of it given by Blomefield in the early part of the last century, who, though he miscalls the piscina a "stoup," evidently intended to note the existence of the former there, and makes mention at the same time, by implication, of only *three seats*: "All which arms and mottos are carved in stone over the holy water *stope* and grand seats for the bishop, priest, and deacon," or rather, as he should have said,<sup>2</sup> for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon.<sup>3</sup> If Blomefield is accurate as to what was the actual state of things at the time of his visit, and the above a just interpretation of his words, then the change must have been effected since his days. Unlikely as this may appear at first, it yet seems more probable

and wine were placed before they were consecrated. In many instances its place was supplied by a shelf across the fenestella or niche above the piscina; this shelf was sometimes of wood, and has consequently disappeared; but it was often of stone, and many such still remain" (*Ibid.*, p. 56).

<sup>1</sup> Turvey is the only other Bedfordshire church with *four sedilia*, and it also has *no piscina*, perhaps to be accounted for in the same way. Barton, Biggleswade, Cranfield, Dunton, Higham Gobion, Sandy, and Sutton churches have *three sedilia with a piscina* in each case, in some of them a double one. Tempsford and Sharnbrook churches have two each, *without piscina*; Lower Gravenhurst and Winnington, two each, with *piscinæ*; Clifton, two, with a double *piscina*; Hockliffe and S. Mary's, Bedford, two each, of unequal height, without canopies, the former having a *piscina*. Many churches, as might be expected, have *piscinæ* without *sedilia*, as Chalgrave, Flitwich, etc. The only other examples of quadruple *sedilia* which Bloxam gives are those in the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, and in the churches of Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick, and Rothwell, Northants, and in Gloucester Cathedral. Furness Abbey possessed the same number, *with a piscina*, and all being on the same level. Quintuple *sedilia* are very rare, the only instance recorded being that in the conventual church of Southwell.

<sup>2</sup> Blomefield makes the same two mistakes again in his account of Fetwell S. Mary Church, Norfolk, where he says, "against the south wall (of the chancel) are three stone seats, for the bishop, priest, and deacon, and at the head of them an arch for the holy water" (*Hist. of Norfolk*, i. 50 n.). But see *Gloss. of Archit.*, ii. 196.

<sup>3</sup> "By the seventeenth of Archbishop Langton's constitutions, made 1225, it was decreed that in every church which has a large parish there be two or three priests, according to the largeness of the parish and state of the church" (Johnson's *Eccles. Law*).



CHANCEL, LOOKING SOUTH.  
ABBOT WHEATHANSTEAD'S SEDILIA AND VICAR BARNARD'S CHANTRY.





than that when piscinæ were to be found attached to all the minor altars in the church, there should be none for the high altar. Mistaken iconoclastic zeal may have thought well to get rid of all that recalled earlier practices—or even the good feeling, which it seems it was, which covered from sight, until the late restoration, all the other piscinæ, that they might not be further mutilated than they had been, may, in order to protect this chief one, have concealed it under a seat,<sup>1</sup> similar to those immediately adjoining it. There does not appear to have ever been a piscina eastward of the sedilia.

These sedilia “are richly carved with cinquefoil ogee arches (which are crocketed and finish in rich terminals), separated by pinnacles (similarly crocketed), and surmounted by a floriated cornice” (F. W. F.).

Over them, together with Abbot Wheathamstead’s motto (the same which is in S. Alban’s Abbey, and which is sufficient proof of his connection with the work), written in ancient characters, in this manner, “Val-les-ha-bun-da-bunt-val-les,”<sup>2</sup> are carved in the stone, in the spandrels of the arches, eight shields with coats-of-arms.

It is difficult to determine with certainty, in one case at least, to whom these arms belonged, and even, when identified with great probability, to see clearly what connection their bearers had either with Luton Church or Abbot Wheathamstead. A little uncertainty, too, as to the correctness of the tinctures, increases the difficulty of assigning them with complete confidence. Their present tinctures, renewed in the present century, are said to be taken from a manuscript in the British Museum which apparently professes to record how they appeared at some herald’s visitation in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The only visitations of Bedfordshire were in 1566 (by Harvey), in 1582 (by Cooke), in 1586 (by Glover), and in 1634 (by Owen); in either case more than a century after the days of Wheathamstead, but in none of the printed copies of these is there any reference to these coats. They appear to be correct.

<sup>1</sup> Other instances are to be met with in which the niche of the piscina corresponds exactly with those of the adjoining sedilia, and is connected, as in this case, by one cornice.

<sup>2</sup> From *Ps.* lxx. 14: “valles abundabunt *frumento*,” alluding to his assumed name of “Wheathamstead,” taken by him from the place of his birth, which was Latinized on his epitaph at S. Alban’s, “de loco frumentario.”

The distinct coats are only six in number, two of them being repeated,<sup>1</sup> though in reverse order. They are described or at present depicted as follows:

1st and 8th. *Gu. a chevron* (or as depicted by Lysons, 1856, three chevronets), *between nine ears of wheat tied* (banded, W., p. 342), *in three parcels, or.*

These, no doubt, were intended to be the arms of Abbot Wheathamstead himself (Steele, p. 12; Blomefield, p. 32; Gough, p. 43), the same being found at S. Alban's Abbey, but they are not so given in any armoury;<sup>2</sup> nor were they the arms either of his own family, Bostock, which were, "Sa. a fesse humettée ar." (Bostock of Cheshire), or of his mother, an heiress, Makery of Herts, which were, "On a bend three cross crosslet" (Harl. MS. 139, p. 97, 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). It would seem therefore that, the Heralds' College not having been yet founded, he assumed them as a feudal lord, in right of his abbacy.

2nd and 7th. (Arg.) *a chevron voided* (S.) (or two chevronets, Lysons) (Sa.) *between three roses* (gu.) (seeded vert?).

These, with the above tinctures, were the arms of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (1324-1404), the great architect of Edward III. and founder of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, but what connection he had either with S. Alban's, Abbot Wheathamstead (who was not educated, it seems, at either college), or Luton, does not appear. As the selection of the coats seems to have proceeded on no very special principle, but chiefly for the sake of ornament, though with some little degree of appropriateness, the insertion of Wykeham's coat may have simply been as a homage to his genius and character, the abbot himself being at least addicted to architecture. The arms here are attributed to Wykeham by Steele, p. 13.<sup>3</sup> Their repetition, especially

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, in his engraving (pp. 32, 33), has made the strange mistake of transposing Nos. 5 and 6 with Nos. 7 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> The only coat known with similar charges, treated in the same way, though with different tinctures, is that of Bennet, viz., "Sa. a chev. erm. between nine ears of wheat tied in three parcels" (or?).

<sup>3</sup> In Dioc. Hist. *Winchester* (p. 124) is the following note: "His arms are *two chevrons* between three roses; on which Glover, Somerset Herald, writing to Lord Burghley in 1572, says, "they are usual arms of *Carpenters*," but thinks that Wykeham may not have inherited them, but assumed them in memory of his great works of building." The above were also the arms of Drew of Somerset, and of Pynk, and with a very little difference in the tinctures, of seventeen other families, viz., Allen, Ashton, Coope, Knoll,

as being in each case coupled with his own, though in a reversed position, shows how desirous the abbot was to associate the bearer of them with himself.

3rd. *Az. (S.) three crowns or (S.).*

These are said, or rather are conventionally taken, to have been the device or ensign of Mercia (S. and G.), (the arms of King Offa, B.), in which kingdom both S. Albans and Luton were situated. The Benedictine abbey of S. Edmund's bore the same arms; and they are now the arms of the kingdom of Sweden.

4th. *Az. (B.) a saltire or (B.).*

The arms of S. Alban's Abbey (S., B. and G.). Now the arms of the city of S. Albans.

5th. *Or four lions rampant in quadruple, the 1st and 4th sa., the 2nd and 3rd gu.*

Steele and Gough give simply "four lions rampant," and Blomefield, mistaking the sculptor's elevation of the stone in the centre of the shield for the painter's mark, as, "*Per pale, four lions rampant.*" There is no reason, however, to question that the present tinctures, as given above, were those with which the coat was originally depicted. This coat is also to be found at S. Alban's, appearing upon the tower of the abbey, but when or by whom placed there is not stated; it is depicted there between the arms of the abbey itself (as in No. 4 above) and those of Mercia (No. 3). It was formerly also upon the brass of Abbot Stokes (1440-1451), who held the abbacy in the interval between the two incumbencies of it by J. Wheathamstead, and it appears again on the tomb of Abbot Ramryge (a Lutonian?) a little later (1492-1526). "Its appropriation," however, says Nicholson, in his *History of S. Alban's*, "seems never to have been ascertained." This ought not to be impossible, nor, having the delineation accurate, does the identification appear very difficult. From its position both in Luton Church (where the external pairs of shields, alone, are those of private individuals), and at S. Alban's (where no private shield would be found upon the tombs of two unrelated abbots), it is evidently not the coat of any private individual, but of some royal person or kingdom. There is but one person in England who

Lacre, Lecker, Lyne (Cornwall), Pearson, Phillipps, Morley (Devonshire), Resuggan (Cornwall), Rugeley, Russell, Thyrkell, Upton (Warwick), Wedderburn, and Wyward, but none of these names are known in connection with Luton.

ever bore any escutcheon of the kind, Queen Philippa of Hainault,<sup>1</sup> the wife (1328-1369) of Edward III. Her connection with S. Alban's, slight though it may have been, is quite sufficient to account for her arms being found among those at the abbey or at Luton. Her son Edmund (Duke of York), being born at King's Langley, we read (Newcome's *Hist. of S. Alban's*, p. 24), that she would have him baptized by no one except Abbot Michael de Mentmore, and on the occasion of her being churched (*expletis solemniis purificationis*), which took place at S. Alban's, she there made an offering of a cloth of gold of great value. Her intercession at Calais in behalf of the condemned burgesses, and her indefatigable exertions in developing the wool trade of the country and opening coal-mines, rendered her one of the most popular and beloved queens of England; and these acts, together with the above respect shown by her both to the abbot and to the abbey, may well have led to her being so much esteemed and her escutcheon blazoned freely by the community there. It is not at all improbable that she was even a member of their fraternity, as was customary with both royal and noble personages.

6th. "*Az. (or B) a cross flory<sup>2</sup> between five martlets or*" (B).

The device, it is said, of Edward the Confessor,<sup>3</sup> but rather the arms invented for him in the time of Edward I., taken, though not accurately, from a coin of the earlier monarch, on which occurs

<sup>1</sup> The escutcheon of Queen Philippa is what is called a "dimidiated coat," being the quartered arms of Flanders, "or, a lion rampant, sa.," and of Holland, "or, a lion rampant, gu.;" the pourfil, or dividing line, being omitted, as on her escutcheon in Westminster Abbey (Woodward, i. 247; ii. 462, 463).

<sup>2</sup> This, though blazoned by Woodward (i. 44) as a "cross flory," is described by him (ii. 474) as a "cross patonce," and tricked as such (ii. 661, 662, in the coat of Rich. II.). "*Azure a cross patonce* (he says, i. 137) between five martlets or, is the coat assigned by later heralds to Edgar Atheling and other Saxon princes. It is used as the arms of University College, Oxford. It was employed by the late Plantagenet sovereigns as a coat of augmentation." "The distinction between the cross *patonce* and the cross *flory* is supposed to consist in this: that while the arms of the cross *patonce* gradually expand, those of the cross *flory* are of equal width very nearly to the end. The true cross *flory*, however, is one of which the end is not simply foliated, but terminates in fleurs-de-lis" (*Ibid.*).

In Lysons (pp. 32, 33) it is drawn neither as a cross *flory* nor as a cross *patonce*, but "*fleur-de-lisée*," i.e., a plain cross coupé having a demi-fleur-de-lis attached to the extremity of each arm (*vide* Woodward, plate xiv., fig. 10).

<sup>3</sup> Palliser's *Historical Devices*, etc.

only a "plain cross between four radiating doves" (Woodward's *Heraldry*, i. 44).

Close adjoining to these sedilia, on the west side, is a beautiful arched recess of a "date some few years later" (A. E. S.).

"It is entered by an opening which stands immediately at right angles to the south door of the chancel, and is elaborately groined with fine tracery, having three arches which terminate in pendants. There is also a two-light window, which comes directly against a



WINDOW OF BARNARD'S CHAPEL, AND PRIESTS' DOOR.

buttress outside, and the sill of which is only about two feet from the ground" (G. E. S.) Towards its east end are a piscina and a small plain flat niche, probably for a brass representation of some saint, and no doubt an altar once stood within it. From its position and surroundings it is clearly an after-insertion, and is of far better workmanship than the sedilia.

In the spandrels of the arches are figures which evidently express in a rebus, according to the custom of the time, the name of the founder. The figures repeated thrice are a *Bear*, muzzled and chained, with an angel in two places, and a hand in another (and

an additional hand to make the sculpture uniform), each holding a box of [spike-]nard. To Mr. H. Gough, the antiquary, is due the credit of sagaciously guessing that, as the vicar between 1477 and 1492, the period at which this recess was clearly inserted, bore the name of Richard *Bar-nard*, the rebus was intended to mark the chapel as his work. It is very probable that even if this Richard Barnard (who seems, however, to have been a man of mark in his day, having been previously vicar of Hillingdon-cum-Uxbridge) did not bear the usual arms of the ancient families of Barnard and Bernard (*e.g.*, Bernard of Cambridge, 1400, *Top. and Gen.*, ii. 40), viz., "ar. a *bear* rampant sa. *muzzled* or," yet that he chose the bear in the same way, as a play upon his name.<sup>1</sup> And confirmatory of this, and also as affording a date to some of the original painted glass of the windows, as well as explaining what has hitherto been unintelligible, it is interesting to observe that Steele notes that "in one of the windows in the south aisle are several quarries of glass painted with a baer (*bear*), and over is writ '*Nard*'"—this, no doubt, proving also that R. Barnard was at the cost of the glass of this window.

If the tree behind the bear, in each case, is meant for a "hawthorn bush, fruited," as it seems to be, though the fruit has been omitted, this addition may mark still more exactly the date of the erection of the recess, viz., as having been between 1485, when Henry VII. came to the throne, and 1492, when Barnard died. For the hawthorn<sup>2</sup> was one of Henry's badges, his initials, "H. R.," being placed one on either side.

The purpose of this recess has been much contested. It has been variously conjectured to have been designed for a chantry, with altar or altar-tomb, or as a leper chapel with altar, for the convenience of lepers on the outside, and for whose sake the small (then unglazed) window in it is supposed to have been opened, or as the ornamental covering to a low side window, or as a reliquary, or even as a confessional.

As it was only erected about fifty years before the Reformation, when chantries, reliquaries, and confessionals were done away with, and at a time when leprosy was dying out in the country, it could not have been long used for any of these purposes, but if it was erected by Richard Barnard, there can be little doubt that he

<sup>1</sup> On a monument in Turvey Church, Beds, to the wife of a Rich. Bernard, who died 1606, the arms are "a *bear* rampant" (Harvey's *Beds*, p. 209).

<sup>2</sup> Parker's *Gloss. of Archit.*, vol. iii., p. 70, and Palliser's *Hist. Devices*.

intended it for his own chantry chapel, and his tomb, with the addition, it may be, of a low side window, though probably this latter was merely intended to give light to the celebrating priests. Pennant (1782) mentions that the recumbent figure of an abbot lay in it. If it ever contained a sepulchral effigy, which it is natural to conclude it did, it is almost certain to have been that of Richard Barnard himself. Arguments are adduced presently in favour of the effigy now in the wall of the south aisle being that which once occupied this chantry, as there is a recess broad enough for such a tomb as that, though not for a large altar-tomb.

The western half of this south wall of the chancel, the four-centred windows, and probably the apparent remains of a doorway behind the eastern end of the chantry, are of the Transitional period between Late Decorated and Early Perpendicular, and were certainly not built by Abbot Wheathamstead. The present priests' (Perpendicular) doorway was evidently opened when the one a little more to the east was blocked by the erection of the chantry.

The chancel arch is of the same date as the four central piers, very late Decorated. The still later junction to it of the Wenlock stone screen and the rood loft stair are very apparent.

### *The South Transept.*

The whole of the west wall,<sup>1</sup> and a good part (if not the whole) of the south wall of this transept, both of them marked internally by what appears to be the remains of an old string-course,<sup>2</sup> seem

<sup>1</sup> In support of the antiquity of these walls is also the fact of their somewhat greater thickness than that of any of the other outer walls of the church.

<sup>2</sup> This is a horizontal band of about six inches wide, having the appearance of being the remains of a string-course broken off. It extends from about two feet from the south-west central pier, passes over, at some height, the Transition arch, then drops a few inches, and terminates like a dripstone, but is again continued immediately, though a little narrower, at a lower level, being broken only henceforth by the west Perpendicular window, and running on till it meets the large south window of the transept. The late architect, Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter, was inclined to consider it the remains of the wooden wall plate on which rested the flat oak ceiling of a Norman transept. If this supposition be admitted, then, as on the opposite (east) wall of the transept (now pierced by two arches) there is remaining a small round hole, corresponding exactly in its position with the supposed wall plate, and containing apparently the end of a wooden joist, it would seem that this wall also may have formed part of the original building. One difficulty, however, connected

to have been, if not coeval with the original Norman nave and chancel, at least erected before the close of the reign of Henry II. (1189). These, together with the arch and its piers, leading into the south aisle, of undoubted Transition work (1160-80), may be regarded with special interest, as being the oldest part of the existing building.

There is a rather curious difference between the two piers of this arch, the southernmost having a cushion-shaped Norman capital, while the other is plain.

The two windows, that in the west wall of four lights, and that in the south wall of five lights, are apparently, from the similarity of their style, contemporary with the other Perpendicular windows of the north transept and the aisles.

### *The Hoo Chapel.*

An eastern aisle to the south transept, known as the Hoo Chapel,<sup>1</sup> in length 32 feet 1 inch, in breadth 12 feet 9 inches, is formed at present by an Early Decorated arcade (c. 1280) of three arches on octagonal piers. Whether any part of this wall is a remnant of a Norman or Transition transept is very questionable. But both in the hood-moulding over the arches, in the subsidiary pillars attached to the two extreme piers, and in other details,

with this theory is that in this case the ceiling (for the Normans had flat ceilings when not vaulted), whatever the height of the *roof*, must have had two distinct elevations. The supposition of its having been a string-course is more tenable. It would seem not improbable that originally it continued in one continuous line, running under a row of small Norman or Transition windows. On opening the arch into the aisle, that part of the string-course adjoining the central pier would necessarily be destroyed, as also the window above it. But as it would doubtless be a lean-to roof which would be placed over the Transition aisle, this would give room for a window to be inserted, with the present string-course under it, above the present arch. This would account for the difference of elevation in the two string-courses.

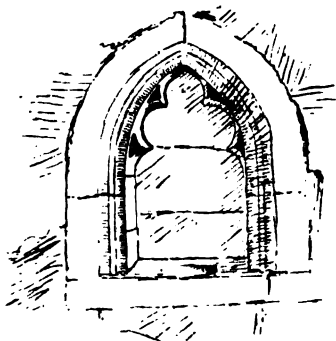
<sup>1</sup> This chapel does not seem to have received its name from having been the chantry of any member of the Hoo family, but merely from its having been utilized in later years by the families who owned or resided at Luton Hoo. There is no record of there ever having been any monument or brass in the church to any of the Hoo family, although from the reign of Edward I. to the middle of the fifteenth century they occupied a prominent place in the parish. Their burial-place seems to have been elsewhere. The family became extinct in the male line with Sir Thos. Hoo, K.C., created Lord Hoo of Hoo in Beds, and of Hastings in Sussex, in 1447, who died in 1455. It is called "Hoo's Chapel" by Steele, 1711-29.



there seems to be clear evidence that there once existed an Early English arcade, and consequently an early eastern aisle.

The present east wall of this aisle, restored in modern times, presumably on the old model, is of flint and clunch—laid in squares like the walls of the tower, but below the windows merely in courses.

As there are the remains of two Early Decorated piscinæ in the walls of this aisle, the walls themselves are clearly of at least that age. One of these piscinæ,<sup>1</sup> formed of clunch, with cinquefoil arch and one sink—very perfect from having been blocked up for generations—is nearly opposite to the north pillar; the other, with trefoil head—though perhaps reduced to this at the restoration of the church—and with four sinks, is in the south wall close to an entrance door.



PISCINA IN HOO CHAPEL.

From the existence of these two piscinæ there can be no doubt that the aisle was at one time divided into two or more chapels.

It is recorded in the licence that was granted in 1474 to the vicar and others to found a guild chantry, that "the altar of the Holy Trinity,"<sup>2</sup> at which the chaplains were to officiate, was "in the *southern* part of the said church." It may perhaps be inferred from this that one of these chapels was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, though, as there was another chapel at the east end of the south aisle in existence then, it may be that the reference is made to that. In another document (*Chantry Certificates*, 37 Henry VIII. and 2 Edward VI.) it is stated that the intentions of the founders were that the two chaplains should sing mass daily "in the chapels of Trinity and our Lady," without any further mention, however, of the situation of these chapels. But whether this implies that there were two adjoining chapels, and that the second of them bore the

<sup>1</sup> As this piscina is not in the usual position with regard to the pillar, it would seem as if it had been removed a few feet more towards the south at the time of the insertion of the Perpendicular window.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Crawley of Luton, single man, in his will dated 20 Dec., 1544, proved 21 May, 1545, and of which "Sir J. Gwynneth, vicar," was supervisor, desired to be buried "in the Church of our Lady in Luton before the Trinity Altar."

name of the Blessed Virgin, or whether one of the chaplains, as seems more probable, was to officiate at the altar in the Wenlock Chapel, which, with much reason, is supposed to have been that of "our Lady," is not clear.

There is an opening from this aisle into the chancel through a late Decorated or Perpendicular arch, which springs direct from the south-east central pier and from the chancel wall, without any distinct pillars. There was probably no opening here previous to this insertion in the fifteenth century.

In the east wall are two three-light Perpendicular windows, and one in the south wall, this latter being shortened by the insertion of a modern doorway. These probably replaced early Decorated windows, and those again Early English lancet windows.

The screen that separates the aisle from the transept was erected in 1867, when the whole of the chapel was renovated, within and without, at the cost of the late J. Shaw Leigh, Esq., of Luton Hoo. It is of richly carved oak, in the lower portions of which panels, etc., from the old rood screen, removed from its place when the Bute gallery was taken down in 1855, are incorporated and re-coloured (F. W. F., 1871).

### *The South Aisle.*

This was evidently originally a Transitional addition (1160-1180) to the Norman nave, with piers, arches, windows, and south doorway (probably that of which some jambs were found embedded in a buttress in 1893) of that period, with a lean-to roof. For this was substituted gradually a Decorated wall (c. 1325-1350); and later on (1360-1380) a late Decorated arcade, and the window between the porch and the west wall. Late in the following century (c. 1470) three Perpendicular windows were inserted in the place of the same number of early Decorated windows.

The present south wall seems to have been originally entirely of flints, but it has been patched externally with clunch, and in places completely recased with it. The west wall is also composed entirely of flints on the side within the church, but the exterior, above a few rows of clunch, is chequered with flint and clunch, after the manner of the adjoining tower. The buttresses were probably all built of clunch. Part of a string-course of some interest still exists. There are also the remains of a cornice, with heads of men and animals, running the full length of the aisle from

the tower to the transept, which was probably a Perpendicular addition at the same time as the parapet. A piscina near the east end (2 feet broad, by only 1 foot high, having been mutilated by the insertion of a Perpendicular window of larger size than the preceding Decorated window), enriched with a series of ball flowers, marks the position where another altar had stood ; but to whom it was dedicated is not known. It is the oldest piscina of the five



TRANSITIONAL ARCH, SOUTH AISLE.

or six which the present church contains. The niche for the statue of the saint is in the nave pier, opposite to it. This bay of the aisle was doubtless screened off to form a separate chapel, with a special chaplain or chantry priest to minister therein.

Of the original contents (if there were any) of the easternmost and plainest of the two large recesses in the south wall, there is no notice in any account of the church. It has the appearance more of an entrance into a crypt than of an arch over a tomb, yet it seems too far removed to be connected with the adjoining chantry.

At present it holds the coped lid<sup>1</sup> of a stone coffin of the thirteenth century placed there a few years ago.



WEST WINDOW OF SOUTH AISLE.

Another niche containing an effigy of a century later<sup>2</sup> than the niche itself is exactly under, and was probably inserted at the same time as the westernmost (Decorated) window (1360-1380), extending to within four feet of the west wall. Its exterior mural arch is rather flat, but ornamented on its lowest moulding with seven trefoiled arches, the spandrels between the arch and the flat cornice being filled with a leafy, seaweed-like pattern.

"Across both aisles are picturesque lateral arches"<sup>3</sup> (some of which, however, are new) "springing from the piers and the outer wall"

(J. W. F.), their object being "to support the roof" (G. E. S.) of the aisle. But though picturesque they are unnecessarily heavy, and have affected some of the piers injuriously. In each aisle, too, close to the entrance doors, there are the remains of a stoup for holy-water; that in the south aisle under a plain Decorated arch, that in the north under a fifteenth-century ogee arch. These, as well as all the piscinæ of the church, were blocked up (for how long is not known) until the last restoration.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post, Monuments, etc.*, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> As in S. Peter's, Northampton, where "there is no vaulting but above the alternate piers (which are much larger in area than the intermediate pillars), stone arches cross the aisles to the outer wall" (*Our Parish Churches* p. 49).

*The Porches.*

These, together with the rooms over them, were additions made in the fourteenth century, but the south porch has had to be rebuilt within the last few years (at a cost of £730), and is not yet complete, many of the stones intended for ornament being still uncarved. The north porch is said to have been at one time entirely of brick (Gough, p. 43). At present its east wall is all composed of flint, with a course of clunch; the north and west walls being newly cased with chequers of flint and clunch. The old arch of the outward doorway retains its ancient dripstones of heads. The room above had two single-light windows, one on either side, but none on the north. The present two-light window there is quite new. Access to the room over the south porch is now by a new stone staircase contained in a small turret; that to the north room, as formerly to the other also, is through a door within the church, at some distance from the ground. How they were entered in ancient times is not known.

Such rooms above porches ("parvises") were frequently used as muniment rooms, for the preservation especially of church title-deeds, documents, and treasures. They seem also to have been often used by the parish or other priest. As these two rooms appear to have been erected much about the time that the guild was in contemplation which was to support two chaplains to sing masses daily in the church, and as there was at this period certainly a vicarage house, it is not perhaps unlikely that they were built as priests' rooms with reference to their being occupied by these or other chantry priests. Parvises are said, also, to have been used at times as schools. There is a parvise over the Early English porch of Pavenham, and another over the south Perpendicular porch of Biddenham church. The wooden door of the south porch is a fine example of Perpendicular work.

*The Tower.*

"The tower plays an important part both in the interior and in the exterior view of the church," and both its elevation and area are worthy of the church to which it is attached.

Internally—"its great arch being very similar, though on a small scale, to the magnificent tower-arch of S. Peter Mancroft, open to a height of no less than thirty feet, and displaying the

whole of the west window, its mouldings being of a great depth and the foliage caps well carved" (A. E. S.).

Externally, it displays effective chequers<sup>1</sup> of flint and chalk (Tottenhoe stone), about a foot square each, "a genuine and far from unsuccessful attempt at polychromatic construction," greater perfection in which the materials available did not allow of. The western doorway, with its "three sweeps of roses," in both the jambs and arch, has great richness of effect; "and the window above it, which is of five lights, is deeply and delicately moulded" (A. E. S.). This window has been lately recased, and the doorway was restored in great measure by Street, who, unhappily, omitted to fill the jambs with roses down to the ground, as they had been originally.

The tower has a narrow, cinque-foiled window in each wall of the middle stage, and larger late Decorated windows in the upper stage, with hexagonal turrets at each of the angles, that at the south-east containing the staircase leading to the belfry. The buttresses, entirely of clunch, and projecting boldly from the walls (7 feet, 7 inches), being 2 feet, 7 inches on the face, are of seven stages, and the lower tiers were adorned with niches and canopies two in each. There is no spire, though Decorated towers without spires are not very common.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Nave.*

"The south arcade and one pier and arch of the north arcade (the most easternly) are Late Decorated." In other words, "the five octagonal piers of the nave (four on the south and one on the north), the four central piers and their arches, and the two piers, with their arches, in the north transept seem to be Late Decorated." "Three of the nave piers on the north side (the most westernly) are of a later date than the remainder." "Instead of the arch

<sup>1</sup> "This cheque work, or 'chess-boarding,' extends over the whole of the surfaces of the tower, from the top of the lower course to the string under the parapet. Split flints are filled into the spaces between pieces of dressed stone, rectangles of dark grey surrounded by rectangles of Tottenhoe stone. . . . The flints are not squared, but are laid in courses. They are of varied colours and have been peeled. So extensive a use as at Luton, of flint and stone in this way, was rare at so early a date" (S. Flint Clarkson, *Paper*, Aug. 1889). The same kind of chequer-work is to be found in Dunstable Priory and Houghton Churches.

<sup>2</sup> *Glossary of Architecture.*

mouldings being all gathered together on to an octagonal cap, some of them run through to the base, and the pier is consequently a not very good cluster instead of a single octagonal shaft" (G. E. S.). The four arches resting on these piers, too, unlike all the rest in the nave, ascend up to the string-course. It would seem, therefore, not unlikely that these arches and the three piers were rebuilt when the clerestory was added in the fifteenth century or only a little before. The marks of the old Decorated roof are visible on the east face of the tower.<sup>1</sup>

The clerestory contains on each side of the nave five flat-headed Perpendicular windows of double lights, cinquefoiled in square compartments.

### *The Baptistry.*

This unique and effective, though not very well-executed structure, stands now in the nave immediately east of the tower arch. This is probably at no great distance from its original site.<sup>2</sup> Le Neve, at the commencement of the last century, describes it as standing "at the west end of the church between the middle and south aisle"; Blomefield in 1733-1734 as being "in the south aisle towards the west end"; neither of these descriptions, however, determining its actual position. It was painted and gilded (not, it seems, for the first time) "in a splendid style" by the Hon. W. Stuart, the vicar (1778-1793); so that Richard Gough, who probably saw it in its fresh colours in 1782, mistook it for a wooden structure.<sup>3</sup> In 1823, during Dean Hall's incumbency, a western gallery, extending from the tower to the middle pier of the nave, being put up, the baptistry was removed to the south transept, where it remained till 1866 (A. E. S.), when it was transferred by the vicar to its present site.

<sup>1</sup> On the wall of the south arcade is distinctly visible over the piers the original Decorated work, in flints and the square blocks of clunch added by way of restoration before the clerestory was raised over all. The north arcade is now plastered over, but the wall is said to have been found entirely composed of flint.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mag.*, iv., pp. 11, 39.

<sup>3</sup> "The font is *hexagon* on steps, inclosed in a lofty *hexagon* wooden frame of Gothic arches" (*Brit. Mag.*, iv., p. 50). Gough corrected the many errors he had made here in *Archæologia*, vol. x., 1792. "The font (he there says) at Luton is *octagonal* on steps, having over it an *octagonal* stone canopy supported by eight pillars" (S. F. C.).

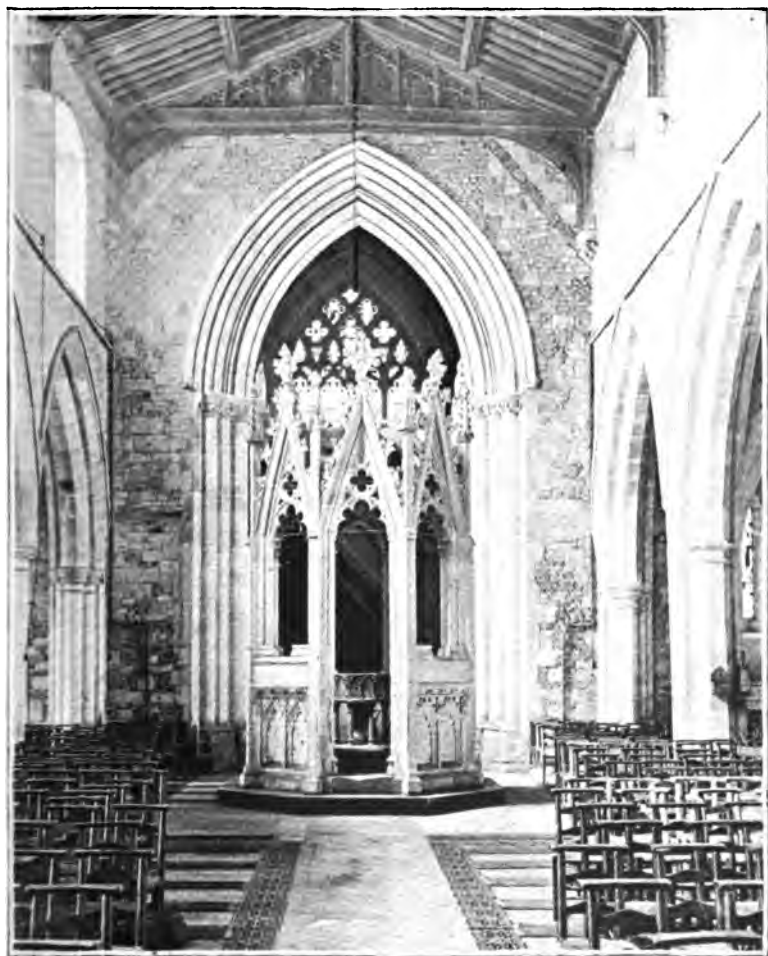
"It is of octagonal form, groined inside ('ornamented above with a Lamb guarding a vine from the attacks of a dragon; an allusion to Jesus Christ defending His church from the devil, in a contest which commences with the baptism of each Christian'—G. A. P.) and has open traceried panels under crocketed gables, divided from each other by buttresses terminating in pinnacles, with heads of two different designs. The total height is 20 feet and the width nearly 10 feet. The lower panels, up to a height between five and six feet, are solid, and finish in a battle-mented coping" (A. E. S.), the whole "making a small oratory round the font" (G. A. P.).

"The broad step of black marble was introduced by Mr. Street and was probably a reproduction of the original arrangement. The narrow doorway on the east side is the entrance" (S. F. C.); the interior "affords room for ten persons to stand round the font" (F. A. F.).<sup>1</sup>

As the structure is evidently of late Decorated workmanship and executed during the fourteenth century, the absurdity of attributing the gift of it to the church to Queen Ann Boleyn (Davis, p. 44), who was not born until the beginning of the sixteenth century (1507), is plainly apparent. Equally absurd is the custom of assigning (Davis, p. 42) as a cenotaph or memorial to the same queen the fifteenth-century tomb and brass of "the veiled lady" under the Wenlock arch, especially considering that the effigy upon

<sup>1</sup> "Covers upon fonts were universal in the middle of the thirteenth century, yet they did not exceed the size of the font. But there are, it is said, only two other canopies over fonts in England, and these differ in many respects from that at Luton. Both are of wood, and not of stone; both have isolated supports, instead of being inclosed with walls over six feet high; both are of Perpendicular date instead of Decorated, as at Luton. One is a hexagon on plan, and the other a square; Luton is an octagon. The most complete of these wooden baldachins is that at Trunch, in Norfolk. It has six supports. The other example is to be found in the magnificent church of S. Peter Mancroft at Norwich. There are four supports, with two rows of canopied niches on the faces, and these supports carry a large baldachin, a canopy over those standing on the top stone" (S. F. C.). "Octagon structures used as baptisteries are to be found at Ravenna, Florence, Cremona, etc." (*Ibid.*); and both stone and wooden baldichinos, though not always octagon, are met with still nearer home, as in many places in Brittany. "On the continent, fonts are frequently inclosed in a distinct building, either attached to the church, or inclosed within it, and called a baptistery; the only example remaining in England" (the above two would seem to have escaped notice when this remark was made, 1840) "is believed to be that at Luton, Beds" (Parker's *Gloss.*, i. 95).





INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST. BAPTISTERY.



it is that of a *widow*. The Boleynes inheriting the Hoo from the Hoos were for a short time indeed connected with Luton, but the queen's *grandfather* sold the Hoo to Richard Farmer long before Ann was born. The further tradition, therefore, that she was born at Luton Hoo can have no solid foundation.

The font of earlier date (thirteenth century) is an octagonal Purbeck marble bowl with an arched panel to each side, standing on a central shaft, with eight subsidiary ones round it. "The latter are modern, but the original design must have been identical" (A. E. S.).<sup>1</sup>

In the spaces between the arches of the panels are representations of evil spirits being exorcised.

### *The North Aisle.*

The west wall of this aisle is Decorated, built, not like that of the south aisle of chequers of flint and clunch, but entirely of flint above two broad courses of clunch; but the plinth has been recased with brick, and the battlement is also now of brick. It is

<sup>1</sup> "By an ancient ecclesiastical constitution (A.D. 1236) a font of stone was required to be placed in every church, and it was to be capacious enough for total immersion. At this early period fonts appear to have been regarded with peculiar reverence, and are frequently preserved, whatever changes the church may have undergone; for this reason even Norman fonts are very numerous" (Parker's *Gloss. of Architecture*). They are still to be found in the churches of Houghton Regis, Flitwick, Poddington, etc.

Those of about the same date as the Luton font are still more numerous, *e.g.*, Eaton-Bray, Streatley, Sundon, Tingrith, Tilsworth, Eversholt, Keysoe, Stevington, Chellington, Great Barford, etc.

The more ordinary forms of ancient fonts were round, square, or octagonal.

There is probably only one of five sides, *viz.*, at Hollington, Sussex. Hexagonal fonts are to be found at Carlisle Cathedral, Farringdon, Berks, and Bredon, Worc.; heptagonal at Elmeswell, Suffolk, Little Bowden, and Bowden Magna, Leic.

The octagon is generally considered the most appropriate form for the font, "the most beautiful as well as the most ecclesiastical." Besides being very favourable to the reception of sculpture on its several faces, it is also in itself symbolical, according to the ancient method of spiritualizing numbers, of the new birth in baptism; for the seven days of the creation of the natural world are symbolized by the number seven; and the new creation by Christ Jesus, by the number eight, in allusion to the eighth day, on which he rose again from the dead. S. Ambrose more than fourteen centuries ago assigned this reason for the octagonal form of the baptistery, in verses formerly inscribed over the font of S. Tecla.

pierced with a plain Decorated window of two lights, but the external moulding and dripstone are nearly worn away. To the



WEST WINDOW OF NORTH AISLE.

west of the porch the north wall, originally, it is supposed, late Decorated, has been recased within the last few years with chequer work, and a new three-light Perpendicular window inserted. The eastern portion of this north wall is of more interest, as it is probably, together with the adjoining west wall of the north transept, almost the only surviving remains of the original Early English work. Built, it appears, at first simply of clunch, it has been patched at various times with brick, flint, and clunch. The buttresses of both aisle and clerestory have been renewed in past times entirely with brick; but

the former as well as those of the north transept exhibit evident signs of late Decorated work.

### *The North Transept.*

Both walls seem to be composed of clunch and flint intermixed, but that part under the west window to have been refaced with brick. The west wall, as has been said, is probably of the thirteenth, and the north wall of the fourteenth century, the west window of three lights about the middle, and the large window of five lights towards the close of the fifteenth century. In one of the northern Decorated buttresses, that supporting the arcade between the transepts and the Wenlock Chapel, were found in

1893, embedded in the masonry several pieces of a Transitional doorway (from Norman to Early English), which probably originally formed the south entrance to the church.



EARLY ENGLISH ARCH, NORTH AISLE.

*The Wenlock or Someries Chapel.*

This chapel was apparently built entirely of flint, "Perpendicular work of about the middle of the fifteenth century" (S. F. C.), erected, no doubt, by Sir John Wenlock in 1461. The chapel, which is 34 feet, 7 inches, in length, and 25 feet, 1 inch, in breadth, is just double the width of the corresponding Hoo Chapel, and doubtless also of the previous north transept aisle. It thus gave room for another north window, but as the sacristy, though removed from its former situation adjoining the aisle, still abutted on the chapel to the east, there could be but one window inserted

in the east wall. For some reason this chapel is elevated two steps above the general level of the church. From the position of certain brasses which were once there it seems not unlikely that in its original narrow form, conterminous with the aisle of the transept, it constituted the chapel of the Wenlocks, as lords of Someries, and that it was the burial-place of various members of the family, such as Sir Thomas, W. Wenlock, the priest, and Sir John's father and mother.

It is "separated from the north transept by two arches with" Decorated "clustered piers, within which is a very early and finely-carved screen of wood" (F. W. F.). This screen was brought from the chapel at Luton Hoo and given to the church by the 1st Marquis of Bute, having been taken originally, it is said, from Penshanger, on the occasion of a fire there.<sup>1</sup> Being in a dilapidated state, it was granted by the churchwardens to J. S. Leigh, Esq., on condition that he repaired it; which having been done, he put it up to inclose his own newly-restored chapel (the Hoo Chapel) in the south transept; replacing it, however, now repaired, in its former situation, in exchange for the remains of the old rood screen which had been lately discovered, and which he then repaired, painted, and erected in its stead.

The two north windows contain five lights each, and the east window four lights; these were originally all filled with exquisitely painted glass. In the east wall, a few feet from the sacristy door, is a square-headed Perpendicular piscina, and a little more than a foot from its south edge, on a little higher level, and about 3 feet, 6 inches high, and 6 inches deep, is a vaulted niche, the colours of which (vermilion and cobalt) still remain. This latter, "delicately moulded, with two corbels at the interior angles and probably pendants in front," was evidently designed for an image,

<sup>1</sup> In Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of Beds* (p. 34) appears a different account of what seems to have been the same screen. "In the old chapel (of Luton Hoo) is preserved an extremely fine Gothic wainscot, highly enriched with carving, intermingled with Latin sentences of Scripture in ancient characters. It was first put up at Tyttenhanger, in Herts, by Sir Thos. Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, and was removed to Luton in perfect preservation by the family of Napier, to whom this estate formerly belonged." Shaw, again (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Chapel at Luton Park*, 1829), strongly condemns, on historical grounds, the supposition that the screen ever came from Tyttenhanger, and maintains that it originally belonged to *Luton church*, and there separated off one of the three chapels which, he says, existed formerly.

and as the adjoining window was powdered with the letter "M.," and had a figure of the Madonna in it—a good part of which still exists—it seems not improbable that this was "The Lady Chapel," or "Chapel of our Lady," referred to in the charter of the Guild, 1474-75. This was the most usual situation for a "Lady Chapel" in a parish church. The front part of the bowl of the piscina has been mutilated, so that the course of the two water drains joining into one and then passing into the wall, and so downwards, is quite visible. Immediately above the topmost moulding are also two holes, but their object is not apparent. The piscina stands about 4 feet from the ground.



PISCINA IN WENLOCK CHAPEL.

The most interesting feature about the sculpture is, that in the north spandrel of the arch is the word *HOLA*, in large letters, and in the south or right-hand spandrel the same lance-rest as is found in the cornice and the window, with *HOLA* again inscribed upon it, as in the former case, but wanting the cord and tassel. The rest of the spandrel is filled up with well-executed leaf-work. The presence of the word *Hola* and of the lance-rest determines this wall also, as well as the double arch and the windows, to have been the work of Sir J. Wenlock.

It is a pity that so much of his beautiful work should be either hidden or overshadowed by the organ.

The chapel is separated from the chancel "by a wide and lofty arch ['of remarkable beauty, originality, and richness of detail' (S. F. C.)] divided into two by a slight pier with clustered pilaster, the spandrels being filled with open mullions, and the arches themselves being covered with tracery" (F. W. F.). "Over all is a deep cornice with a great shield in the centre, encircled by the Garter bearing the Wenlock coat. There is a lesser shield on either side, each of which is similarly surrounded by the Garter" (A. E. S.). In the east pier of the arch, in the most southern panel, is a good hagio-scope (or squint-hole), which would enable the action of the priest at the high altar to be seen both in the north transept and in this chapel. All the lower panels of the middle partition of the arch seem to have been left open for the

same purpose. Just west of the arch, under a fifteenth-century opening, and leading up to what was formerly the rood-loft, are the well-worn stairs added apparently at the time of the erection of the arch, which probably necessitated the destruction of an earlier set of steps. East of the arch is the entrance from the chapel into the chancel, and a doorway in the east wall leads into the sacristy.

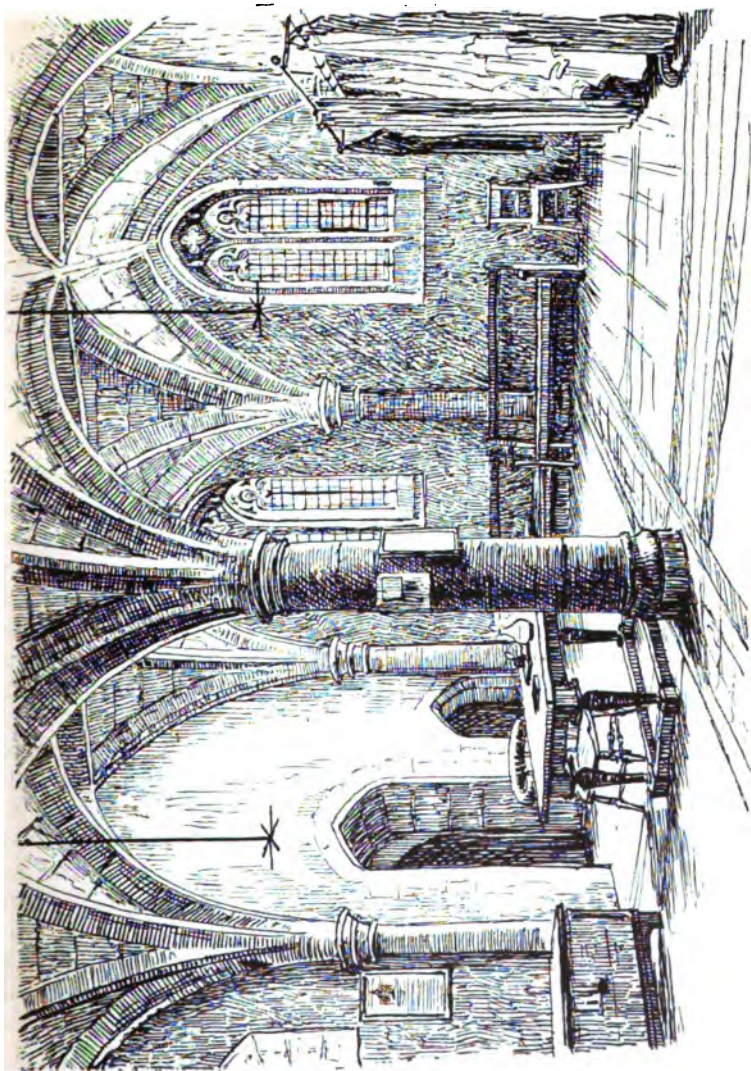
"There is no sign of the rood-loft left now ; but a chronicler, writing at the time when the pew of the Marquis of Bute, which stood where the rood-loft had been, was taken down, says : 'The rood-loft screen must have been remarkably fine, as is shown by two mutilated portions which have been discovered on the removal of the late Marquis of Bute's pew during the present year. It is remarkably good work of the fourteenth century, unusually bold and massive, decorated with flowers and fruit, painted in brilliant colours' " (A. E. S.). This now forms part of the screen of the Hoo Chapel.

#### *The Sacristy.*

"The first addition to the church in the fifteenth century was probably the groined sacristy with the room over it, which may have been begun as early as the end of the fourteenth century" (A. E. Street). That the whole of this picturesque structure (18 feet square, and groined in four bays from a central shaft) with the exception of the two east windows, is of the late Decorated style of architecture, and not of the Perpendicular, admits of little doubt. The difficulty of reconciling the fact of a Decorated building blocking up a later Perpendicular window has naturally disposed writers to date this room as late as possible, but as in no case could it be supposed to be later than that window, the difficulty remains the same. It is hoped that that difficulty has been solved in a different manner (*ante*, p. 291), viz., by the hypothesis, supported by many considerations, that the whole building was transplanted to its present position in 1461, after the insertion of the window, the only modification made being the giving the two east windows a Perpendicular character. This, a not infrequent operation, reconciles all difficulties.

The lower room is 18 feet square, "groined in four bays from a central shaft. A light circular column in the centre, and similar columns in the centres of the sides and at the angles"



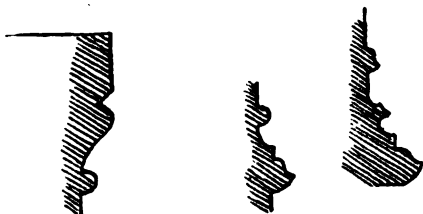


INTERIOR OF SACRISTY.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

(with the exception of one, the south-west, corner, where its place is supplied by a corbel to leave room for the original Decorated doorway into the chancel), "make up nine in all. The quadripartite stone vault is thus in four bays; it has ribs with boldly chamfered angles, the arches highly pointed." At its north-east angle there is an octagonal turret with a staircase leading to the upper room. Whether



MOULDINGS OF PILLAR IN SACRISTY.

this latter was originally designed for a muniment room, or for the residence of one or more of the many clergy who assisted the vicar, or of some night-watcher of the treasures of the church, cannot be determined. At the beginning of this century it was used as a school, an entrance and stair being made to it from the Wenlock Chapel, thus causing the church to be a constant thoroughfare for the children, whilst the outer door and stone staircase, which might have been utilized for the purpose, were ignored.<sup>1</sup>

An oaken chest in the sacristy contains some of the ancient brasses of the church, together with sundry books of interest. Among the latter is an old folio Bible of the Authorized Version, but, with the exception of the Psalms and Apocrypha, in black letter. It is, however, not quite perfect. It commences in the middle of the fourth verse ("in the day") of Gen. ii., but contains the address of "The Translators to the Reader," and various tables, etc., generally only to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, such as Tables of the Proper Psalms and Lessons for Holy Days, Tables and Calendar, and an Almanack for thirty-nine years, commencing with 1603, or rather with March of that year, the previous months having apparently been lost.

There is also an early edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs,"

<sup>1</sup> "Other examples of rooms thus placed one over the other, on the north side of the chancel, are to be found in Beds, at Toddington, Cranfield, S. Paul's, Bedford, and Marston Moretaine, in the latter of which the lower room has a stone vault, but there is no central column, the area of the room being less than half of that at Luton" (F. S. C.). A somewhat similar, but still more elegant vaulted room, resting on a central pillar, is to be seen at Elstow conventual church, but this is in a different position, and without any upper room, and is supposed to have been the chapter-house of the convent.

which is said to have been at one time chained to the Elizabethan lectern, still preserved in the chancel. On the outside of the cover, inclosed in glass, is inscribed the following :

“ This Book of Martyrs  
was given unto the Church of Luton  
by John Adams, 1606.”

But who the said J. Adams was does not appear. The sufferings of Thomas Rose, a late vicar of Luton (1563-1575), so fully detailed in later editions, are not mentioned in this, though when the account was written he is described as being at the time “yet living, a preacher of the age of seventy-six years of the town of Luton.”

#### MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

As many of the old monuments, brasses, inscriptions, etc.,<sup>1</sup> described a century or two ago, have either disappeared or been removed from their original places, it is thought advisable to put on record here what is stated by the various writers respecting

<sup>1</sup> In Camden's *Visit to Luton Church*, “probably not long before 1610” (S. F. C.). He died 1625. *Church Notes taken at Luton in Co. Beds by Mr. Edw. Steele* (between 15 Aug., 1711, and 20 May, 1719). *Account of Luton by Mr. Francis Blomefield between 1724 and 1734* (after 26 Oct., 1733). *Notes taken at Luton by Mr. (Richard) Gough, May 3, 1776, and Oct. 29, 1782* (in Camden's *Britannia*, 1789). From Pennant's *Journey from Chester*, 1782 (before Gough's last visit). The last four are to be found in *Bib. Top. Brit.*, vol. iv. To these may be added a few later accounts. Parry's account of Luton in his *Select Illustrations of Beds*, 1827. *The Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. i., pp. 76-80, 1846. Fred. Davis's *Luton, Past and Present, its History and Antiquities*, 2nd ed., 1874. It does not seem possible to fix the exact dates of the visit of either Steele or Blomefield. No date whatever is attached to the *Church Notes* of the former, but from internal evidence their date may be reduced to within a very few years. The last actual date which Steele gives is that on the tomb of M. Knight, 6 Sept., 1697, but he also mentions that Sir Theophilus Napier was the lord of the manor of Hoo at the time of his visit. As Sir Theophilus only succeeded 15 Aug., 1711, and was buried 20 May, 1719, it limits the date of Steele's notes to within less than eight years. Blomefield's account is described as being written “between 1724 and 1734.” If this be correct the date is fixed within a few months, for (p. 41) he records the epitaph of J. Trustam, who died 26 Oct., 1733. On p. 30, however, a later and specific year, altogether different from that on the title-page, is mentioned as follows, “1740, the Rev. Mr. Christian (an error for Christopher) Eaton is now vicar.” But this is probably an addition at the time of publishing, and the true date of his visit was in all probability 1733-34.

them, and as to the positions which they used to occupy. With this end in view their description will be given, as far as practicable, in the words of the earliest author who mentions them, which was generally Steele, his initial (S.) being placed after extracts from his *Notes*, while needful additions and corrections from later writers are appended, similarly marked by their initials.

The church at one period seems to have abounded in brasses. Many of these, no doubt, would have been of very great interest to a generation like the present, which has learned to value such things; for they often clear up difficulties, throw light upon the history of the chief families of a parish, and otherwise illustrate both the customs and the course of events<sup>1</sup> during the fifteenth and sixteenth, if not also during earlier centuries. Evidently, however, a ruthless and parsimonious destruction of them took place either in the early part of the last century or towards the close of the preceding, when it would seem that those at least which were loose, and probably also many which could be loosened, were melted down,<sup>2</sup> presumably by the churchwardens to form a chandelier. A few which have become loose since then are carefully preserved in the parish chest.<sup>3</sup>

At the restoration of the church in 1865-66, when the new flooring with tiles was put down, many of the slabs, some with and others without brasses, were removed from the spots they had, in most cases, so long occupied, and placed in other situations; those of the chancel (which was then raised) being, with one exception, moved to the west end of the south transept, those of the nave to the west end of the north aisle, and those of the Wenlock Chapel into the north transept.

### *In the Chancel.*

"As you enter the chancel from the middle aisle (the nave) just coming in, lies an ancient gray marble inlaid with brass, with the

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, the distinctive dresses of soldiers, civilians, clergy of various grades, and ladies, at different periods; as also, especially by inscriptions, the changes in the religious beliefs and customs of the parishioners.

<sup>2</sup> "A great number of brasses (as I am informed) were runned down into the branch that now hangs in the church" (Blomefield, p. 41). This number may have included, besides many unrecorded, some even of those described by Steele, a few of which seem now to be missing.

<sup>3</sup> *Viz.*, those of J. Haye (imperfect); E. Sheffield (?); J. Barber (in two parts); Rob. S. (in two parts); and another, unknown (in eight parts).

portraits of a gentleman armed (17 inches long) and his two wives, one son and six daughters, inscribed": (B. L.)

"Off yo' charite pray for the sowllis of JOHN SYLAM,<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth & Jone his wyffwis, the whych John decesed the x day of Juin in the yere of owre lord MCCCC and XIII. (xvi. G.) on whose sowllis Ih'u have m'cy. Amen" (S.).



BRASS OF EDWARD SHEFFIELD,  
VICAR.

This stone has been removed to the south transept, and lies between the slab of Georgina Stuart and the brass of Edw. Sheffield:

"Along the same line against the communion table<sup>2</sup> lie three grave stones more; that at the foot of the last is such a like stone, where under his figure is writ (B. L.): 'Hic jacet EDWARDUS SHEFFIELD, utriusq. juris doctor, canonicus eccl'ie cathedralis Leichfelden' et Vicarius istius eccl'ie, ac Rector eccl'ie p'och'is de Camborne in Com'. Cornub, & Yatt in Com'. Gloucestr' qui obiit . . . die, mens' . . . Anno D'ni M°. D°. . . cuj' a'ie p'picietur Deus.' From his mouth, on a label, 'Miserere mei Deus' (S.). The figure is

twenty-one inches long. He wears the almuse of a canon over

<sup>1</sup> J. Sylam was owner of Bramblehanger, alias Bramhanger, alias Bramingham; his daughter Mary was second wife of Robert Cheyne, of Chesham Boys, and by her marriage with him, in 1521, brought Bramingham into the family of the Cheynes. Their eldest son, Thomas, married Eliz., daughter of Sir Thos. Rotheram, of Someries, Kt. J. Sylam's will is to be found (26 *Fettiplace, P.C.C.*), dated 26 May, 1508, proved 14 March, 1513-14. He desired to be buried in the chancel, and that a stone should be placed over his grave, with his coat-of-arms, to the value of five marks. He mentions his wife, Johan, and two daughters, Jane Snow and Eliz. Matter. He left £7 for a silver candlestick for the church, and ordered that an obit for his soul should be kept for ten years.

<sup>2</sup> This was the spot chosen by E. Sheffield in his will for his burial: "in the chaunsel before our Lady." The stone now lies in the south transept between those of J. Sylam and S. M. Stuart.

his surplice, and the cap of a doctor in theology." At each corner of the stone is a shield bearing "(ar.) a chevron between three garbes (gules)" quartering "(az.) a fret" (arg., *Lowndes*) (S). Lithographed by Fisher.

"On the next stone (in the middle of the chancel, G.) a man, with his wife and son, one (the wife) missing, with this inscription" (B. L.):

"Hic jacent HUGO ATTE SPETYLL et Alicia uxor ejus cum d'no



BRASS OF HUGO ATTE SPETYL AND HIS SON JOHN.

Joh'ne filio suo primogenito, quorum aninfabus p'picietur Deus. Amen'" (S.).

This is probably the earliest brass remaining in the church. "Without date, but early in the fifteenth century, three figures of equal length, thirteen and a half inches. Hugh in the centre in a gown; his wife on his right, gone; on his left his son,<sup>1</sup> a priest,

<sup>1</sup> The will of this son, John Spitele, chaplain, is extant (37 *Marche, P. C. C.*), dated 16 March, 1413, proved 6 March, 1416. He desired to be buried in the church, and left to it a large collection of books written by his own hand, of antiphons, manuals, missals, etc., besides an embossed chalice and paten, vestments and altar cloths.

his head gone. Lithographed by Fisher." (*Top. and Gen.*, i. 78.) It is now in the Wenlock Chapel in front of the westernmost (Rotheram) tomb.

"Within the passage of the chancel south door lies also an ancient stone, the figure now lost," but the label from his mouth ("on brass plate" B.) remains, on which is "Christi passio sit mihi (michi) salus sempiterna et protector" (B.) (ptectio). The inscription thus ("brass on a slab" G.):

"Orate pro a'ia MAGRI JOH'IS PENTHELYN, utriusq: juris baccallaurii, quondam vicarii hujus eccl'ie, qui obiit xviii die, mensis Februarii, anno D'ni Mill'mo cccc° xliiii°. cujus anime p'picietur Deus. Amen" (S.).

The figure, two feet six inches long, gone. For an account of Penthelyn and for his will see Chap. VIII., and App. AV.

"Between the stone of Hugh atte Spetyll and the Wenlock Chapel, on the floor of the chancel, is a plain stone to the memory of WILLIAM HERNE (HORNE). Only the following portion of the inscription, which is rudely engraved, is legible: ' . . e . . mihi.

" "Here lyeth the Body of William H . . . e Vicar of this Place xix years, wh.c., Edith vi . . . F. H . . . as tibi" (D.). This stone has been lost.

Over the Stuart vault in the chancel were the three following slabs and inscriptions:

"The Honourable and Most Reverend  
William Stuart, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh,  
Lord Primate of all Ireland:  
died on the 6th of May, 1822, aged 67 years.  
Also Louisa Stuart, the youngest daughter, who  
departed this life September 29, 1823, aged 22."

On another:

"The Honourable  
Sophia Margaret Stuart,  
Born 1764, died 1847."

On the other:

"Here lieth the body of Georgiana Stuart,  
daughter of the Right Honourable Lord  
William Stuart, Capt. R.N.  
and Georgina his wife.  
Born July 1st, 1807, died June 5th, 1833."



Near to these was a similar slab, on which is engraved :

“ Here lieth the body of Isabella,  
daughter of the late John MacDouall, Esq., of Glasgow,  
Younger brother of the late  
Patrick MacDouall Crichton,  
fifth Earl of Dumfries,  
who departed this life May 16, 1843, aged 65 years.  
Also of Elizabeth  
daughter of the late Ebenezer MacCulloh, Esq.  
of Edinburgh,  
by his second wife, Penelope, sister of the late  
Patrick MacDouall Crichton,  
who departed this life May 15, 1844, aged 81.  
Also of the Rev. William MacDouall,  
for 22 years Vicar of this Parish,  
to whose memory a tablet is erected in this chancel.”

On the south wall of the chancel are still three modern tablets with inscriptions :

“ Near this place  
are deposited the mortal remains of  
William Stuart  
late Archbishop of Armagh ;  
youngest son of John, third Earl of Bute, by Mary  
only daughter of  
Edward Wortley Montague, Esq.,  
who departed this life, May 6th, 1822  
in the 68th year of his age.  
He was for 17 years the active, zealous and  
conscientious Vicar of this Parish,  
from whence, in 1795, he became Bishop of S. Davids,  
and in 1800 Archbishop of Armagh,  
in which arduous and eminent station he was  
characterized by the same qualities  
which had distinguished the commencement  
of his ministerial duties as  
Vicar of Luton.”

On another tablet, a little above the former :

“ In the same Vault with the  
Honourable William Stuart, D.D.,  
Primate of all Ireland,  
are deposited the remains of his widow, the  
Honourable Sophia Margaret,  
the last surviving grand-daughter of  
William Penn,

the celebrated Founder of Pennsylvania,

Born 25th Dec., 1764,

Died 29th April, 1847.

Also of *Louisa*, their youngest Daughter,

who departed this life 20 Sept., 1828.

Aged 22 years."

Also one "To the memory of Helen, the wife of the Rev. Thomas *Sikes*, M.A., late Vicar of Luton, eldest daughter of W. Barr, Esq. Born 29 April, 1805; died, 19 March, 1853. Her remains are deposited in a vault at Broadwater, Worthing, Sussex."

On the north wall in the chancel is a marble tablet:

"In Memory of

The Rev. William *McDouall*, M.A.

Canon of Peterborough and Vicar of Luton.

He was fourth and only son leaving issue of

John *McDouall*, Esq., of Glasgow,

the brother of

Patrick, fifth Earl of Dumfries.

Born 29th April, 1775, died 15 December, 1849.

This tablet is erected by his surviving children

MDCCCLIII."

And also one to Theodosia, wife of the late Samuel Crawley, Esq., of Stockwood, who died January 3, 1820.

### *The Hoo Chapel.*

In the east wall of the Hoo Chapel, between the windows, is inserted a small brass to the memory of Lady Penelope Egerton, the second wife of Sir Robert Napier, 2nd Bart., with the following inscription:

"Quod intus situm terris reliquit Honoratissima D<sup>ma</sup> Penelope, Joannis Comitis de Bridgewater filia, ex Francisca Comitis Derbiensis Co-hæredum una, Roberti de Napeir de Luton Hooe in Com. Beds Equitis et Baronnetti conjux dilectissima. Cætera in coelis quere, illum enim abiit quintilis secundo MDCLVIII." This is the only monument in the church to any member of the Napier family. Its simplicity is perhaps a sign that it was inserted at the time of the death it records, viz., in the last few months of the Protectorate, when a sculptured stone might still have attracted the hammer of fanatics.

*The South Transept.*

"In the cross aisle (south transept) is no inscription, but at the foot of the stairs lies the fragment of a stone inscribed round the verge with Gothic characters (now illegible), and two shields of arms" (S.).

To this part of the church has been removed most of the grave-stones, etc., which were formerly in the chancel, viz., slabs of Archbishop Stuart and Sophia M. Stuart, brasses of Edward Sheffield and J. Sylam, and slabs of Georgina Stuart, and Is. McDouall.

*The South Aisle.*

"Neither is there any inscription remaining within all the south aisle" (S.).

"But in one of the windows are several quarries of glass painted with a baer (bear), and over is writ 'Nardi'" (S.). Though this may not prove the date of the stonework of the window, it is certain that the insertion of the glass, like the recess in the chancel, with its rebus of "Bear-Narde," was the work of Richard Bar-nard, the vicar, 1477-92.

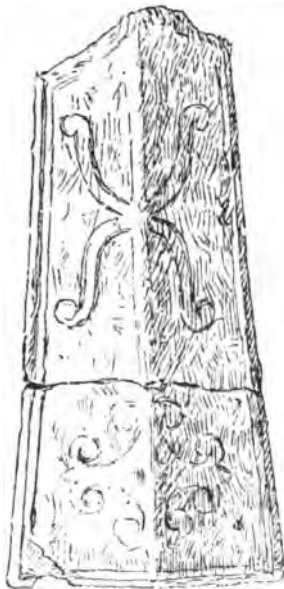
The stone coffin-lid,<sup>1</sup> wrought from a single block or slab, now placed under the easternmost mural arch in the south aisle, is the oldest monumental remain in the parish. It was found a few years back in the churchyard, to the west of the church, having been removed there, perhaps, from the old church, when the tower was built and the church restored in the fourteenth century. It probably commemorates some early founder of part of the church, or some vicar. It is of the early tapering form, two feet three inches broad at the head, and wanting more than a foot at the narrow end. It is but slightly coped, with a floriated cross sculptured in low relief upon the stone, the ridge of the coping forming the stem of the cross. "The singular arrangement of the lines flowing from the stem of the cross, with some slight modifications in the design, is very commonly found."<sup>2</sup> As there is no

<sup>1</sup> "The coffin itself was no doubt also constructed from a single block of stone, hollowed out for the reception of the corpse, and having a cavity cut in the solid stone, at the upper end, for the head, and sloping gradually in breadth from the head to the feet" (*Christian Mon. in Eng. and W.*, p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Mon. in Eng. and W.*, where an example is given (p. 19) from Watlington, Norfolk, thirteenth century, of a perfectly similar central figure, but the crosses there at each end are circular (patonce), not flory.

appearance of another cross at the foot, the stem probably rose from a "Calvary," or base of three steps, some vestige of which seems still discernible. There can be but little doubt, from its tapering form, its design, the absence of any inscription, or of any sculpture, except the ornamented cross, that it was wrought in the thirteenth century, and probably towards its commencement.

Was it the monument of "Magister John of Luton," the first vicar, and a native of S. Albans, where he would have been familiar with shrines and tombs?



ANCIENT STONE COFFIN-LID.

Although so early as the middle of the ninth century (840) Kenneth, King of Scotland, made an ordinance that such coffins should be adorned with the sign of the cross, in token of sanctity, on which no one was on any account to tread, "it was only towards the close of the preceding (the twelfth) century that the great Christian symbol, the Cross, was generally adopted to indicate upon their monuments the faith of deceased believers." In the fourteenth century this symbol of the faith began to be "superseded by an effigy of the individual commemorated."

"At the west end of this south aisle, in a niche of the wall, is an altar tomb, with a person lying at length; he seems to be a priest, but there is no inscription" (S., p. 18, 1711-19). Blomefield gives a fuller description: "At the west end of this isle, in a niche in the south wall, lies a most antient portraiture of an abbot (most likely one of S. Albans), but cannot determine which, though, whoever he was, he founded this isle. His bones lie on his coffin, which stands in the niche; his effigies being carved on the coffin lid (I saw the bones, and they are exceeding dry), his head is shorn, and lies on a cushion and that on a pillow; he is in the compleat habit of his order, his hands conjoined as in prayer, holding a pair of beads; on him is a cross, or rather the old pastoral staff" (B., p. 40, 1724-34). "At the west end of the south aisle,



DECORATED NICHE WITH EFFIGY OF PRIEST.  
SOUTH AISLE.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

a rude stone figure of a priest on a double cushion under an arch. Mr. Blomefield saw and handled his bones. This is now railed off from the church to inclose the vault of Mrs. Morris" (G., p. 50, 1782).

The niche in which the effigy lies is of a rather peculiar shape, being four feet six inches long, by two feet six inches broad at the head, but only about eighteen inches in breadth at the feet, as if more designed to contain a thirteenth-century stone coffin than a rectangular tomb of the fourteenth or fifteenth. The back of the niche, however, does not seem to be in its original state, but to have been plastered and probably narrowed in modern times. Some change in the depth of the recess then effected might be thought to account for the fact<sup>1</sup> that the feet of the effigy project a little outward beyond their proper place; though, even making this allowance, the effigy seems as if it had been made for a longer recess. From the expressions, too, of Steele, that it was upon "an altar tomb" that the effigy lay, and of Blomefield, that his bones lay upon "his coffin," it might, perhaps, have been inferred that the figure was formerly raised somewhat higher in the niche than at present, but such elevation would hardly, if at all, give any increased length, and would militate against the symmetry of the design of the niche.

Though there may be some little uncertainty in identifying the person whom this effigy is meant to represent, there is no ground whatever for supposing with Blomefield (and Pennant, who evidently accepted Blomefield's *dictum* as authoritative), that he was an abbot at all. He certainly was not, as also suggested by them, "an abbot of S. Albans;" for all those of the fourteenth and fifteenth century are recorded to have been buried in their own abbey church, and only under some very peculiar circumstances, of which we should probably have heard, would the abbot of any other monastery have been buried at Luton. Neither is the effigy, as Blomefield represents, "in the habit of any (religious) order" whatever, nor does he wear any of the insignia, either mitre, staff, ring, or glove of an abbot. He is vested simply in the Eucharistic vestments of a priest—chasuble, alb, stole, maniple, etc. The former is ornamented with the "Y" orphrey

<sup>1</sup> Tombs and effigies do, however, at times project beyond their niches, early examples of which are given in *Christian Monuments*, p. 119, and *Bloxam's Companion*, etc., p. 51.

(studded with lozenges), in the form which was common prior to the Reformation, this orphrey being evidently mistaken by both Blomefield and Pennant for a "pastoral staff" or a "crozier," and the maniple<sup>1</sup> on the left wrist, by the former, for "a pair of beads."

If it could be supposed that it occupied its own original niche, then—though not necessarily so—it is not improbable, from the position of the tomb and from the fact of the niche being contemporary with the aisle in which it is situated, that the person represented by the effigy was, as Blomefield suggests, the founder or builder of that aisle, or at least one of the chief helpers in the restoration of the church in the fourteenth century. For it was no doubt the custom of the period to place in the thickness of the wall, under a niche, the tomb of the benefactor by whose means that portion of the church was built.<sup>2</sup> But not merely is the effigy too long for the niche, suggesting that it was placed there merely for preservation in later times, but the authority of Bloxam<sup>3</sup> is too decisive that its date is that of "*late in the fifteenth century.*"

This being admitted, we seem to have therein a clue to the person meant to be represented by it. For, from its being that of an ecclesiastic, it is natural to conclude that, though it might *possibly* represent a master of the hospital of Farley, a successor of W. Wenlock, yet that it is much more likely to be that of one of the vicars of Luton; and if this latter be the case, as it is certainly not that of Cardinal Adrian de Castello, it must be that of either J. Lammer or Richard Barnard.

The former was a man of good family connections and position, and died in 1477; the latter, the founder of the chantry in the chancel, dying in 1492. That that chantry was designed to contain a tomb, and presumably also an effigy, of the deceased, there can be little doubt, and therefore it may be surmised that these were placed therein. From the description given by Pennant<sup>4</sup> on the occasion of his visit to Luton in 1782, it would seem (if he did not make some gross mistake in his entry) that this very effigy,

<sup>1</sup> The maniple here, it must be admitted, seems nearer to the wrist than usual, and to be buttoned or buckled round it, affording thereby an interesting and rare example of "how the maniple was attached to the left wrist" (Bloxam, p. 52).

<sup>2</sup> Cutt's *Dict. of the Church of England* (S.P.C.K.).

<sup>3</sup> Bloxam, *Companion to Gothic Architecture*, Eccles. Vestments, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. viii., p. 52.



now at the west end of the church, was then in that chantry. Taking it for granted that as Abbot Wheathamstead built the sedilia he also erected this recess, he expresses the opinion that the effigy was probably that of one of the abbots of S. Albans, if not "the recumbent figure of the abbot himself" (F. A. F.).

"*Near the altar* is a large mutilated figure in the wall, in a priestly habit, with a pastoral staff or a crozier lying on him. He was an abbot and probably of S. Albans, for the abbots had a seat near this town (Leland's *Itin.*, vi. 63). *The chancel* appears to have been re-built by Abbot Wethamsted." Pennant's visit occurred earlier in the year than Gough's second visit, 29th October, 1782, but there is nothing in the latter's description of the effigy's position as being at the west end of the church to show whether it was written on his first (1776) or second visit. That it was in its present position from about 1711 to 1776 we have the evidence of Steele, Blomefield, and Gough, but if Pennant is also to be trusted, it was found in 1782 "in the wall near the altar" which, apparently, can only be explained by its being in the Barnard chantry. If it were placed there even for a time in 1782, was it not because there was some tradition or evidence that this was its original place? If so, we seem to have an indication here that the effigy was that of the founder of the chantry, Richard Barnard himself. The narrowness of the slab on which it lies well suits the confined space of the recess, a difficulty connected with which has always been to find room for an altar-tomb of the usual size and yet to allow sufficient space for the priest and his server. Had the tomb decayed or been destroyed, exposing the bones, before Steele's visit, and for safety sake the effigy and bones been transplanted to the more secure place of the niche at the west end, the latter being left exposed even to Blomefield's time? If Pennant is correct in his description of the situation of the effigy, then of course it must be concluded that it was removed again at some subsequent time—the recess not being a convenient place for it—especially after its mutilation.

This would seem to be the most natural inference from the circumstances of the case, though it is possible that it may have been the effigy of J. Lammer.

In the niche in the west wall of this south aisle there can be little doubt there was originally the effigy of a fourteenth-century vicar or restorer of the church.

At the west end of the south aisle :

“ This Monument

is erected to the memory of Mrs. Valentine Morris  
relict of Thomas Morris, Esq., of S. Andrews, Holborn, deceased,  
who departed this life the 28th Feb. 1776, aged 67 years.”

“ Az. on a bend az. (or sa.); 3 dolphins naiant or, between 2 lions sa. (or az.) ” (G.).

On the same (west) wall are other tablets to Thomas Morris, Esq., and their daughter, Martha Morris; and also to J. Hill, Esq., and his wife, formerly of this town. Also slabs to the memory of Robert Kirby, M.D., and his wife, Arabella Penelope, second wife of John Pellope, LL.D., and sister of Lord Ducie; and of Mary Legh, widow of Thos. Legh, Esq., of Adlington Park.

In the same aisle is a small tablet in memory of Frances, wife of Jas. Tomson of Sundon.

“ In the south aisle a slab, to the memory of John Bettesworth, LL.D., who departed this life 22nd Sept., 1779, in the 59th year of his age ” (G.).

“ On an altar-tomb which stands at the south-west corner of the tower :

‘ Thomas Gilbert here doth stai  
Waiting for God’s Judgement Day,  
Who died August the 25th, 1566.’ ” (B.)

### *The Nave.*

“ In the nave of the church are many ancient stones, with the inscriptions lost; the remaining are :

“ 1st near the chancel doors a gravestone inlaid with brass, with the portraits of a man, his wife, and one daughter; the wife and inscription missing ” (S.).

“ More west is an ancient inlaid stone with a gentleman between his two wives; under the first are two sons and four daughters. The inscription thus: ‘ Off your charite pray for the sowells of *Robarte St.* . . . annys his wyves, the which Robarte decyss’d the . . . in the year of our Lorde God A° M°CCCC° (for M°CCCC°) on whose so . . . ’ ” (S.).

“ In a gown with wide-toed shoes; temp. H. VIII., 13 inc. high, wives, 12 inc. long ” (*T. and G.*).

“ On the next stone was the portrait of a gentleman in compleat

armour, with 4 shields of arms; but these, with the inscription, are now gone" (S.).

"Near it lies a black marble inscribed: 'Here lieth the Body of *Michael Knight*, Gent., who departed this life 6 Sept. 1697'" (S.).

"On a large stone at the head of the last, under the portraits of a gentleman and his wife, is writ: 'Pray the soules of *John Lamar* & *Elyno*' his wyfe, whiche John decessed the xviii day of Nov. in the yere of o' Lord M<sup>o</sup>V<sup>e</sup>XII. & the seed *Elyno*' decessed the . . . day of . . . the yer of o' Lord M<sup>o</sup>V<sup>e</sup> on whose soules Ihu have mercy. Amen.' Under are 6 sons and 4 daus." (S.).

"The blanks were never filled up" (B.).

"In gown, with gipciere; his head gone and the whole of his wife. 18 inc. long. Groups of six sons and four daughters" (*Top. and Gen.*). The brasses of the sons and daughters have been removed, and are now in the church chest.

"Another stone was inlaid ('on a brass, by the pulpit,' B.) a man and a child, both now missing, and a woman ('18 inches long,' *Top. and Gen.*); under is writ, 'Of your charite pray for the soules of *John Barbar* & *Agnes* his wyff, the whiche John decessed in the yere of o' Lord God M<sup>o</sup>CCCC (for MCCCCC, B.) on whose soules I'hu have mercy, Amen.'

"Under the inscription was the portrait of a man and another inscription, both gone" (S.). (Sketch by Fisher.)

This latter portrait was evidently that of the son, another John Barbar, who in his will,<sup>1</sup> dated 18th August, 1509, being clearly an unmarried man, leaves the residue of his goods to his mother Agnes, and £3 6s. 8d. for putting a stone on the grave of his father—without doubt the *sum paid for this very stone*, with its two inscriptions and brasses.

"At the head of the last was an ancient gravestone engraved on brass, a gentleman and his wife, as in their winding-sheets, their sons and coats of arms all missing, yet are there five daughters remaining" (S.).

" . . . ti (?) sunt medicina Dei (?)<sup>2</sup>

" . . . Deus miserere nobis.' (?)

"All the rest are lost" (B.).

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Part I., chap. ix., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> These two broken lines are no doubt fragments of the common inscription of the fifteenth century, "*Quinque Vulnera Dei sunt medicina mei*," and either, "*Sancta Trinitas unus Deus*" or "*Pater de coelis Deus*"—"miserere nobis" (Haines, clxxix).

"Against the front of a small stone ('in the middle aisle,' B.) is a man and his wife ('with their figures 19 inches long,' *Top. and Gen.*), under the Merchant Taylors' arms, viz., a Tent royal



BRASS OF ANNE WARREN AND HER HUSBAND.

between two Parliament robes, on a chief a lion of England, and inscribed :

"Of your charite pray for the soule of Anne Warren, dowg (daughter) unto Thomas Waren, gentylman, & sumtyme wyfe to Robert Collhill, Merchant Taylor of London, the . . . Anne decessed the xliii day of Maye in the yer . . . Lord God M<sup>v</sup>XXIII on whose soule I'hu hav . . ." (S). (Lithographed by Fisher.)

It does not appear for what reason she reverted to her maiden name. Blomefield (p. 41) took it to be a woman confessing to a priest !

"At the west end of the middle aisle a brassless cross surmounted by figures and old capitals, illegible at the sides, except at the north-west angle, 'Rector' " (G.) ; but Blomefield (p. 41) deciphered :

"Hic : jacet : Dominus : Gilbert : quondam : Rector : . . . dioces : quis obiit : annos : su . . . : OB : . . . OE . . . TO : primo : cujus : anime : propicietur : Deus : Amen." (B.).

### *The North Aisle.*

At the west end of this aisle are modern slabs to the memory of Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Jas. Waller, wife and two sons, Ann Fossey, Zoe Butt and Thos. Mason, besides a marble mural tablet

(by Costa of Florence), to Thomas Waller, who died 17th May, 1845, aged fifty years.

"On a freestone at the entrance of the church :

"Here lieth the body of JOHN TRUSTAM, who departed this life 26 Oct. 1733, in the 55th year of his age, & Thos. Trustam, his son, who departed this life 31 Dec. 1722, in the 20th year of his age'" (B.). This stone still retains its place.

"In the north aisle fragments of a man, wife and daughter, in brass" (G.). Now lost.

The inscription which was formerly on the tomb of John Hay<sup>1</sup> differs so much, as given by Steele and Blomefield, that it is thought well to append both accounts.<sup>2</sup>

"In the middle of this (north) aisle lies a large stone, where under the portrait of a gentleman, now gone, between his two wives, is written :

"Hac sunt in fossa John' Hay ven'abilis ossa,  
Quem mortis rethe . . . attraxerat ad se,  
Anno Mill'mo, C. quat semel L. quoque quino,  
Febr'ilis deno, mensis quor'm lunarie tertio,  
Uxores duxit unicus Annam ac Isabellam,  
Fertilis Anna, fuit Johan's expers Isabella,  
Presulis Anglor' primi fuerat senescallus ;  
Annis tecdenis vir prud'ns atque heuri . . .  
Largus, honestus erat, hanc ecclesiam reparavit,  
Atque . . . . .  
O qui transitis p'cibus mediare velitis,  
Ut sup' astra poli victam tum'" (S.).

"In the north isle near the east end, the effigy of a man gone, but two women remain :

"Hac sunt in fossa John Hay venerabilis ossa .  
Anno milleno C quater semel L quoque quino  
Uxores duxit vivens Annam et Isabellam ;  
Presulis Anglorum primi fuerat senescallus ;

<sup>1</sup> Unhappily the whole of the tomb (with its brasses) of this benefactor of the church, with the exception of the inscription, has been destroyed. "The effigies were about two feet long." That of the man was "gone" in Steele's time; the "two women" remaining at Blomefield's visit. The upper half of the first wife and head of the second were missing some time before the destruction of the rest. "One child was left out of three, and some of the shields gone" (*Top. and Gen.*).

<sup>2</sup> The reason of the chief divergence is that the inscription, which is in twelve Latin hexameters, being written in double columns, whereas Steele read the lines vertically, Blomefield read them straight on, horizontally.

Largus, honestus erat, hanc ecclesiam reparavit,  
 O qui transitis precibus mediare velitis  
 Quem mortis rethe cicius attraxerat ad se  
 Febrilis deno mensis quoque lumine trino  
 Fertilis Anna fuit, sobolis expers Isabella,  
 Annis terdenis vir providus atque benignus  
 Atque vias altas quas flexit de a . . .  
 Ut super astra Poli vivam cum . . .” (B.)

*North Aisle or Transept.*

The appellation “aisle” was applied, almost up to the present time, so indiscriminately to the nave, to the aisles, properly so called, and to the transepts, that it is difficult to determine whether the following were found, according to Steele’s expression, in what is now called “the north aisle,” or, according to Blomefield, in “the north transept.” It would seem more probable that it was in the latter.

“*In the North Aile* lie buried several of the family of Rotheram, viz., at the east end, on a large stone was inlaid with brass, the portrait of a gentleman between his two wives, only one now left. Under is writ:” (S.).

“*In the North Transept.*—Effigies of a man and wife lost. Three boys and four girls remain,<sup>1</sup> and this in capitals on brass” (B.).

“Hic jacet *Georgius Rotherham* nup’ de Farley, Armiger, qui duas in vita sua duxit uxores, quarum prima fuit Elizabetha Bardolfe, filia Edmundi Bardolfe, Armigeri, per quam tres viventes reliquit liberos, scilicet, Georgium, Radulfum et Elizabetham altera vero fuit Anna Gower, filia Gulielmi Gower, Armigeri, per quam quatuor habuit liberos, scilicet, Isaacum, Thomam, Edmundum et Annam; qui quidem Georgius Rotherham ex hac vita migravit quinto die Novembris Anno Domini MDXCIII. Under are their children” (S.).

“At the head of the last lies an ancient stone, where in the brass almost entire of himself in armour (the figure two feet six and a half inches), between his two wives (two feet one inch high), his head resting on his helmet, which was a hand proceeding from

<sup>1</sup> Clearly a mistake for five boys and two girls. “He and his first wife gone, second wife remaining; twenty-three inches long; with two groupes of children; by first wife two sons and a daughter; by second wife three sons and a daughter” (*Top. and Gen.*).

a ducal coronet ('grasping a serpent or dragon, eighteen inches long,' *Top. and Gen.*). The inscription :

"Pray for the soules of JOHN ACWORTH<sup>1</sup> Squyer & Alys & Amy his wyfes, whiche John decessed the xvii day of Marche the yer of o' Lord M<sup>v</sup>°XII (-xiii, B. and G.) on whose souls J'hu have m'cy."

Under them are eight sons and nine daughters. At each corner of the stone is a shield bearing "(Erm.) on a chief indented (gules) three crowns (coronets, or), quartered with as many roses" (S.); "quartering three roses, thrice, and a griffin rampant" (G.). [At each corner is an emblem of an Evangelist (B.).]<sup>2</sup>

Better described as "At the four corners shields, three of them quarterly 1 and 4, on a chief indented three crowns; 2 and 3, three roses — the fourth a griffin (dragon) segreant. The symbols of the Evangelists were at the corners of the inscription. Etching by T. Fisher, 1811" (*Top. and Gen.*).

To which Blomefield adds :

"In a shield a dragon, the same issuing from a crown on the crest, which is at the man's head. The circumscription is in black letter" (B.).

<sup>1</sup> Probably an esquire of the royal household (Haines, ccxxxii). A "John Ekworth de Byscot in Luyton Soken, arm. et ux. ejus una cum primogenito Georgio," were admitted into the fraternity or chapter of S. Albans, c. 1493 (*Lib. Benef.*, Nero, D., vii., fol. 79). The Ackworths were inhabitants of Luton, and classed amongst "the gentry" of Beds, in 1433, held Biscot under the abbey in 1454-57, and until the dissolution in 1536; then for a short period from the king, and in 1544 from Sir Thos. Barnardiston, from whom he seems to have purchased it almost immediately, as in 1549 we find (*Notes of Fines, Crawley Papers*) J. Dermer purchasing from Geo. Ackworth "Biscote Manor."

<sup>2</sup> Those parts inclosed in brackets [ ] are now missing.



BRASS OF JOHN ACWORTH AND HIS WIVES.

“ [O man who e'er] thou be, Timor mortis shulde trowble the  
 For when thou leest [wenyst, veniet te mors superare  
 And so thy] grave grevys : ergo mortis [memoraris].  
 I'hu mercy ; Lady helpe ; mercy I'hu ” (G.).<sup>1</sup>

[“ At the head of the last was such a like stone inlaid with brass after the manner of a gentleman between his two wives ; but all the brass is torn off except a shield with the same arms as the former (ACKWORTH), viz. (Erm.) On a chief indented (gu.), three ducal coronets (or) quartered with three roses ;” and at one corner these words : “. . . of May in the yere of our Lord God a° m<sup>l</sup> . . . ”] (S.).

The following probably refers to the same : “ On loose brasses, ermine on a chief indented (gu.) three crowns (coronets, or) quartering three roses ” (Ackworth.—B.).

### *The North Transept.*

In the north transept, besides the slabs removed to it, as those of Michael Knight from the nave, and of Crawley and Napier from the Wenlock Chapel, are those of Richard Crawley, Esq., who died March 21st, 1712, and John Crawley, Esq., of Stockwood, his grandson, who was buried under the altar, 1805 (?) ; of Alex. Deacon, of Great Bramingham, his wife and sons ; J. Clementson, Esq., of Copt Hall ; and to the Sibley family of Chiltern Green. There is also a slab stone to the memory of Daniel Knight, which he engraved in his lifetime :

“ Here lyeth the body of Daniel Knight,  
 Who all my life-time lived in spite.  
 Base flatterers sought me to undoe,  
 And made me sign what was not true.  
 Reader, take care whene'er you venture,  
 To trust a canting false dissenter.  
 Who died June 11th, in the 61st  
 year of his age, 1756.”

In the north transept are the family vaults of Mr. J. Chase, Mr. Brett, and Mr. Fossey (Davis, p. 52).

The gravestones have been arranged in the following order :

<sup>1</sup> These lines, with a slight variation in the first line (“ Man, in what state that ever thou be ”), are to be found at Whitney, Oxon, 1501, and Northleach, Glos., c. 1530, and were formerly on a brass at Great Tew, Oxon, 1513, the same date as this at Luton (Haines's *Manual*, ccxxiv).



On the east the slabs of Archibald Napier, Eliz. Napier, Thos. Crawley, Dan. Knight, and the brass of J. Ackworth. On the west, slabs of Deacon, brass of woman,<sup>1</sup> slabs of Clementson, Sibley, and Michael Knight.

*The Wenlock Chapel.*

"On the north side of the chancel, of an higher elevation, is a spacious chapel said to be founded by John, Lord Wenlock. This chapel opens



BRASS OF WOMAN.

into the chancel with two curious arches. Under that of the west, on an embattled altar tomb, is a cumbent figure of a young gentleman in a praying posture, painted in proper colours, his vestment or robes scarlet, with a mantle of black velvet" (S.); "in the habit of a priest, with his head shaven; his hands are closed as in prayer, from which hang a pair of beads" (B.); "head on a cushion held by two angels; at his feet a headless beast with claws;" his hands holding labels, on one of which is, 'I'hu, fili Dei, miserere mei,' and at the end of it his arms'<sup>2</sup> ('Arg.' S.), a chevron gu. between 3 crosses botone ('flory, gu.' S.). On the other 'Salve Regina' ('Maria,' S.), 'mater misericordie' and no shield" (G.). "There are also several shields bearing the same arms round the tomb itself" (S.).

There has been some difference of opinion as to the *person* to whom this tomb belonged. "Le Neve" (led astray no doubt by

<sup>1</sup> This brass (probably that of Agnes Barber) from the nave (c. 1500) only contains the figure of a woman, twenty inches high, with diamond-shaped headdress, girdle, and close gown with cuffs of fur. Husband, child, and inscription gone; all missing in Steele's time.

<sup>2</sup> Rather, two lions or dogs "addorsed."

<sup>3</sup> There are no tinctures remaining upon this coat, nor any of the usual marks upon this or either of the other coats to distinguish what tinctures they bore. As, however, Steele describes them, it must be taken for granted that they were visible in his time, and that he has named them aright. The crosses, however, are not "flory," as he depicts them, nor "botone," as Gough gives them, but "cross crosslets." But neither this latter coat nor either of the others are assigned in Burke or Papworth to Wenlock. "Arg. a chev. betw. three cross crosslets gu.," which seem to be the true arms of the monument, are given by both as belonging to Chesseldon, Copildyke, Holbrook, and Kirton. They were, however, in all probability the arms of W. Wenlock's family also.

<sup>4</sup> "Regina" is the true reading.

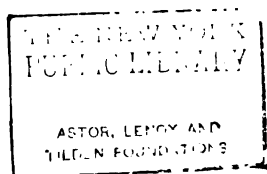
his mistake about a certain will of another John Wenlock, which he ascribed to Lord Wenlock) "gives this tomb to John, Lord Wenlock, said to have been killed at the battle of Tewkesbury" (but by Le Neve supposed to have survived it), "who living at his manor of Someries in this parish, lies interred in the church on the north side of the chancel, under a most noble monument, in his robes, at full length, in Somery's Chapel, the draught whereof is drawn by me, Peter le Neve, at its full length. Blomefield gives it to a different person of his family" (G.). "Lord Wenlock is buried in the church of Luton, under a magnificent altar-tomb, with an inscription in old English rhyme" (G.).

There can be no reasonable doubt, however, alike from the effigy itself, which is that of a priest, from the expression in the inscription, "in ordine presbiteratus," from its first word, which, though mutilated even then, was read by Steele, and appears to read plainly still, as ". . . llelmus" (Willelmus or Gullelmus, for Gullielmus, a name variously written), from the coats of arms upon it, which are certainly not the shield of Lord Wenlock, as well as from other considerations, that it is the tomb of WILLIAM WENLOK, master of the hospital of Farley, who gave directions in his will, 1391, that he should be buried in S. Mary's Church, Luton.

There are, in fact, two inscriptions on the tomb which supply us with something of the history and position of the person represented by the effigy, and both seem to point definitely to William Wenlok as the tenant of the tomb. They are carved in raised letters of Old English character round the verge of the tomb, that on the chancel side being in Latin, and that facing the chapel in English, and both in Leonine verse or rhyme. The former is rendered, however, differently by Steele and Blomefield. Steele read it thus: ". . . llelmus hic tumulatus : de Wenlok natus : in ordine presbiteratus : alter hujus ille : dominus meus fuit ville : hic jacet indignus : anime Deus esto benignus." But Blomefield: "Will's : sic tumulatus : de Wenlok natus : in ordine Presbiteratus : alter hujus ville : dominus Someris fuit ille : Hic licet indignus : anime Deus esto benignus." To which Gough appends the note: "Whence Mr. Blomefield got the word 'Someris' in here, is hard to say. The true reading is 'meus,' as all antiquaries have observed, except Mr. Pennant, who, we fear, copied it too implicitly from Mr. Blomefield, but there is" (he adds) "a singular



TOMB OF WILLIAM WENLOCK, MASTER OF FARLEY HOSPITAL, LUTON.



mark before the word, which I know not what to make of" (G.). "Mr. Anstis" (he continues) "in his *Blackbook of the Garter (Regist., p. 168, n. m.)* calls it a *broken* inscription, and refers it" (like Le Neve and Gough himself) "to Lord Wenlok. He gives it thus: 'Hic tumulatus—de Wenlok natus alter—Hujus ville dominus ille jacet indignus animæ deus esto benignus'" (G.).

Neither of these renderings can be regarded as accurate, that by Blomefield being the most so, with the exception of the first word, which he gives as "Will's" (of which letters, omitting the double "ll", there seem to be no trace), and the more than doubtful word "Someris." It is not easy to determine with certainty of what letter the "singular mark" mentioned by Gough formed part, but the opinion of modern experts (*Top. and Gen.* and others) seems decidedly in favour of its having formed part—the first half—of the letter V, and that the whole word is not "meus" but "vivens."<sup>1</sup> The true reading then would seem to be: "[Wi]llelmus sic tumulatus: de Wenlok natus: in ordine presbiteratus: alter hujus ville: dominus vivens fuit ille: hic licet indignus: anime Deus esto benignus," the word "alter" having here, as often elsewhere, the signification of "one of the," and the meaning of the disputed line being therefore that "while living he was one of the lords of this manor," which is precisely what was the case. A well-known antiquarian, the Rev. C. G. R. Birch, of Brancaster rectory, has thus neatly rendered it into English:

"This William here in earth,  
At Wenlock had his birth,  
Priestly were his order's worth.  
While he lived, of this fair town,  
As a lord he bare renown.  
Though unworthy here he lie,  
May God receive his soul on high."

"And on the north side that opens into the chapel is this inscription" (S.) (a few words only being rendered a little differently by Steele and Blomefield, the latter being here again most correct, though not quite accurate, and the true rendering being):

<sup>1</sup> On ancient inscriptions the word "vivens" was very often introduced quite needlessly to emphasize the state upon earth, where in modern epitaphs, being taken for granted, it would generally be omitted. It is found so used on J. Hay's monument, "uxores duxit *vivens*."

" In Wenlok brad I :<sup>1</sup> in this toun lordscipes had I :  
 Her am I now fady :<sup>2</sup> cristes moder helpe me [lady :  
 Under thes stones : for a tym schal I reste my bones :  
 Deye mot I ned ones :<sup>3</sup> myghtful god gr'nt  
 me thy wones. Ame."

These inscriptions are of considerable archæological interest. They are undoubtedly amongst the very earliest instances either of an epitaph in English, or of a bi-lingual monumental inscription.

Up to this period "the inscriptions of priests had been for the most part in Latin, the canonical language, while those of knights and ladies were in Norman-French," the language then spoken at court—the Latin inscriptions generally commencing with "Hic jacet," or more rarely, "Orate pro anima," and concluding with "Cujus anime propicietur Deus, Amen."<sup>4</sup>

The earliest recorded English epitaph is on a brass at Brightwell-Baldwin, Oxon., c. 1370, only about thirty years previous to that of W. Wenlok.<sup>5</sup>

Only one other epitaph in English, besides this and that of Wenlock, has been noticed in this same century. It occurs on a brass of Sir Thos. Walsch and lady, A.D. 1393, at Wanlip, Leicester.<sup>6</sup> But that of W. Wenlok, if written by himself, as it professes to have been, is the earlier of the two, and so must be reckoned to rank as the second in point of time yet recorded—the first of any priest.

Even during the succeeding century English inscriptions are rare, Latin being still the prevalent language. These earliest English inscriptions are in verse. Latin verses came into vogue about the same time, but were adopted more generally. They may be noticed on the scrolls of J. de Campeden's brass, 1382 (*vide*, p. 342).

<sup>1</sup> K. Edw. III., in 1373, "gave to W. Wenlok, clerk, the custody of the third part of the manor of Luton and hundred of Flitte, on account of the idiotcy of William de Mortimer." Also, as master of the hospital of Farley, he held the lordships of the manors of Farley and Whippersley in Luton.

<sup>2</sup> "Fady," *i.e.*, fading, perishing.

<sup>3</sup> "Die must I needs once; mighty God grant me Thy (everlasting) habitations."

<sup>4</sup> As that of Wenlok's neighbour and contemporary, Matthew de Asscheton, rector of Shillington, and canon of York and Lincoln, who died in 1400 (*Brass, Fisher's Beds*, pl. 88; Haines, p. 9).

<sup>5</sup> Haines's *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, cxli.

<sup>6</sup> Haines, p. 243.

But in addition to W. Wenlok's *English* legend being thus, as it seems, the second earliest upon a tomb in that language, and even his Latin inscription being a very early instance of the rhyming verse of mediæval times, his tomb appears to be also the earliest known which has both an English and a Latin legend upon it.

The inscriptions on the *scrolls* on Wenlok's tomb are not infrequent, "I'hu, fili Dei, miserere mei," and "Salve Regina, mater misericordie," but may with interest be compared with that formerly on J. Penthelyn's tomb, about half a century later (1444), "Christi passio sit michi salus sempiterna et protectio," and with that on E. Sheffield's (1526), "Miserere mei, Deus." The scrolls themselves, however, in this case, it will be observed, issue, as was usual in this and at the beginning of the next century, from the *hands* of the figure, and not from the *mouths* of the effigies, as later in the fifteenth and in the following centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The effigy is depicted in the dress ordinarily worn at the period both by the secular clergy and by civilians. Wenlock wears a gown or cassock (*camisia vestis*)<sup>2</sup> reaching to the feet, with close sleeves, and buttoned in front from the top to the bottom. This dress was of various colours at that period, even in the case of the clergy, and very frequently red. There are three illustrations of ordinary clerical costume in the *Catalogue of Benefactors of S. Alban's Abbey* (given by Cutts, pp. 353, 354). In the first, the gown of the priest, as well as his hood and the sleeves of his under garment, is bright blue, lined with white, his shoes being red. In another, that of a rector, the gown, hood, and sleeves are scarlet, but the shoes black. In the last, that of Sir Roger, a chaplain of the Earl of Warwick, at Flamsted, probably a cotemporary and friend of W. Wenlock, who was vicar of Flamsted, the gown or cassock and the hood are scarlet, over which he wears a pink cloak or mantle lined with blue, the shoes being red. Steele tells us that the "vestment



WILLIAM  
WENLOCK.

<sup>1</sup> Haines, cxli, clxxix.

<sup>2</sup> "When the laity ceased to wear these long gowns, and the cloak or mantle out of doors, the clergy, under the influence of a growing feeling in favour of a distinctive clerical costume, continued to retain them, under the name of cassock and gown, and to wear them of black colour" (Cutts).

or robe," by which he evidently means the gown or cassock, on Wenlock's monument was still in his day scarlet. Neither of the above three figures nor that of Wenlock has any girdle.<sup>1</sup>

From beneath the sleeves of Wenlock's cassock emerge the tight sleeves of an under-dress which reach half way up the hands, as far as the knuckles, like mittens, and are buttoned underneath. This particularity also marks the period of the execution of the monument, it being the special fashion of the latter part of this fourteenth century, and for a few years afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Over all Wenlok has a mantle<sup>3</sup> which, according to Steele, was "of black velvet."<sup>4</sup> This mantle, at the period, was generally "fastened by two or three buttons on the right shoulder and thrown over the left arm," but in Wenlok's case it is fastened with six large buttons. Round his neck there is what may be either a hood (Haines, lxxxiii.), as J. Bloxham, 1387, and J. Whytton, 1420, or an amice, as W. Grevel, 1401, and J. Rede, 1404 (*Mon. Br.*).

Wenlok's shoes rise higher behind at the heel than at the instep, and are fastened across the latter by a thick leather strap (as in the cases of Grevel and Rede), "a fashion which prevailed throughout the (fifteenth) century" (Haines, clxiii.).

This tomb, though presumably executed shortly after the death of W. Wenlock (1392), and erected at first in some other spot in the church, probably in this same chapel before its enlargement and the opening of the arch under which it now rests, was no doubt placed in its present position by Sir J. Wenlock, his grand-

<sup>1</sup> W. Grevel, a civilian, 1401, with a cassock, mantle, and under-dress, all precisely similar to those of Wenlock, has his cassock fastened with a girdle.

<sup>2</sup> Examples: J. Hotham, 1361, J. de Campeden, 1382, a civilian at Tilbrook, 1400, Wm. Grevel, 1401, and J. Rede, 1404 (*Mon. Brasses*).

<sup>3</sup> "The mantle as a part of the ordinary dress (of civilians) is found only at the commencement of the (fifteenth) century, after which time it was retained as a distinctive garment of judges, mayors, and other civic functionaries" (Haines, C. C.).

<sup>4</sup> In connection with the dress of the clergy and its colour, it is a little noticeable that Wenlok does not allude in his will to any of his robes, whilst J. Penthelyn (died 1444-45) left his *four best togas* to his brother priest, Dominus J. Thomas, and *two other togas* to his relative, Dominus Nicholas Thomas, also a priest. To the latter he left also a black *tunic* of worsted; to his brother-in-law, J. Thomas, an *overcoat* (or mantle, "diplarde") of *blue worsted fustian*; to J. Smyth, another *overcoat of fustian*, and his warm ("penulatam") *cape* to Mag. Loonar. And Edw. Sheffield, LL.D., 1525, left to his brother, apparently a layman, his *scarlet gown furryd*, and to his sister his *crymsyn gown*.



nephew, in 1461, who, by sculpturing William's coat-of-arms (as seen repeated seven times upon his tomb) on the soffit of the arch over the spot which he selected for the tomb, and exactly opposite to his own coat, has both clearly claimed William as a relative and put his imprimatur upon those arms as being those of William himself, and not, as has been suggested, of his hospital.

The shields upon the sides of the tomb, in their "large, square-panelled, quatrefoiled compartments," are themselves a very early instance of this kind of ornament upon a tomb, the custom not becoming common until the succeeding century.

The arms of *Sir John Wenlock* himself, "Arg. a chevron between three Blackamore's heads erased, sa.," are found carved abundantly on both sides of the stone partition which he erected.

On the chancel side they occur twice, on the cornice, surrounded with the garter, and twice in the spandrels of the arch without it; and again over the apex of the arch, impaling those of his first wife, Elizabeth Drayton, viz., "Az. a bend between six crosslets fitché or," quartering, as usually stated, "Barry of six, erm. and gu., in chief a lion rampant gu.," but perhaps more correctly described as "Erm. two bars gu. in chief a demi-lion rampant of the 2nd" (Drayton, also). On this side the shield is surmounted by a knight's open visor.<sup>1</sup>

On the chapel side the arms again occur twice on the cornice, surrounded with the garter, and once in the eastern spandrel of the arch without the garter—the corresponding shield in the western spandrel being that of Drayton with its quartering. Over the apex of the arch, on this side, is Wenlock quartering, "Quarterly arg. and sa., in the 1st quarter, a lion passant guardant, gu.," described by Steele as the arms of Hoo,<sup>2</sup> and adopted as such on his

<sup>1</sup> Engravings of this screen are to be found in *Bib. Top. Brit.*, No. viii., p. 46, and in Lysons's *Beds.*, p. 111, both of these showing the north side. *Vide also* Gough's *Sepul. Mon.*, ii., pl. lxxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> The different branches of the Hoo family varied the tinctures and the relative positions of the tinctures of their coats, e.g., "Sa. and arg.," "arg. and sa.," and "or and sa.," but on none of them is the charge of a lion to be found. On the other hand, the arms of Breton, as given by both Burke and Papworth, are "Quarterly sa. and arg., in the 1st quarter a lion passant guardant, or," and in another case, "2ndly arg. and sa., on the first a lion ramp. of the second." Any member of the family who bore the former coat, but merely for the sake of making a difference reversed the order of the tinctures, as was frequently done, would, as a matter of course, and in order to act correctly (as metal could not be placed upon metal, gold upon silver), change the tincture of the lion from "or" to "gu." or "sa.," the former being the more natural and

authority by Gough and almost all succeeding writers, but almost indubitably those of Breton, and if so, the coat of Sir John's mother, Margaret Breton. This shield is surmounted by his crest, "On a torse sa. and gu., a plume of peacock's feathers."

The same coat (quarterly Wenlock and Breton) is also found on the eastern soffit of the arch, corresponding to the arms of W. Wenlok on the western soffit.

These latter arms of William Wenlok are of much interest both in themselves and from their position here, as well as from their being not merely repeated three times on each side of his tomb, but also once on the label in his hand, probably an unique position for a coat-of-arms.

As this shield ("a chevron<sup>1</sup> between three crosses crosslet") was undoubtedly placed here by Sir J. Wenlock, it is a clear proof that he not merely transferred William's tomb thither, but also designed that arch to contain it, as he evidently also reserved for his own tomb the eastern arch, which he in like manner marked out to be kept for himself by erecting therein his own rightful arms, as a widower.

The shield on William's tomb, and over it, was in all probability the original coat of his branch of the Wenloks of Wenlock, for he was of gentle birth, and he did not change his name; that borne by Sir John, whose father and grandfather were Wynells, was equally probably the coat of that family, which he would naturally and properly retain, although along with the rest of his family he changed his name. Considering that he quartered his mother's arms (Breton)—she being an heiress—it is a little strange that he did not also quarter those of his grandmother (Wenlock), through whom he also inherited property.

In the cornice is to be seen an excellent carving of a figure which, though described by Gough, who gives an imperfect representation of it, as a rudder, is clearly a lance-rest or clarion,<sup>2</sup>

appropriate. "Quarterly ar. and sa." was a very favourite coat with Bedfordshire knights in the time of Ed. I., Sir Rob. Hoo distinguishing his coat of this kind by "a bend or," Sir Richard Le Rous his by "a bend sa.," and Sir J. Conquest by "a label gu."

<sup>1</sup> The chevron is here represented a little differently from that on the tomb, being apparently a voided double chevron, but this is only a peculiarity of the sculptor, who has represented all the fesses and chevrons of the shields on the arch in the same way.

<sup>2</sup> The figures of H. Parice, Esq., in Hildersham Church, Cam. (1460), and of Sir Thomas Grace, in Green Norton Church, Northants (1462), of exactly the same period, have each of them a lance-rest screwed upon the

with the word "Holla" inscribed upon it. The same device without the "Holla" (though it is in close proximity) is still to be found not merely in the south spandrel of the mutilated piscina, close at hand, but in the east window of the chapel. The lance-rest occurs again, with its inscription, "Holâ," at the base of all the panelling of the arch in a sort of short cornice over the doorway into the chancel. "Holâ," of which "holla" and "holloa" seem to be but modern forms, was in all probability Sir John's war-cry (as in later times it is said to have been the usual cry of postillions), and the lance-rest with its inscription or motto was probably his badge, mottoes being anciently attached to badges and not, as at present, to coats-of-arms.



The three windows of this chapel were originally filled with paintings of figures, coats-of-arms, devices, etc., which, together with the arms on the stonework, and the inscription on the piscina, both prove conclusively that the whole chapel was erected by Sir John Wenlock and determine within very narrow limits the date of its erection.

In the east window was the following inscription, which has long been destroyed, but a copy of it is happily preserved in the *Heralds' Visitation Book* of 1566, just a hundred years after its erection.

"Jesu Christ, most of myght,  
Have mercy on John le Wenlock, Knight,  
And of his wiffe Elizabeth,  
Wch ow't of this world is past by death.  
Wch ffounded this chapell here.  
Helpe them with your hearty prair

breastplate on the right side "close to the arm-pit," *Waller* (*vide pl. Mon. Br. of Eng.*, p. 43). The lance-rest, which was a hook of iron fastened to the breastplate to assist in the support of the knightly spear when used of its full dimensions (fourteen feet in length), first appears in 1361, and is found as late as 1510 on the effigy of J. Lementhorp, Esq., in Great S. Helen's Church, London, where "on the breastplate is the lance-rest, turning on a pivot, so as to be close to the cuirass when not in use" (*Hewitt's Ancient Armour*, ii. p. 241; iii. 582, and *Haines' Manual*, cxviii.). Chaucer mentions this appliance in the account of the tournament in the *Knight's Tale*:

"Now ringen trompes loud and clarion,  
Ther is no more to say, but est and west,  
In gon the speres sadly *in the rest*,  
In goth the sharp spore into the side."

That they may com to that place  
Where ever is joy and solace."

In the same window (Steele) was the portrait of a kneeling knight (evidently representing Sir John), with the Wenlock arms (and their quarterings) on his surcoat, and round his neck the Yorkist collar,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, a collar of white roses and suns alternately ("roses-en-soleil"), with "a lion sejant. arg." (the old badge of the house of March) depending from it.

In one at least of the north windows were the arms of Wenlock (quartering Breton and impaling Drayton), surrounded by the Garter of the Order, the fragments of which are now to be seen in the east window.

As the above collar was adopted by Edward IV. as the badge of the house of York (as the collar of SS. had been chosen by Henry IV. as the badge of the house of Lancaster), only after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 2nd February, 1461, and as a memorial of that victory, this window could not have been put up until after that date.

Also, as both in the windows and on the stonework between the chapel and the chancel Sir John's arms are surrounded by the garter, and as he was not even elected a knight of the Garter until the 8th of this same month (8th February, 1461), there is this additional proof that the chapel was not erected before this latter date.

But as in the above inscription he describes himself simply as a knight—and on the stonework has only a knight's open vizor surmounting his arms—whereas, on the 26th July in the same year, he was created a baron (of which dignity, if it had been granted before the finishing of the chapel, he was sure to have exhibited some token), it may be concluded with certainty that the whole structure, including the glass of the windows, was erected before this latter date; and therefore between the 8th February and 26th July, 1461.

A still nearer date might perhaps be arrived at, as Edward

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Say, who married Agnes, the widow of Sir J. (Lord) Wenlock, and who died 1478, whose brass in Broxbourne Church, Herts, was executed during his lifetime, is proved by the collar of suns and roses which encircle his neck to have been an adherent of the Yorkists (Cussan's *Handbook of Heraldry*, p. 257). The sculptured effigy of Sir J. Crosby in the church of Great S. Helens, in the city of London (1475), affords another fine example of a Yorkist collar.

probably did not adopt the collar until after he came to the throne on 4th March, and Sir John Wenlock would not have thought of building till after the battle of Towton, 29th March in the same year.

There are many interesting points connected with this chapel, some of which are difficult of exact determination, such as (1) the precise date of its erection, (2) the purpose for which it was erected, and (3) whether the person, as a memorial of whom it was evidently built, was interred therein.

(1) The first might be accurately determined if the time was known when Sir John was actually *invested* with the accolade of the Garter, and so became entitled to exhibit it. He was *elected* 8th February, 1461, but there seems to be no record of his *investiture*, either by King Henry VI. or King Edward IV. Neither he nor the Earl of Warwick (elected at the same time) had been *installed* when Edward's<sup>1</sup> first chapter was held at Windsor on 17th May, both they and the king being absent on that occasion, their names being merely mentioned as having been *elected*. Some time, however, during Edward's first year, Sir John must have been both invested and installed, as on 21st March, 1462, an order was issued to "Johan Sire de Wenlok (and others), nous confreres de l'ordre," to install five new knights. His first recorded attendance at a chapter was on 2nd April, 1463.

(2) It seems a little strange that if his wife, Elizabeth Drayton, was buried in the chapel (as Lysons thinks that she was), that there appears never to have been any brass or other monument to mark the place of her interment. Yet the fact that an altar was erected in it, with a piscina marked emphatically with the Wenlock badge as for private use, seems to point unmistakably to its being a chantry rather than a mere chapel, though only called by the latter name in the inscription in the window. If so, there was, probably, if not some permanent endowment, of which nothing at present is known, at least a temporary appointment of a chantry priest, which was intended to give way eventually to something more permanent, perhaps at his own death, by will. It is possible, however, that

<sup>1</sup> Edward did not return to London till 26th June, but two other chapters must have been held during his first year (though the records have not been preserved), at the former of which the Duke of Clarence and Sir W. Chamberlayne were elected, and at the latter the Earl of Worcester, the Lords Hastings, Montague, and Herbert, and Sir J. Astley. (Anstis, ii. 172; *ibid.*, 175; *Beaufort Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, lxvi.)

there was even some definite endowment made at once, though swept away either when Sir John became an outlaw, or in later times, and of which the remembrance soon after perished. For it is to be observed that there are still remaining in the chancel two old oak stalls, with six finials and one desk, as also some tracery, all of the date of this chapel, and of similar workmanship. As choirs, such as are known at present, did not exist in parish churches, except when there was some prebendal or collegiate foundation connected with them, it would seem to follow from the existence of these stalls, etc.,<sup>1</sup> that there must have been some



ORNAMENT IN CORNICE OVER THE  
WENLOCK TOMB.

foundation attached either to the church or to this chapel, or probably to both combined. An instance of a small foundation of something of this sort occurred in this very year, 1461. Sir J. Fogge, knight, after beautifully re-edifying the church of Ashford, Kent, "out of gratitude for the favours which he had received from the king, founded, with his licence and in his name, in the beginning of his reign, a college or choir, which he ordained should consist of

one master or prebendary, as head, being the vicar of this church for the time being, two fit chaplains, and two secular clerks, who should celebrate divine service in this church" (Hasted's *Kent*, iv. 264; Parker's *Gloss.*, iii. 67). Some similar foundation at Luton may yet come to light, and it would probably be an argument in favour of Sir John's first wife having been buried in this chantry chapel. And if so, the place of honour would be before the altar whose piscina remains, and the inscription in the window her epitaph. J. Lammer was the vicar of Luton in 1461.

It does not seem possible to ascertain with certainty, either from

<sup>1</sup> The only other explanation of their erection would seem to be that they were provided for the male members of the guild established shortly afterwards, but this is not in the slightest degree probable.

Steele or Gough, or other authority, what the exact contents of each of the three windows of this chapel originally were.

All the old glass, with the exception of that in some of the upper lights, is at present concentrated in the east window, the two northernmost of its four lights retaining fragments of what was originally placed in that window, and the next light exhibiting all that has been saved from the two north windows.

This east window seems to have contained in the first or second most northern light, or extending over both of them, the figure of Sir J. Wenlock, and the inscription given in a preceding page. In the third light were the Madonna and Child, with S. John Baptist, parts of which still remain. In the fourth light was S. George and the dragon—additional evidence, from its connection with the Garter, of the date of the window—and beneath, five men in blue furred gowns, and one woman, apparently praying or making some offering.

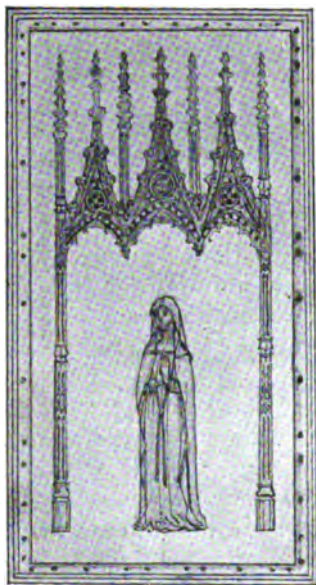
In the second light of the adjoining north window were the arms and quarterings of Wenlock and Drayton within the Garter.<sup>1</sup> But in which of the windows were the angel with the scroll, the chalice, the lance-rest, Holâ, the initials, etc., mentioned by the above authors (many small pieces of which, with the exception of the first two, are now in the east window), it seems impossible to determine.

"In the middle of this aisle or chapel is raised a curious altar-tomb of grey marble, the ledger or top stone richly inlaid with brass, where, under a gothic ornamental arch is the portrait of a

<sup>1</sup> This shield, now transferred to the east window, though giving Drayton and its quartering, is deficient on the dexter side, the arms of Wenlock having perished, as also the lion in the first quarter of Breton. All this is a real loss as this painting—all the other escutcheons being sculptured—was probably the original, if not the only authority, for the tinctures of both these shields. It would almost seem as if the glass had been injured before the heraldic visitation of 1566, for in the drawing annexed to that Visitation Book (*Harl. MSS.* No. 1531, p. 15), the chevron between the Moors' heads of Wenlock's shield is omitted (as if the picture were drawn rather from memory than from sight), and though the second quarter of Breton is given "sable," the first and third are there left blank, *as at present*, and without the lion. The arms, "Erm. two bars gu. in chief a demi-lion rampant of the second," hitherto unassigned in the accounts of Luton Church, quartered by Drayton with its own, "az. a bend between six cross crosslets fitchée or," are assigned by Burke to Drayton also, as if two families of the name, but with different coats, had intermarried. But it is possible that not knowing to whom to appropriate it, and finding it in this case borne by a Drayton, he assigned it to that family.

veiled lady" (S.), "in profile, her hands elevated, the brass ledge and six quatrefoil shields in lozenges at side, gone" (G.).

"In the middle of the chapel is a handsome table-monument, of Petworth marble, despoiled of its brass shields. On the slab, which measures 7 feet 6 inches, by 3 feet 6 inches, remains a fine brass of a lady, veiled, 3 feet long, under a beautiful canopy, no inscription. Drawing by Fisher, and rubbing" (*Top. and Gen.*, i. 78, 1846).



BRASS OF A VEILED LADY.

In *Monumental Brasses and Slabs* (by C. Boutell, p. 91), where the head of the lady is given, this brass is described as "that of a widow, name unknown, wearing simply a coverchief with plaited wimple, of about the date 1450, the effigy surrounded by a fine triple canopy."

If this were its true date it might have been conjectured, from its position in the Wenlock Chapel, *previous* to its enlargement, as that date would imply, that it was the tomb of Sir John Wenlock's mother or other near relative; but, as it is almost certainly of later date than 1471, when Sir J. (Lord) Wenlock died, and his estate of Someries passed to the Rotherams—and as Haines on good grounds ascribes it to 1490—then, in all probability, it is the tomb of the mother of the archbishop and of Sir J. Rotheram, who, in the archbishop's will, 1498, is said to have been buried in Luton Church, and no doubt would have been interred in this, the "Someries" Chapel. A monument is sure to have been erected to her memory by the archbishop, and no other of those recorded could have been hers. She was evidently, according to the archbishop's will, a widow when she died (and this effigy is in widow's attire), and also not buried with her husband. The archbishop during his lifetime erected for himself a tomb somewhat similar, in the chapel of the *Blessed Virgin* at the east end of his cathedral at York. Unhappily it was destroyed in 1829, though it



has been restored by the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, Oxford. This tomb was removed at the late restoration, 1864-66, into the space under the eastern arch of Lord Wenlock's screen.

"The close-sleeved robe always formed part of the attire of widows, who wore also the veil head-dress, or hood, and stiffly-plaited barbe" (or wimple). The mourning costume as it appeared about the middle of the century may be seen in brass, *circa* 1440, at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey (p. ccix). After *circa* 1460 the barbe is seen covering the shoulders like a cape, the veil head-dress being worn shorter and thrown back behind the shoulders, as at Streat-ham, Cam. (1497?) (Joan Swan), and as in this instance. There are two other female figures in widow's attire in Beds, viz., the brasses of Margaret Argentine, Elstow, 1427, and Lady Eleanor Conquest, Flitton, 1434.

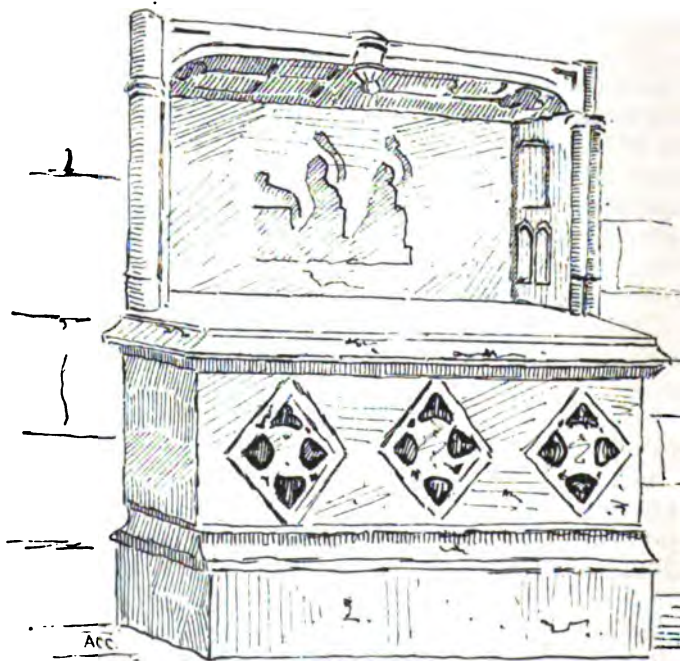
"Against the north wall of this chapel, at the east end, is raised a noble altar-tomb canopied over, and was enriched with the portraits of a gentleman and his wife; but those, with the inscription and arms wherewith it was once adorned, are now missing" (S.).

This, from its position, and from the fact of Sir Thomas's grave being close in front of it, is doubtless the tomb of Sir John Rotherham, the first of the name who possessed Someries, who died in 1492-93, and was buried in Luton Church, and of his wife Alice, daughter of — Beckett, who survived him. In his will,<sup>1</sup> dated 29th July, 1492, proved 27th January, 1492-93, he directs that his body be "buried before the image of S. Thomas the Martyr" (Thomas à Becket, the namesake of his wife!), "in my chapel annexed to the church of Luton on the north side." He was knight of the shire for Bedfordshire, 17 Edw. IV. (1477), and High Sheriff of Bucks and Beds the same year, and also in 4 Hen. VII. (1488-89); he describes himself in his will as lord of the manor of Luton.

On the front of the tomb, within lozenges, were three brass shields, surrounded with pointed trefoils; and the sides of the tomb seem also to have been cased with metal. The indents of

<sup>1</sup> *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), iv. 143, note, where he is described as of Denton, Linc. He leaves the residue of his goods to Alice his wife; she, Thomas, Archbishop of York, his brother, and J. Blyth, Archdeacon of Richmond and Hunts to be executors. To his son Thomas he leaves "a silver pece, parcell gilt, enameled with ij hertes, whereof the oon is blew and that other redde." To daughter Alice Rotheram, "a silver pece graven with myne armes." Mentions his son George (Reg. Dogget, P. C. 156).

the two figures represent them as kneeling in the same direction, and towards the upper panel in the east side of the canopy. This panel differs from all the rest, being double the breadth of the others, and rough, clearly showing that some metal had been attached to it. Was there not here an image of his patron saint, S. Thomas à Becket?<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the adjoining (but later) recess, a representation of the Holy Trinity is said to have been



TOMB OF SIR JOHN ROTHERAM.

in brass (latten), towards which three persons kneeled. "Before it" (the tomb in the eastern recess) "lies a large stone, where were also portraits of a gentleman and his wife, who now only remains, with two sons; there were also two or three daughters, now lost, with shields of arms. The first broke, the second bears Barry of

<sup>1</sup> It was not unusual for the figure of the patron saint of the church, chapel, or guild to be thus set up on brass, and for the scroll issuing out of the mouth of the suppliant to contain some ejaculation to the figure above. It was the same with representations of the Holy Trinity.

six (ar. and az.), in chief three roundels (gu.). The third is (vert) three Bucks trippant (or), impaling Barry of six (ar. and az.) in chief three roundels (gu.). The fourth is the Bucks only, as I suppose the first was. On the middle part of the top of the stone is a pendant shield bearing the last coat, with mantling and helm, but the crest (a stag's head, or) is gone. On the verge or outer edge is written: 'Orate pro animabis Thome . . . d'ni de Luton in Com. Bedford et d'ne Katherine uxoris ejus, qui quidem Thomas obiit xxvi die mensis Maii Anno . . . quarum ai'ab's p'picietur Deus'" (S.).

The inscription was thus imperfect in Steele's time, but in the Visitation of Beds, 1566, as given, with drawing, in Harl. MS., Brit. Mus., 1097, fo. 43, the names and dates have been preserved. The following is the full inscription, as given there: "+ Orate pro animabus Thome Rotherham militis d'ni de Luton, in com. Bedford, et d'ne Catherine uxoris ejus, qui quidem Thomas obiit xxv die mensis Maii, Anno D'ni Mill'imo CCCC quarto, et predicta D'na Catherina obiit . . . mensis—A° V° quarum aiabus propicietur Deus."

There is also in that MS. a pen-and-ink sketch depicting four shields, Rotherham and Grey, etc., and effigies of Sir Thomas Rotherham, Lady Catherine (daughter of John, Lord Grey of Wilton,<sup>1</sup> by Ann, daughter of Edmund, Lord Grey de Ruthyn), and four children. The blanks were apparently never filled in, Lady Catherine surviving her husband. This Sir Thomas Rotherham was the eldest son of the preceding Sir John, and by the will of his uncle, the archbishop (1498), lord of the manor of Somerasse and of the manor of Luton with the hundred (of Flitte) and of various manors in Houghton, Barton, Stoppesley, Dunton, Aspley, etc., in Beds, Bucks, and Hunts.

"South of the last (Sir Thos. and Lady K. Rotherham) lies a large Sussex marble, where were the portraits of a gentleman in compleat armour, and his wife, with arms and inscription, all now missing" (S.).

<sup>1</sup> Not the only child and heiress of (Anthony) eldest son of Lord Grey de Ruthyn, as is generally stated in pedigrees, etc. (Vincent's *Bedfordshire Pedigrees*, etc.), and was inserted even in the *Heralds' Visitation of Beds*, 1566. A suit was instituted in the Earl Marshal's court in 1597, by Henry, sixth Earl of Kent, against George Rotherham, the great-grandson of Sir Thomas, and Dethick, Garter King of Arms, for thus falsifying the pedigree, with the object of defrauding the said earl of the baronies of Hastings, etc., and judgment given against them (Lysons's *Beds.*, p. 173; Collins's *Proceedings concerning Baronies by Writ*).

"On the floor of the Wenlock Chapel is a slab of blue marble with the indents of fine brasses of a man with sword and dagger, standing on a lion, and his lady, fifteenth century. His length, 3 feet 6 inches; hers 3 feet 3 inches. Drawing by Fisher" (*Top. and Gen.*, i. 78). This is very probably the brass of Sir Thomas Wenlock, knight-banneret, who distinguished himself at Agincourt, 1416, and afterwards was knight of the shire of Beds.

"Adjoining on the south side lies a very large stone, where were inlaid with brass the heads only of a man and his wife, now lost, as is likewise the inscription" (S.). "Indents of two small half-figures, fifteenth century. Drawing by Fisher" (*Top. and Gen.*, i. 78). Perhaps the heads of Sir J. Wenlock's father and mother, Wm. Wyvell (*alias* Wenlock, knight of the shire, 1404), and Margaret Breton.

"Adjoining to the last is a very small stone, where were a little figure and inscription, now gone" (S.).

"Against the north wall, more west, is raised a new altar-tomb whereon was engraved on brass a man kneeling, against two women, with an inscription and arms, all now missing" (S.); "a knight and two women with scrolls, praying to the Trinity"<sup>1</sup> (G.). "These altar-tombs Mr. Pennant refers to the Rotherams" (G.). "There are also two canopied altar-tombs of like time and workmanship" (as the veiled lady), "robbed of their brasses, which were fixed at the back of their recesses, and represented, as appears from the indentations:

<sup>1</sup> There were various forms of the representation of the Trinity. The more usual about this period being that of the Father (represented as an aged Person, the Ancient of Days) holding the crucifix, with a dove descending on the head of the latter.

There is, or was, such a figure in stone over the south porch of Biggleswade Church. Also probably one of the same form, though seated on a rainbow, in Ampthill Church, but that part of the brass is missing. The address, however, to the Trinity, which was beneath it, having been recently recovered, along with other brasses, has been, through the care of the churchwarden, Mr. Seward, safely affixed to the inner wall of the tower. It is as follows:

"Maker of man, O God in Trinite,  
That hast allone all thing in ordenāce  
Fforgeue the trespas of my favente  
Ne thýke not Lord up on myn ignorance  
Fforgeue my Soule all my mysgouernāce  
Bryng me to blisse where thou art eternall  
Euer to ioye with his aungeles celestiall."

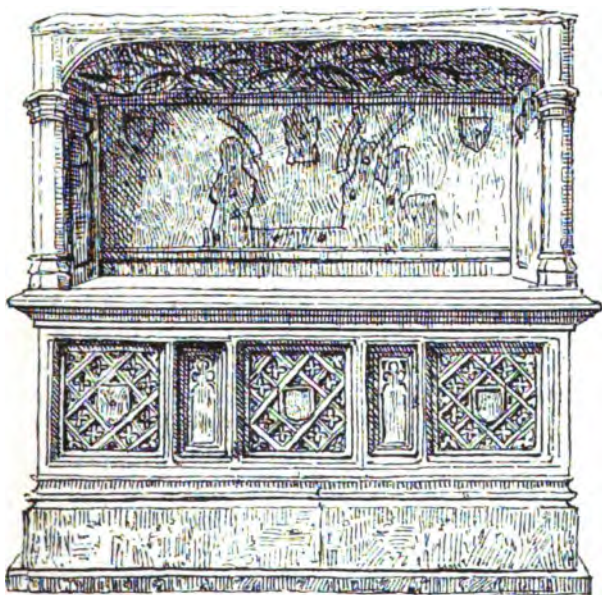
An example of the above form is given, Plate xxxix., fig. 15 (Twining, *Early and M. Art, and other forms from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries*).

"1. A man and wife, kneeling, and apparently children behind them. (Sir J. Rotheram.)

"2. A man, two wives and three children, kneeling, and a Trinity above. Drawing by Fisher.

"They probably commemorated the family of Rotheram, who resided at Someries" (*Top. and Gen.*, i. 78).

It is not easy to determine to whom this latter tomb was erected. From its position in this chapel it is natural to infer that it belonged to one of the Rotherams. The only member



TOMB OF GEORGE ROTHERAM.

of the family who is known to have had two wives, about the period of the tomb, is George Rotheram,<sup>1</sup> apparently the younger son of the first Sir Thomas. He died in 1579, and desired to be buried in Luton Church, where *his first wife was buried*.

From the character of the tomb and the representation of the Trinity said to have been visible upon it, it has generally been

<sup>1</sup> George seems nowhere to be definitely stated to be the son of Sir Thomas, but as the first Thomas, according to this brass, had two or more sons, and as George Rotheram, of *Farley*, is mentioned in this George's will, there appears to be no other place for him in the pedigree.

considered to be, though a good deal later than the adjoining tomb (and Steele calls it a *new tomb*), yet of a date some considerable time earlier than 1579. It is, however, to be observed that it was no unusual thing to erect a monument<sup>1</sup> or inscribe a brass during the lifetime of a person, merely leaving the dates unfilled, and still more usual, when either husband or wife died, to record the names of both. George Rotheram, when he died (in 1579), must have been in very advanced years, for his father had died seventy-five years previously, and his elder brother sixteen years. As he married a second time, his first wife may have died young, and it does not seem improbable that, having erected a tomb in its present place for her, and put up brasses for her and himself—not, as in the case of the adjoining tomb, one behind the other, but facing each other, whilst adoring a “Trinity” in the centre—after he married again he may have added the figure of the second wife behind the other. This would allow for the representation of the Trinity to have been put up in Queen Mary’s reign, or even, it might be, many years before, in that of Henry VIII.

On the floor is lying, on the south side of the last (the tomb of the veiled lady), a large black marble gravestone, on which is carved a shield bearing (or) on a fess (gu.) between three storks (ppr.) as many cross crosslets (or); under is written in capitals:

“Here ly buried the bodys of Thomas Crawley of Nether Crawley in the parish of Luton in the co. Bedford, Gent., who dyed 15 Dec. 1629. And of Sir Francis Crawley K<sup>t</sup>. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas (son and heir of the said Thomas Crawley), who died 13 Feb. 1649. And of Francis Crawley (son and heir of the said Sir Francis Crawley), one of the Barons of the Excheq<sup>r</sup>, who dyed 25<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1682” (S.).

Sir Francis Crawley is said to have bought Someries from the Rotherams in the very year in which his father died, and with it the right of burial in Someries (Wenlock) Chapel. This will account for his father being interred there at the close of the year. It does not seem to be recorded that more than the above three members of the family were buried in the chapel.

<sup>1</sup> The brass of Edward Sheffield, vicar, was so prepared beforehand, and that of Sir Thomas Rotheram, father of George, was filled up with the date of his own death, but with only the name, and not the date of death of his wife, who survived him. So the brass of J. Skokys, rector of Wymington, Beds, has only A.D. 15..., and Richard Stap, in the Wenlock Chapel, A.D. ....

"Slabs for Archibald Napier, Esq., February 2nd, 1717, aged forty; Sarah, his wife, March 19th, 1738, aged sixty-eight; Elizabeth, their daughter, April 25th, 1723, aged twenty-one. Napier arms '(Ar.) a saltire engrailed between four roses (gu.)' " (G.). Removed with the last to the north transept.

"Against the east wall on a small brass plate<sup>1</sup> is writ: 'Here lyeth Roland Stap (Stop, G.; Stapes, B.), late cetezen and cloth-worker of London, who decessed the ix day of February A° 1558, and Dorothe his wife, who dep'ted y° xxviii of October 1565 and left behind them liveing iii Sons and iii daughters, to saye, Richard, Edward, James, Jone, Alias and Mary, and ye said Richard, their eldest sone, dep'td the . . . daye of . . . A° Domini . . .'" (S.). "These spaces were never filled up" (B.).

#### THE BELLS.

The earliest notice that has been met with of any church bells at Luton is the statement by J. Amundesham<sup>2</sup> that in A.D. 1430 *four* were "bought, de novo." To clear off the payment of these, Abbot Wheathamstead, as patron and rector, was applied to for a contribution towards it; however, he gave only one hundred shillings, promising that, if he continued abbot for seven years longer (which he did), he would then pay what remained of the cost of the *fourth* bell. This would seem to imply that the abbot's donation about cleared the cost of three of the bells, leaving the price of the fourth still to be collected.

Who the other contributors were, either before or after the abbot, or whether, the fourth bell remaining unpaid for, the abbot was called upon to fulfil his promise, is not recorded; but John, Duke of Bedford, uncle of Henry VI., though living chiefly abroad, either as Regent of France, 1429-31, or as holding the supreme command in Normandy, was at this time lord of the manor of Luton, (Sir) Thomas Hoo,<sup>3</sup> lord of the manor of Hoo,

<sup>1</sup> Now removed to the north wall of the chapel between the windows.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron.*, p. 52: "Die S. Laurentii (10 August, 1330), J. Petyfer de Lutone, W<sup>r</sup>. Scherefold, J. Aylewyne, de eadem, venerunt ad Manerium de Ty (Tytenhangre), ad impetrandum aliquod concessum pro fine, quatuor campanis de novo emptis, advenerunt . . . abbas eis concessit centum solidos . . . et superaddidit, ut si per septem annos abbatizaret, pro quarta campana persolveret."

<sup>3</sup> He, too, was generally serving abroad, being at first "of the chamber" of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, of whose will in 1426 he was a witness, and

and probably Sir Thomas Wenlock, chivalier, late knight of the shire (1422-26), still lord of Someries. There were also no less than ten other Luton men,<sup>1</sup> whose names are given in the *Return of the Gentry of the County*, only three years after this, some of whom, at least, may well be supposed to have taken a prominent part in procuring this early set of bells.

From the expression of the historian, "de novo," it may probably be inferred that there were no previous bells<sup>2</sup> which could be utilized, either in their existing state or by being re-cast, so as to form part of the new set, which now that the tower had been, lately, raised to its full height, it was designed to hang there. If so, it would seem that at the first four bells, and four only (the usual complement in parish churches before the sixteenth century), constituted the set.<sup>3</sup>

by whom he was left one of his coursers (*Test.*, vol. i., p. 207), and afterwards engaged frequently in Normandy.

<sup>1</sup> Their names, as being amongst the earliest known inhabitants of the parish, are here given: Thomas Manyngham, Humphrey Acworthe, Valentine Bailly, W. White, J. atte Hay, W. Ypyng, J. Petyfer, Matthew Stepeyng, W. Syleham, and Thomas Jakes. Of these it is known that J. atte Hay "repaired the church," and J. Petyfer was the foreman, as appears in the previous note, in the application to the abbot for a grant towards the bells.

<sup>2</sup> W. Wenlock in his will, A.D. c. 1391 (forty years previous to this, *i.e.*, in all probability before the completion of the tower), though he gives minute directions about his burial in Luton Church, and of what each person is to receive who takes part in his funeral, and also leaves money (2s.) for those bellringers (*pulsatoribus*) of S. Paul's, London, and (12d.) for those (*pulsantibus campanas*) of S. Stephen's, Westminster, who should be present (and presumably toll) at his obit, makes no mention of, and leaves nothing to, any bellringers at Luton. Dunstable *Priory* Church seems to have had a bell or bells a century before the mention of these at Luton, as it is stated (*App. Chron. Dun.*) that in 1349, during the time of the plague, the townspeople there made a *new bell*, and the prior covered the belfry with lead.

<sup>3</sup> It is said (*Encycl. Brit.*) that the *first* regular *peal* of bells in England was that of five given by Pope Calixtus III. to Henry VI. in 1456, these having been previously, however, taken, tradition hints, from a church in France by Henry V. after Agincourt. By Henry VI. they were given to his new foundation, King's Coll., Cam. (Raven's *Ch. Bells of Camb.*, p. 28). If this were strictly accurate, then Luton, provided her bells were at once brought home and hung, after being "bought," and provided also that they were "bells of a corde," of one ring, in musical sequence, could have boasted the earliest *peal* in England; but the largeness of the bell-chambers of even the Saxon and Norman towers (though there is little evidence of their having carried many bells, and still less of those bells being rung as a *peal*), appears to imply that they were built at least for more than one bell; and certainly Crowland had a set of seven, which was destroyed by the great fire at that abbey in 1091 (Raven's *Cam.*





THE TOWER.



Nearly three hundred years of silence elapse before the next mention occurs of the bells of Luton,<sup>1</sup> although certainly long before the end of that period important changes had taken place in its peal or set.<sup>2</sup> For "the ring" then is found to consist of *five bells*, and *three* of these to bear the date of the previous, the seventeenth, century. Whether either of the two other bells formed part of the original four, or were added some little time afterwards, and so have a claim to be styled "mediæval," is a

*Bells*, pp. 2, 3). Both the churches, also, mentioned in the previous note would seem to have had bells, more or less in tune. It would, however, probably be difficult to name any *parochial* church, in mediæval times, of whose set of bells mention is made earlier than that of Luton, as alluded to by J. Amundesham.

<sup>1</sup> In 1552 (6 Edw. VI.) a commission was appointed to take an inventory of all church goods. It is greatly to be regretted that the returns from only fourteen churches of the county of Bedford can be discovered, and that of Luton is not among the number. Otherwise the mystery attached to its bells would probably have been cleared up. It is to be noted, however, that out of the fourteen churches three of them, viz., Harlington, Meppershall, and Eaton Socon, had five bells each, and five, Houghton Regis, probably hung in a turret at the east end of the nave, Westoning, Eversholt, Husborn Crawley, and Stagsden, four each; five had "sanctus, sancte, saunce bells," viz., Westoning, Harlington, Eaton, Farndish, H. Crawley; and two, viz., Eversholt and Westoning, had each two "sacryngebells" as well (small hand-bells rung by the servers at mass), besides four of them having in addition to these one or more "hand-bells," Westoning, Battlesden, and Salford having two each, and H. Crawley one (*Beds N. and Q.*, ii. 277-311; *vide* also p. 365).

<sup>2</sup> Four special causes are assigned by A. Daniel-Tyssen (*Church Bells of Sussex*, pp. 2, 3), for the paucity nowadays of old bells in England of a date anterior to 1570, viz., "the spoliation of churches which took place in the middle of the sixteenth century (during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and the first two years of Elizabeth); the accidents which are liable to occur, such as lightning, fire, internal decay, etc., often destroying at once the towers and everything in them; the remodelling of old peals to suit them for change-ringing; and the ordinary wear and tear of the bells themselves." The recasting (as was probably the case) of the two or three earlier bells (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) of the "ring" at Luton in the seventeenth century, is most likely to be attributed to one or both of the two latter causes. Two, of the original set of four, may have been made into three of lighter weight in the sixteenth century, or a fifth bell may have been added then, or previously; and three of the bells again recast at intervals, when required, in the seventeenth century (viz., in 1602, 1616, and 1670); the old "Sanctus-bell" (as the original probably was) being also within this latter period (in 1637) cast into "the priest's bell." Change-ringing, introduced in the sixteenth century, naturally caused more wear and tear to bells, and consequently most of the *ancient* bells remaining are to be found in small country villages where there are not peals (A. D.-T.). Two old bells, however, seem to have survived at Luton till the latter half of the eighteenth century.

point of interest deserving of investigation. There is, however, a little discrepancy in the account of them.

According to Steele,<sup>1</sup> who apparently examined the bells himself (between 1711-19), though not with all the observation and accuracy which could have been wished,<sup>2</sup> they were :

1st : Treble, cast anno 1670.

2nd : Inscribed, "In God is all mi trust 1602."

3rd : Dated 1616.

4th : Inscribed, "D'na Elizabeth, uxor ejus," and "Milli (*by error* for Missi) de cœlis habeo nomen Gabrielis."

5th : Tenor, an extraordinary large bell, said to weigh near fifty hundredweight, round is written "Trinitati Sacra hec campana beata."<sup>3</sup>

But according to North they were :<sup>4</sup>

1st : Treble, *Mediæval*.

2nd : Dated 1602.

3rd : Dated 1616.

4th : Undated.

5th : Tenor, mediæval, and believed to have weighed 44 cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lb.

A priest's bell (with the stamp of Rob. Oldfield upon it), dated 1637.

He omits all mention of the inscriptions.

As the treble is stated by Steele to have been cast in 1670, North's informant must have overlooked this date, and be in error in describing the bell as "mediæval." The date of the three first bells therefore may be considered as settled, though, as no stamps or other marks upon them are recorded, it is impossible to say from what foundry either of them proceeded.

From the *first words* of the inscription upon the *fourth bell*, "D'na Elizabeth, uxor ejus," Steele (evidently considering it an

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Topographica Brittanica*, vol. iv., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> He unfortunately overlooked "the priest's" or "alarum bell," which then probably hung, as it did of late, in a separate turret of the church, but which both from the date upon it, 1637, and from Blomefield's mention (p. 31) of the church (in c. 1733) having "six bells, a clock and chimes," was certainly in existence at the date of Steele's visit.

<sup>3</sup> The epithet evidently alluding to the custom of those times for bells after each re-casting, as well as originally, to be "blest" or "hallowed." A similar use of the word occurs on the inscription of other bells also dedicated to the Trinity.

<sup>4</sup> *Church Bells of Bedfordshire*, p. 169, *ex infor.* J. Harris, Esq., C.E., 1883.

*ancient* bell) "supposes" that it must have been given either by one of Sir Thos. Hoo's wives, the two first of whom were both named "Elizabeth," or else by his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, who, as she married Sir J. Devenish, would also have been styled in those days "Lady Elizabeth."

Either of these suppositions would cause this bell to have been not merely mediæval, but contemporary, or nearly so, with the original four, if not actually one of them.

The words given by Steele are unhappily only a part of the inscription which must have been upon it; the remainder, overlooked or omitted by him, no doubt contained the name of the lady's husband as part donor, unless—indeed, this bell was one of a pair, and that its fellow was given, and inscribed with her husband's name, at the same time.

If it was given by any of the Hoo family, it must, apparently, have been given by Sir Thomas's *second wife*. For his first wife, Elizabeth, died before we hear anything about even the four bells; and as the *eldest* daughter, Anne, and not the youngest, succeeded to the manor of Hoo (in 1455), his youngest daughter, *Elizabeth*,<sup>1</sup> was not likely to have had any such connection with Luton Church as to have led her (and her husband) to contribute a bell to it. Even Sir Thomas's second wife, Elizabeth, whom he married *circa* 1428, if she ever became "Lady Elizabeth," could not have long survived after her husband was knighted (20 Hen. VI., 1441-42), for he married again and had three children before his death in 1455. Still, there might have been time between 1430 and the date of her death for her and her husband to have contributed this bell. From the expression, however, that the "four bells had been *bought*," it seems to follow both that these were, at least, already cast and ordered, though apparently not yet paid for, and also that none of them had at that time been *given*, and if *already cast*, then this could not have been the *fourth bell*, for even if it was contributed (*i.e.*, the cost of it defrayed) by Lady Eliz. Hoo, instead of by Abbot Wheathamstead, shortly after 1430, it could not then have received the impression of her name. It might, nevertheless, have been given by her and her husband as a *fifth bell*, though the numbers of bells, before change-ringing was introduced in parish churches, seldom exceeded four (*English Bells, etc.*, p. 22).

<sup>1</sup> This Elizabeth was left by her father's will, 1455, five hundred marks (£333 6s. 8d.) on her marriage (*Test.*, vol. i., p. 272).

If this fourth bell of the seventeenth century peal were somewhat later, *intermediate*, *i.e.*, between the original peal and the earliest dated bell, 1602, then, it seems, there were only *two* "Ladies Elizabeth," *connected with Luton*, besides those just mentioned of the Hoo family, of whom either could have been the donor, *viz.* :

(1) Elizabeth (Drayton), the first wife of Sir J. Wenlock, of Someries (knighted 1447-48), co-heiress, and in memory of whom her husband built the Wenlock Chapel in 1461, and who, together with her husband, may, within these years, have added this bell to the four—while, possibly, Sir John may have even given the tenor also.

(2) Elizabeth (S. John), the wife of Sir Thos. Rotheram, who inherited Someries in 1504 ; but of either of these little is known, except that Sir Thos. was high sheriff of Bucks and Beds, 1525, 1539, and 1550, and survived his wife, dying in 1563—both of hem being buried in the Wenlock Chapel.

That this bell was not—like the dated bells—cast in the seventeenth century, may be inferred both from the absence of any similar date upon it, and also from the fact that of the three "Ladies Elizabeth" connected with Luton during that period, there is not one of them who was at all likely to have been the donor. They were :

(1) Elizabeth (Emington), wife of Sir Thos. Rotheram ; but as his father parted with Someries in 1629, and Sir Thos. probably never inherited any property in the parish, it is not likely that either his wife or himself gave a bell to the church.

(2) Elizabeth (Rotheram), sister of Sir Thos. Rotheram and wife of Sir Francis Crawley (who was knighted 1632, and died 1650). She died 1658.

This would make the date of its gift to have been between 1632 and 1650, between which years the priest's bell was cast (1637). But if cotemporary at all with it, it would, like it, and as was customary at that period, have had some stamp of the founder, as well as a date.

(3) Elizabeth (Biddulph), wife of Sir John Napier (who succeeded to the baronetcy 1660, married in 1666, and died in 1711). She died in 1721. This would bring its date down as late as between 1666-1711.

Both these latter cases, however, would be too near the time of Steele's visit to Luton (1711-19) for him to have had any difficulty

in ascertaining the name of the donor; for in the former case many must have recollected the erection of the bell; and in the latter the lady herself was still alive.

The *second part* of the inscription<sup>1</sup>—its dedication to S. Gabriel—although there is no invocation,<sup>2</sup> is also in favour of an early date being assigned to it. There is a bell at S. Albans with exactly the same inscription, the Leonine verse, “+ Missi de coelis habeo nomen Gabrielis +,” and there can be little doubt but that that bell is mediæval. The style of the inscription (its being “in the boldest black letter with Lombardic capitals”), the absence of any date or stamp upon it, and the fact of its erection in the clock tower, a detached campanile, entirely unconnected with any ecclesiastical building, which is known to have been built between 1403 and 1412, and which must have had a bell from the first, and probably none before this, all point to a very early date. The bell at Luton, from its being referred by Steele to one of the Hoo family, probably had the same character of letters and the same absence of date or stamp, though from the mention by J. Amundesham of the date of the first bells there, this bell could not have been erected quite as early as that of S. Albans—certainly not earlier than 1430—probably some time after that.

Whether this bell, like so many of its namesakes, was ever used as a morning or evening bell at Luton, there seems to be no record. North<sup>3</sup> tells us that “as the curfew, when it ceased to be legally enforced as a notice for the extinction of fire and candle, probably became the evening *Angelus* (which was frequently called ‘Gabriel’ from being dedicated to the angel of the *Annunciation*), a warning to all to say an Ave to the *Blessed Virgin* before retiring to rest;”<sup>4</sup> so the ringing of the early morning bell” (continued to the present day at Eversholt, and only recently discontinued in some other parishes in the county) “arose from an extension of that practice. In 1399 Archbishop Arundel

<sup>1</sup> At Somerby near Brigg are two bells which have each a double inscription, the one giving the name of the donor, the other the dedication of the bell, both of the date 1431 (*English Bells*, p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> The third bell at Isleham, Cam., has an invocation, “Scē: Gabriel: ora p̄ aiābs Johis Bernard milt et Elene ux̄is sue: et Thome Peyton, armige.” Sir J. Bernard ob. 1451 and T. Peyton ob. 1484 (Raven, p. 153). The second bell at Findon, Suss., a fine old bell (*mediæval*) has merely “+ Sancte Gabrielis” (*Ch. Bells of Suss.*, p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> *Church Bells of Bedf.*, pp. 104, 105.

<sup>4</sup> See Rock’s *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 337.

issued a mandate commanding that at early dawn one 'Our Father' and five 'Hail Marys' should be said. As a reminder to all of this duty, the Angelus was rung very frequently, as early as four o'clock in the morning."<sup>1</sup> This may have been the origin of the dedication of this bell to S. Gabriel.

From Steele's ignorance, then, of the name of the donor, from the great unlikelihood of its having been given by any of the later "Lady Elizabeths" of Luton, from its attribution so long ago as the time of Steele, the only writer who had examined it, to one of the Hoo family, and from the many other arguments above adduced in favour of an early date, it may be inferred with great probability that this "Gabriel" bell was, as North concludes it to have been, "mediæval," and also that it was, more likely than not, added to the original set of four (or of three, if the contemplated number was not completed till then) some little time after their erection. Only, it is here suggested, that, considering the interest shown in the fabric of the church by Sir J. Wenlock, and our ignorance of any such interest on the part of the Hoo family (the burial-place of Sir Thomas and of every other member of the family about that period, as far as is known, being elsewhere), that it was to Lady Elizabeth Wenlock (and her husband) rather than to any "Lady Elizabeth" of the Hoo, or of any other family, that Luton Church was indebted for this interesting bell.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged, remembering that bells were not very unfrequently exchanged, or those of other churches bought, that it is quite possible that the "D'na Elizabeth" of the bell had no connection whatever with Luton, and if so, one, *though only one*, of the arguments in favour of its antiquity would fall to the ground.

The fifth, or tenor bell, though Steele gives no hint of its date, may well be considered, as it is described by North, as "mediæval." Its having neither date nor founder's mark,<sup>2</sup> the style also of its Latin inscription, its unusual size for a country church, its dedication to "the Trinity" taken in connection with the foundation of

<sup>1</sup> The largest or tenor bell of a church seems to have been generally dedicated (though not in the case of Luton) to the patron saint of the church, the one intended for use in the Angelus to S. Gabriel, the other in honour of the saints whose altars stood in the church below, or who were the patrons of guilds or confraternities in the church (North's *English Bells*).

<sup>2</sup> These are all mentioned among the "notes that mark the antiquity of a bell" (*Ch. Bells of Sussex*, p. 4). "English bell-founders seldom put the date on their bells before the year 1570" (*ib.*, p. 3).



"the Guild of the Holy Trinity" in 1475, are all arguments in favour of its antiquity. And this is also perhaps confirmed by a somewhat similar inscription having been upon a bell<sup>1</sup> formerly belonging to King's College, Cambridge, one of the bells previously alluded to as forming part of what is said to have been the earliest known peal in England. It was the fifth bell there, too, and also of great weight, fifty-seven hundredweight. The inscription was: "Trenetate sacra fiat hec Campana beata."<sup>2</sup> It was "hallowed," it seems, after being re-cast in London, in 1443.

Any arguments in favour of this fifth bell being mediæval tend to confirm the "supposition" of Steele that the fourth bell was also mediæval.

It does not seem unlikely, then, upon the whole, that if the fifth bell was not actually one of the four "bought" bells, both the fourth and fifth bells, of the seventeenth century peal, were additions made very shortly after the erection of the original four, that some Lady Elizabeth and her husband (perhaps Lady and Sir J. Wenlock) gave what was then the fifth bell, in order of possession, but which afterwards, at least, became the fourth in the peal; and were it not that we should probably have heard the fame of his liberality, it might perhaps be thought that Abbot Wheathamstead himself, in fulfilment of his intention, if not exactly of his promise, to complete the set, made a grant of the larger—the late fifth—bell instead of merely paying for the fourth.

*The Priest's Bell.*—This, though dated 1637 (*i.e.*, during the incumbency of J. Birde), was probably a re-cast of the ancient Sanctus bell,<sup>3</sup> and consequently kept distinct from the others. There seems to be no remembrance of its ever having been used as a priest's bell or ting-tang<sup>4</sup>—rung, as such a bell used to be, in

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Raven's *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, pp. 25, 28.

<sup>2</sup> It seems possible that this was the real inscription on the Luton bell also, the word "fiat" being either overlooked or undeciphered by Steele, who probably has made other omissions. If so, it was perhaps cast at the same foundry—it may be, also, in the same year.

<sup>3</sup> So late as 1654 "one saint's bell" is found in an inventory of goods of the church of Woburn (S. Dodd's *Hist. of Woburn*). Two of these ancient bells still remain in the county—the one at Dunstable, now used as a "sermon bell," and the other, named "Petre," at Lidlington (North).

<sup>4</sup> "The priest's bell at Wootton (probably a recast), still hangs in a turret, and is always rung from the chancel (the ancient mode of ringing the Sanctus bell) when the parson enters the church for service" (North, p. 103).

so many churches, even in modern times, immediately before the service began—but it was, probably, so used when it was first recast. It is said formerly to have been known as “the curfew bell,” and lately to have been called “the fire” or “alarum bell.” It is now, after many wanderings, to be found erected in the bell-cot over S. Mary’s Hall. It is the only one remaining of the seventeenth-century bells, and being older, by more than a hundred years, than any other of the church bells of the parish, deserves to be prized.

The five bells of the seventeenth-century peal were re-cast into eight bells—or simply re-cast and the number made up to eight—after the lapse of about a hundred years from the time of the last dated bell (1670), and during the incumbency of Dr. Prior (1760-79). They constitute the present peal. All but the earliest—which is also the largest—were cast at one foundry.<sup>1</sup> They bear the following inscriptions:

1. “I mean to make it understood, That though I’m little, yet I’m good.” Pack and Chapman, London, fecit 1775. (Diam., 29 in.; height, 23 in.)

2. “Although I am both light and small, I will be heard above you all.” Pack and Chapman, London, fecit 1775. (Diam., 30 in.; height, 25 in.)

3-7. Pack and Chapman of London, fecit 1775. (Diams., 33 in., 35 in., 36½ in., 39 in., 41½ in.; heights, 25 in., 25 in., 26½ in., 30 in., 33 in.) The letters on the seventh bell are incised.

8. “I.H.S. NAZARENUS REX JUDÆORUM FILI DEI MISERERE MEI.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That of Pack and Chapman, the successors of Phelps and Lester, who cast the great bell of S. Paul’s, the tenors of Winchester Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, each weighing *c.* 32 cwt. (in 1738), and in the same year Bow bell, of 53 cwt. 24 lb.—a firm represented now by G. Mears. The doggerel upon the second bell had been perpetrated previously at Bexhill, Sussex, upon their No. 1 bell, by Lester and Pack, and that upon the first appears this same year, 1775, upon the second bell at Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, and is repeated upon the third bell at Uckfield, Sussex, in 1779, by Mears, and again in 1789 upon the first bell at Hove, in Sussex.

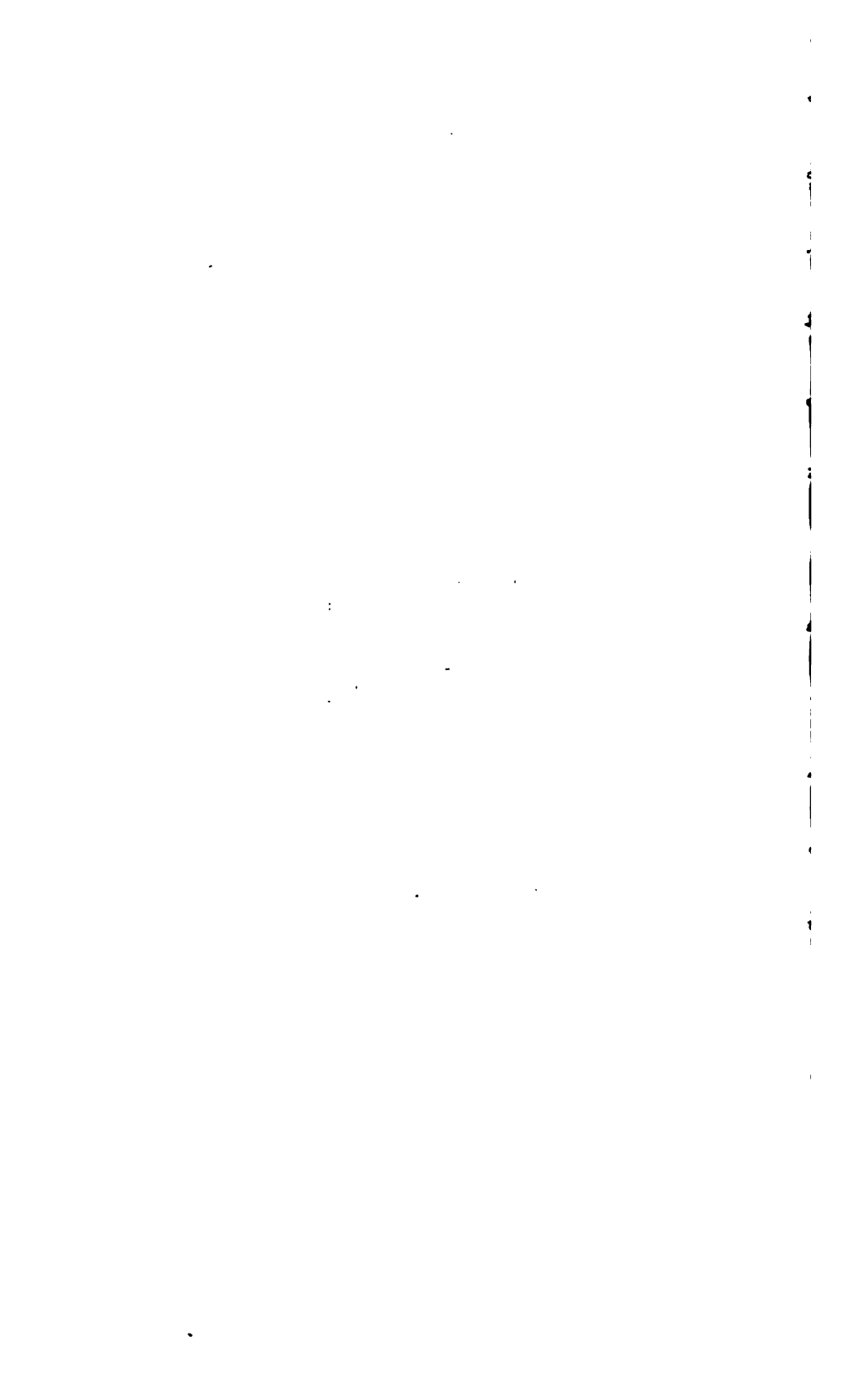
<sup>2</sup> Both the invocation and the prayer on the eighth bell are frequently to be found on bells, particularly on the more ancient ones, *e.g.*, second bell, S. Michael’s, Abington Pigotts: “Jesu Nazarene Rex Judæorum miserere mei . . .” (Dr. Raven’s *Bells of Cam.*, p. 117); Falbourn S. Vigor, formerly on large bell (*ib.*, p. 56): “Jesus Nazarenus rex Judæorum;” an old bell at Bramber, Sussex, cast by a founder who had not yet acquired a surname: “+ Ihesus Nazarenus Rex Judiorum: Nicolas mei fecit” (*Suss. Ch. Bells*, p. 7).

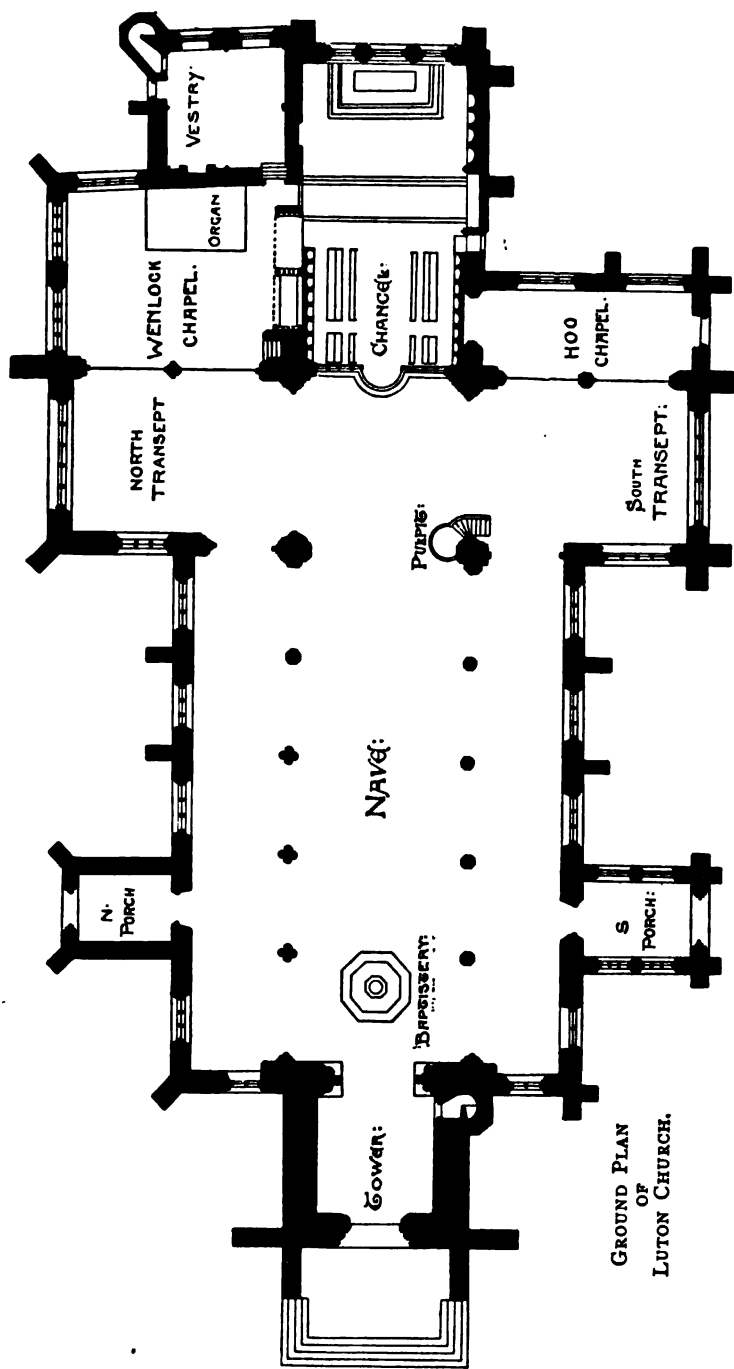
Jos. Eayre, S. Neots, fecit 1761. (Diam., 46 in.; height, 36 in.)

The Priest's bell, 1637. No inscription, but the stamp and initials of Rob. Oldfield, of Hertford. (Diam., 46 in.; height, 36 in.) (North.)



SOMERIES CASTLE.





To face p. 368.



## APPENDICES. PART I.

### APPENDIX A. (Chap. I., p. 1.)

#### VARIOUS LUTONS.

THERE is another Luton vicarage (of small extent and population) in Devon, and a modern Luton rectory (a large district of Chatham) in Kent, and Luttons<sup>1</sup> in both Northampton and Lincoln, the names of each of these, as well as of Luton in Beds, being at times variously spelt. There is also mention made (*Pipe Rolls*, 8 H., ii., p. 58) of a *Manor of Luiton*, the usual ancient designation of that in Beds, in Herefordshire. Many errors and much confusion on the part of authors have arisen from these facts, especially as the two Luttons were until 1837 in the same diocese as the Bedfordshire Luton. As the latter also is often in the bishops' certificates<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere misspelt "Luttons," and in other documents described as being in the county of Hertford (owing probably to the connection of its church with S. Alban's Abbey), and once even, *computus ministrorum* (*Dug. Mon.*, ii., p. 253), as situated in the county of Bucks, it is not impossible that some of the omissions of the exact date of the institutions in the list subsequently given of the vicars of Luton may be attributable to the name Luton being either unrecognized from being misspelt, or not met with at all

<sup>1</sup> There was formerly also a Lutton in Bucks (*Rot. Hund.*, p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Composition Books (Public Record Office), ser. i., vol. i., where E. Brockett in 1594 and J. Bird in 1617 are entered as vicars of "Lutton." So also even as early as King John, 1199-1203, *Abbrev. Plac.*, vi. 36, Hundr. de Flitte; in *Rot. Canc.*, p. 343; and in *Plac. de quo War.* and *Pat. Rolls*, both in 1287. It occurs also in an order of the House of Commons, 11th December, 1643 (*Journal of the House of Commons*, iii. 337), where the "Harfordshire regiment near Lutton is ordered to proceed to Newport Pagnell." In *Testa de Nevill* (p. 243, Henry III. and Edward I.), it is called "Luxton;" in *Rot. Hund.*, i. 3, it is printed or misprinted "Buton." Other modes of spelling the name, and the various forms through which it has passed, will be found in a subsequent appendix, F. (b.), "Lygeanburh."

from being wrongly placed in some other archdeaconry of the old diocese of Lincoln—Bucks and a large portion of Herts, as well as the above-named counties of Northampton and Lincoln, having formed up to a late period parts of that extensive diocese.

## APPENDIX B. (Chap. I., p. 2.)

### PLACES IN BEDFORDSHIRE MENTIONED IN PRE-NORMAN RECORDS.

THE following are apparently the only places within the county whose names are to be met with in records of earlier date than Domesday. In the sixth century, two—Bedford (Bedcanford) and Limbury (Lygeanburh, in Luton), A.D. 571 (*A. S. Chron.*); in the seventh century, none; in the eighth, two, Luton (Lygetune), 792 (*Offa's Charter*), and Bedford again (Bedeforde and Beodef-  
ford), 798 (*Archbishop Athelheard's Proclamation*); in the ninth century, the same two again, the one directly by name, Bedford (Bedanforda), the other by implication, "along the Lea to its source," *i.e.*, in "Leagrave," in Luton, 886 ("The Firth of Wedmore"); in the tenth, nine,<sup>1</sup> Luton again (Lygtun, Ligtun), 917 (*A. S. Chron.*), and (Leowton), 931 (*Charter*), Bedford again, 918, 919, 921 (*A. S. Chron.*), Tempsford (Temesford), 921 (*A. S. Chron.*), Chalgrave (Cealgræfan) and Tebworth (Teobanwyrthe), 926 (*Charter*), Clifton (Cliftune) and Langford (Longaforde), 942, 946, Potton, 962, 992, and Shillington (Schifflingdonia), 962, 975; and in the eleventh century, thirteen, Barton (Bertona), 1044, 1049, Cranfield (Crangfeld, Cranefeld), 1060, Clapham (Clopham, Cloppham), 1060, Cardington (Kerdingtone) and Kempston (Kembeston, Cæmbestune), 1049, 1060, Hockliffe, *c.* 1000 (Thorpe), Studham (Stodham, Stodam), 1053, 1065, 1066, Shillington (Scytlingedune), 1060 (Scillintune), 1066, Potton (Pottune), Barford (Berefordia) Caddington (Cadantune, Cadandune, Cadendune), Sundon (Sunnandune), Streatley (Strætlea), Hutely (Hætlea, Hætlanlea), Harlington (Hærlea), Holwell (Holewelle), and Luton again (Ligetune), if not Limbury

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also Toddington (Tudincgaton), mentioned in the will of Ælfheah, Aldorman, 965-75, which Thorpe (*Ind. Dipl. Angl.*, p. 680) suggests may be Toddington, although in the text (p. 527), he translates it Teddington (Midd.).



also (Lindbeorhge, *Kemble*), 1066. Almost all these later instances are in connection with grants of lands, and made chiefly to the monasteries of S. Albans, Ramsey, and Westminster.

It will be noticed that during the first four of these centuries the names of only three places occur, and these three connected with either Bedford or Luton. In the fifth of these centuries (only) seven new names (of places) are to be found, whilst the remaining twelve appear for the first time, chiefly towards the close of the last period.

It appears from this list that only twenty townships and two hamlets in the county are mentioned, even though a large portion of the charters containing these names are as late as the reign of Edward the Confessor, by which time all the townships had probably received their present nomenclature, and even the majority of parishes had been formed, with separate churches.

The following manors and lands, however, are also known to have been given to the various monasteries, either before or during Edward's reign, although the charters conveying them (and the date of their grant) seem to have been lost: Lidlington (Littinglton, *Dom.*), Lythington (*Dug. Mon.* (3), i. 247: "The celleress of Barking to receive of the fermour (farmer) of Lythington, £16," 12 Edw. Conf., 1053, granted to Barking Nunnery, Essex.

Arlesly (Ahrichsey, Alricesi), 8 hides and half a virgate given in free alms by King Harold, the founder, to the canons of S. Cross, Waltham, 1060.

And though the name of Biscot (Bishopescote) does not occur in *Offa's Charter* (792), yet from the reference to it in the list of Offa's grants (*Gesta Abb.*, i. 507, and *Liber Benefactorum*) it is clear that that was the name anciently attached, and probably, even earlier than Offa's time, to the present hamlet.

#### APPENDIX C. (Chap. I., p. 4.)

##### EXTENDED LATIN TEXT OF DOMESDAY RELATING TO LUTON CHURCH.

"ECCLESIAM hujus Manerii tenet Willielmus Camerarius de Rege cum V hidis terræ quæ ad eam pertinent. Hæ V hidæ sumuntur de triginta hidis Manerii. Terra est VI carucatæ, in dominio

1 carucata et villani habent V carucatas. Ibi XI villani et iii. Bordarii et iii servi. Et I molendinum X solidis. Ecclesia XX solidos per annum reddit. Silva L porcis. Intra totum valet et valuit IX solidis. Hanc ecclesiam cum terrâ tenuit Morcar presbyter, tempore Regis Edwardi."

## APPENDIX D. (Chap. I., p. 5.)

### OFFA'S CHARTER TO S. ALBANS.

THIS charter, which is found in *Auctarium Additamentorum* of M. Paris (*Chr. et Mem.*, No. 57, vol. vii., p. 5), is said to have been granted at the Mercian Witenagemot held "at Beranforda" (other forms of the name being Beoraforda and Beoranforda), *i.e.*, at Burford (Oxon), and is dated 4th May, 795, but, according to Haddan and Stubbs (*Conc.*, iii. 469), "mention of the regnal year, 35th of Offa, enables us to correct the date to 792." The title of the charter is, "Prescripta autem hujus donationis chartula, anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCXCV, Indictione 5 et regni Regis Offani xxxv, sub 4 nonas Maias: in loco qui dicitur æt Beranforda." It is attested by four Mercian bishops, Higbert (Offa's newly-appointed Archbishop of Lichfield), Ceolwulf, Bishop of Lindsey, Heathored, Bishop of Worcester, and Unwona, Bishop of Leicester, and by four Mercian abbots, all belonging to the diocese of Leicester, the first signature of these latter being that of *Abbot Alhmund himself* (+ *signum manus Alhmundi Abbatis*), the others being of Beorna, Abbot of Medeshamstede, of Wymund, and Forthred; together with those of 1 patricius, 1 princeps, and 11 duces.

The words relating to the conveyance of the land at Luton are as follows: "Ego, Offa, gratiâ Dei, Rex Merciorum, cum filio meo Ecgfrid, pro amore Omnipotentis Dei, & hujus Sancti intercessionem . . . terram xxx manentium in locis quorum sub inseruntur nomina, Domino Deo, Jesu Christo, ad ecclesiam S. Albani jure perpetuo, perdonabo. Hæ itaque sunt supra dictarum vocabula terrarum . . . Lygetune V manentium; quam videlicet terram Alhmundus Abbas, expeditionem subterfugiens, michi reconciliationis gratiâ, dabit."

Unhappily there is a slight suspicion of the genuineness of the

document, though by no means sufficient for its rejection. "Kemble thinks the Charter spurious, but the bishops and abbots," say H. and S., "are known persons, and their attestations involve no anachronism." They add, however, "that the Charter is on other circumstances *somewhat* questionable."

## APPENDIX E. (Chap. I., p. 7.)

### THE ROYAL MANORS OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

THE three assertions made in various places in the text, that the manor of Luton was, in all probability, (i.) a royal demesne from the earliest period of Saxon history; (ii.) that it had been so even in British times; and also (iii.) that it originally included, as it has done since the Norman Survey, the hamlet of Biscot, might, perhaps, have been left to rest, each upon its own merits, as being based either upon reasonable presumption from facts stated, or upon a state of things recognized and acknowledged by competent authorities. But the arguments which can be brought forward in favour of these assumptions—for in the nature of the case direct proofs can hardly be expected—are so interwoven with the whole story of the church of Luton, and when combined afford so much additional support to certain facts and theories, stated or suggested in these pages, that it is thought well, in order to realize their full force, to bring them together here in one purview. The whole subject of royal manors has received such scanty attention, as far as those of Bedfordshire, or, indeed, of any district in Mercia are concerned, that any ascertained facts, or even any well-founded deductions concerning one such manor, may throw light upon the history of others.

#### (1.) LUTON A ROYAL DEMESNE FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF SAXON HISTORY.

##### (a) *Terra Regis.*

In Domesday, Luton, Leighton and Houghton Regis are each designated as "*Terra Regis*." Although this does not of itself prove that they had been so for any great number of years, yet, unless evidence can be brought forward in support of the contrary, it is

in itself an argument of some weight in favour of the supposition. The lands so named therein were no doubt in large measure derived from other sources than that of inheritance from Saxon princes. For the Conqueror is found in possession of no less than 1,290 manors or lordships,<sup>1</sup> besides other lands not included in these terms. Of these 350 *had been the ancient property of the crown*;<sup>2</sup> all the rest were the acquisition of the Conqueror." "The 'terra Regis' of Domesday," says Knight, i. 580, quoting from Allen,<sup>3</sup> "consisted in part of land that happened at the time of the Survey to be in the King's hand by escheat or forfeiture from his *Norman* followers. It was constituted, in part, of the lands of *Saxon* proprietors which had been confiscated after the Conquest, and had not been granted away to subjects. But it was *chiefly* composed of land that had been possessed by the Confessor in *demesne*, or in farm, or had been held by *his thegns* or other *servants*."

"Of this last description, though a great part must have been folcland or public property of the state, of which, though the nominal proprietor, he was only the usufructuary possessor, and, with the licence and consent of his Witan, the distributor on the part of the public, yet a part was certainly the private bocland of Edward,<sup>4</sup> which had belonged to him as his private inheritance and which the Conqueror claimed as his heir, whilst still more was crown land" (the 350 manors above alluded to), "which had come to him as King of England, and which passed as a matter of course to his successor, William—Harold never being recognized in Domesday as having been king."

The above three Bedfordshire estates (exclusive, *i.e.*, of their later adjuncts), called in Domesday "royal *demesne* manors," clearly fall under the preceding description of crown lands held by the Confessor in *demesne*, *i.e.*, in his own hands, and so form three of the above 350 manors, "ancient property of the crown."

"The king's property in land may fall under three heads (says Bishop Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 142-3): first, his *private estate*, which he

<sup>1</sup> *Airy's Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> The private property of Edward is always clearly distinguished in Domesday, as *e.g.* in Beds, where, with reference to the manor of Potton (10 hides), it is said, "King Edward held this manor, and it became" (presumably by gift or will) "the possession of Earl Tosti," who was his brother-in-law.

could dispose of by his will, and which might be either 'book land' (such as are disposed of in the wills of Alfred and Edred), or folkland, of which he had taken leases of lives; secondly, the *proper demesne of the crown*, comprising palaces and their appendant farms, the *cyninges botl* and the *cyninges tun*, and even cities and burghs founded upon old royal estates; these belonged to the king as king, and could not be alienated or burdened without the consent of the Witenagemot.<sup>1</sup> And he had, thirdly, *rights over the folkland of the kingdom*, rather of the nature of claim than of possession; the right of feorm-fultum (rent in kind) for himself, and that of making provision for his followers with the consent of the Witan. After the reign of Ethelred (the Unready, 1002-1016), this third class of property seems to have been merged in the crown demesne."

Here again these three royal estates in Beds, each of them designated a manor and each conterminous with its township—and on each of these accounts distinguished from folkland—with their established dues to king and queen,<sup>2</sup> which could only be incident to folkland under certain conditions, must have belonged to the above-mentioned second class of royal property, *i.e.*, "cyninges tun," "old royal estates."

(b) *Possessions of the Mercian Kings in the Counties adjoining Bedfordshire.*

That the earlier *Mercian kings* possessed property at this extremity of their kingdom, and that it descended to their representatives in the state, even to the time of the Norman Conquest, is evident from the following instances, *e.g.*,

1. In that part of the neighbouring county of *Herts*, which in all probability belonged to Mercia from the same early times as Bed-

<sup>1</sup> See a grant of Ethelred II. to Abingdon (*Cod. Dip.*, mcccxii), in which he carefully distinguishes between his *propria hereditas*, which he could alienate, and the *terra regales et ad regios filios pertinentes*, the alienation of which the Witan had refused to sanction (Kemble, *Saxons*, ii. 30).

<sup>2</sup> "According to the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, the rents of the crown lands were paid in kind from the Conquest till the latter part of the reign of Henry I., when, in consequence of the complaints of the vassals of the great oppression they suffered in being obliged to bring provisions for the royal household to different parts of the country from their own dwellings, that prince, with the advice of his great council, sent commissioners over the kingdom to estimate the money value of all the rents; after which the sheriff of each county was appointed to collect them and to account for them to the Exchequer" (Knight, *H. of E.*, i. 583).

fordshire itself, and like it was never attached to the East Saxon kingdom at all, King Offa had a property and a palace, viz., in the vill of Offley, only about six miles from Luton (named after him), where he died in 796. The manor continued in the possession of the crown till the time of Earl Harold, on whose defeat and death at Hastings it passed to the Conqueror.

2. The manor of Hemel Hempstead in the same county<sup>1</sup> was an ancient demesne of the Mercian sovereigns (taken possibly from the West Saxon kings), in consequence of which Offa was able to to grant six mansions (hides) therein to S. Alban's.

3. At Berkhamstead, also in *Herts*, the King of Mercia had a palace or castle (Berk = berg, hill, and hampstead, homestead), upon the hill, which was still a royal manor and residence even in mediæval times, when John, Lord Wenlock, was for some years the steward of the manor and castle.

4. Bennington, also in *Herts*, was another seat of the Mercian sovereigns, a great council being held here under King Bertulph in 850, and it continued to be crown property into Norman times.

5. So also *King's Walden*, *Herts*, "which having been the patrimony of the early Kings of Mercia,"<sup>2</sup> came eventually, through the hereditary aldermen of Mercia, to Alfgar, Earl of Mercia, and thence to Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, who succeeded to the manors which Alfgar had possessed in Herts, including two in Offley, one in Lilly (both these parishes *adjoining Luton*), and one in Walden, only a few miles distant."

It seems but reasonable to conclude from these examples that the Mercian kings would possess other estates, royal manors like the above, in Bedfordshire also, which was an interesting district between Herts and their capital.

The Mercian princes and ealdormen possessed manors in *Bucks* also, the county adjoining Beds upon the west, though in this case, as part of Bucks belonged still earlier to the West Saxons, the crown lands probably first passed through their hands.

The manor of *Marlow* had belonged to the earls (the later representatives of the kings) of Mercia, and was given by William the Conqueror to his wife Matilda. This manor is also of some

<sup>1</sup> Britton and Brayley's *Topographical and Historical Account of Britain*, 1801.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* a paper on King's Walden, by Rev. H. Fowler, pp. 34, 35, *S. Alban's Architectural and Archaeological Soc. Transactions*, 1888.

little interest as having been granted by Henry I. to Earl Robert of Gloucester, and as having passed with that title through the De Clares, Despencers, and Beauchamps, to Richard, Earl of Warwick, Lord Wenlock's leader, and thence to Richard III. and Queen Mary (Lysons' *Bucks*, p. 599). The manor of Winslow, as it belonged to King Offa, who gave it in 792 to S. Alban's, was probably originally part of the crown land of the West Saxon kings, taken from them either by Offa himself, or by one of his predecessors (*Ibid.*, p. 667).

The manor of *Aylesbury*, also (the town itself is "said to have been one of the strongest garrisons of the Britons, and to have been taken by Cuthwulf in 571"), was anciently parcel of the demesne land of the crown, until it seems King John gave it to Geoffrey Fitzpiers, Earl of Essex, from whom it passed to the Boleynes; Thos. Boleyne, Earl of Wilts, father of Lady Anne Boleyne, selling it to Sir J. Baldwin (*Ibid.*, p. 504).

These cases also are in favour of the supposition that there were crown lands in the possession of the early Mercian sovereigns in the Bedfordshire portion of their kingdom as well as elsewhere, which, like those in their immediate neighbourhood, descended to the Norman kings.

(c) *The three Royal Manors of Bedfordshire.*

The crown lands in Bedfordshire at the time of the Survey were Luton, Leighton, and Houghton (the latter still distinguished from another parish in the county of the same name by the title of Houghton *Regis*), with the two hamlets or "berewicks" of Biscote and Sewell, attached severally after the Conquest to Luton and Houghton, together with certain lands added at the same period to the manors of Luton and Leighton. With the exception of Luton, which has been too often confused with Leighton, and of Biscote, nothing whatever seems to be known of these manors previous to the time of Edward the Confessor, and what little is recorded of them during that period is contained in Domesday.

From this we merely gather, with regard to LEIGHTON, that during King Edward's time the manor was rated at 30 hides (including, *i.e.*, 4 hides belonging to the church of the manor), but that two adjoining estates of 10 and 7 hides respectively were added to the manor by the Conqueror's sheriff, thus extending the manor to 47 hides, of which the king held 43, and the Bishop of Lincoln, as his predecessor the Bishop of Dorchester had done previously,

the 4 of the church. Of these two estates, that of 10 hides must have belonged to the crown previously, since it was *held of the king* by Wenesi the chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> as part no doubt of the emolument of his office. The other 7 hides, now added, are said to have been held by Starcher, a thane of the king, and had probably been confiscated by the Conqueror. The small manor of (Nares) Gladly,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides, now in the modern parish of Heath and Reach, a hamlet of Leighton, evidently, also, formed no part of the original manor, but had, it would seem, being probably folkland, been granted in fee "with power of sale" by King Edward to Wigot, his huntsman, and given by the Conqueror to one of his followers, Gozelin Brito, who held also the manor of Potesgrave,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hides. The whole rateable extent of the original manor, therefore, exclusive of the church's property, was 26 hides. As the number of carucates is only given after the above additions were made, we have no means of ascertaining the extent of the arable and meadow land of the original manor.

Of *Houghton* we read that although it consisted of 24 carucates of arable land and 12 of meadow, it was only rated at 10 hides.<sup>2</sup> Also that the small estate of Sewell,<sup>3</sup> of 3 hides, which had been held with power of lease by Wulrune, a homager of Queen Edith, the Confessor's wife, had been treated in a similar manner to that of Biscot, and been taken from its former hundred by the Conqueror's sheriff and joined to the manor of Houghton, and to its hundred (Manshead). This seems, therefore, never to have formed part of the original royal demesne manor of Houghton, and not to have been a *royal* manor at all, although held by a homager of the queen.

From all that appears to the contrary, therefore, it may, it seems,

<sup>1</sup> This is an instance of a part of the crown land being held, as described by Knight, by one of the king's servants.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes asked how it happens that Dunstable, so prominent a place a century or so later, and for a time containing a palace of the king, is not mentioned in Domesday. The answer of course is, as given by Airy (p. 43) that the town was not then in existence. "There is no reason to suppose that even a village occupied the locality previous to the demolition of the royal forest" (the "wood for a hundred swine," specified in the Survey), "and the foundation of the priory by Henry I. The site is included in Domesday in one of the royal manors of Houghton or Sewell."

<sup>3</sup> Airy calls Sewell a manor, but it is not so designated in the Survey, nor, as the former owner could only lease it and not sell it ("dare" not "*vendere*" *potuit*), and having only one tenant, is it likely to have been a manor.



be presumably inferred that each of these three royal demesne manors had descended to Edward as crown property, and *that*, probably, through a long line of kings, princes, ealdormen, jarls and earls (British), Mercian, Saxon, and Danish.

The accompanying table gives a comparative view of the extent and value of these manors as recorded in the Survey, and the dues which each had to render towards the maintenance of the king and queen.

The following is the translation given by the editor of the facsimile of the part of Domesday relating to Bedfordshire, of the clauses relating to Leighton: "The land of the king. Lestone, the king's demesne manor, is now rated at forty-seven hides. In the time of King Edward there were only thirty hides. Of these forty-seven hides, forty-three are in the king's hand. The land is for fifty-two ploughs. In the demesne are six ploughs, and the villeins have forty-six ploughs. There are eighty-two villeins, and thirty boors, and two serfs, and two mills of thirty shillings. Meadow for forty ploughs. Wood for one hundred swine. The market toll renders seven pounds. In all it renders yearly twenty-two pounds by weight and half-a-day to the king's farm in wheat and honey and other matters to the farm pertaining. For the queen's use two ounces of gold, and for a sumpter horse and the custom of dogs seventy shillings, and one hundred shillings by weight and forty shillings of silver blanch. Ivo Taillebois sent this as a secondary tribute, and one ounce of gold yearly for the sheriff's use.

"Of the land of this manor Wenesi the chamberlain held ten hides of King Edward, which Ralph Taillebois has added to Lestone, to which they were not attached in the time of King Edward. And the same Ralph has again added to this manor other seven hides which were not there in the time of King Edward. Starcher, a thane of King Edward, held these seven hides."

The following is Airy's translation of the parts relating to Luton and Houghton. King William. Royal demesne manor, rated at 30 hides. Arable 82 car., 4 being in demesne. Meadow, 4 car. Wood for 2,000 swine. Six mills yielding 100 shillings. From customary payments 10s. 8d.; from tolls and market, 100 shillings. On the whole, it yields annually 30 pounds by weight, and half a day in corn and honey and other customary provisions for the royal table. To the queen it pays 4 ounces of gold; and 70

shillings for a sumpter horse, and other small customary tributes; and £6 10s. for the composition for hounds. From the improved rent added by Ivo Taillebois, 7 pounds by weight, 40 shillings of silver blanch, and 1 ounce of gold to the sheriff. 80 villeins, 47 borders. Approximate val. Dom. £67 10s.

Under the head of Stretley is the following :

The Bailiff of the Hundred (Flitte). Land, 2 parts of a virgate, held for the king's use. Arable half a car. It now belongs to the royal manor of Luton, although it did not in King Edward's time. Bondi, the standard-bearer, attached it to this manor, and Ralph Taillebois found it so attached. Formerly held, with power of lease, by Ulmar the priest. In time of Edward the Confessor, 10s.; in Conquest and Domesday, 5s.

It is observable that in each case the rent had been increased by Ivo Taillebois.

In that of *Luton* it is described as "From the improved rent added by Ivo Taillebois 7 lbs. by weight, 40 shillings of silver blanch, and 1 ounce of gold to the sheriff."

In that of *Leighton* as "100 shillings by weight and 40 shillings of silver blanch. This was *imposed* by Ivo Taillebois as an increased rent, as was also 1 ounce of gold annually for the sheriff's use;" or, as translated by James, "one hundred shillings by weight and forty shillings of silver blanch. Ivo Taillebois *sent this* as a secondary tribute, and one ounce of gold yearly for the sheriff's use, *hoc misit de Cremento (incremento)*. I. T."

Whilst in that of *Houghton* it is "From the increased rent added by Ivo Taillebois there are 3 pounds by weight and 20 shillings of silver blanch and 1 ounce of gold to the sheriff."

That there should have been met with only a few allusions to, or anything even bearing upon, the fact of either Luton or any other of these manors being the property of early Anglian or Saxon kings, is sufficiently accounted for by the general meagreness and paucity of Mercian chronicles and charters,<sup>1</sup> and especially by the history of Bedfordshire itself being almost a blank for many centuries previous to the Norman Conquest. But, on the other hand, all that is recorded concerning *Luton* tallies exactly with its having been from the earliest times a royal demesne, while this latter fact explains in return and accounts for certain known events.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the town of Aylesbury itself does not occur again in history after A.D. 571, until the civil wars of the seventeenth century (Lysons).

Amongst the various arguments in support of this claim of *Luton* are the following :

1. It is not only the chief manor of the Hundred of Flitte,<sup>1</sup> but the manor and the hundred have been connected and held together for many centuries, the rights and dues of the latter being known to have been attached to the former at least as early as from the year 1273.<sup>2</sup>

2. *Its great extent*, including as it does the whole parish, which contained at one period about a dozen minor manors, the area being, according to the Tithe Commutation Deed, 15,232 acres, 1 rood, 25 poles. The surrounding wood of its "mark" was in Domesday reckoned sufficient for 2,000 hogs,<sup>3</sup> and was thus the largest wood in the county, almost emulating in extent a royal chase.

3. *The nature of the dues paid to the king and queen.* Though "the half day's work in collecting corn and honey and other customary provisions for the royal table" (as the expression "providing," used on the other two occasions in Domesday, is interpreted in the case of Houghton Regis) may relate merely to the usual *feorm fultum*, or rent paid in kind for the king's maintenance, yet the additional payment of "seventy shillings for a sumpter-horse, and other small customary tributes, and one hundred and thirty shillings for the composition for hounds," and still more that of 4 ounces of gold to the queen, seems to point for its origin, not merely to a royal demesne rather than to public lands provisionally in the hands of the king, but also to an early and ancient custom.

4. That the hamlet of *Limbury*, Lygeanburh (still a *part of the manor of Luton* at the Norman Survey), contained the site of a

<sup>1</sup> The Hundred of Flitte (Flichtham)—a name derived from the stream or river Flitt (Flete) which flows through it—has included, since the time of Domesday, the following parishes and manors, viz., Luton with Biscot (annexed to it at that period), Barton, Caddington, Clophill, Flitton, Haynes, Higham Gobion, Pulloxhill, Streatly, Sundon, and the manor of Paysden in Shillington.

<sup>2</sup> In *Rot. Hund.*, i., p. 4 (*circa* 1273), the Princess Alianora, widow of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, is said to hold the manor of Luton and the Hundred of Flitte from the king (Edward I.), paying for the latter 60s. yearly as hidage.

<sup>3</sup> In Herts, noted for its extensive forests, only two parishes had woods of the same, and none of any greater, extent. Harthill, in Luton, probably derived its name from its connection with the royal sport of stag-hunting in some form, as also, perhaps, the manor of Hayes, a name derived from "hay," a park or place surrounded by a hedge.

*royal* city in 591 (as we know upon the authority of two ancient historians), is strong presumptive evidence both that Limbury continued to be royal property from that earliest date, and that the manor which included it was, from the first, a royal estate.

5. About a century later (*c.* 656), the adjoining hamlet of Biscot—a hamlet, unlike any other in the parish, *entirely surrounded* by other hamlets of the manor, and therefore seemingly a part originally of the estate or manor which included all the rest—appears to have been also royal property. For, as there seems to be no instance on record in early times of any large grant of land being made to a bishop except by the head of the state (few others ever having it in their power to make such a grant), it must be presumed that whoever granted to the bishop the large estate of Bisshoppescote (*viz.*, five hides of land, the whole extent in general of a thegn's property) was a prince or king. This grant, too, must have taken place very early, perhaps a century prior to the period when it passed from the Abbey into the hands of King Offa, and was by him regranted as early as 792 to S. Alban's. It is to be inferred, therefore, that that part also of the present parish of Luton was in those earliest times in the possession of the king. Two hamlets, therefore, of Luton appear to have been from a very early period crown property. Is it unnatural to conclude, seeing that the whole parish was found eight hundred years ago to have been a royal manor, that the rest of it was also at an equally early period crown property? But the most direct evidence perhaps that is attainable, and not the least interesting, is the following :

6. Besides the extensiveness of the early grant to the *church* (five hides), bespeaking the gift of a king rather than that of an ealdorman or thegn, the fact that the church was "built upon the *king's demesne*" (*super dominicum regni fiscum fundatum*) is a clear proof that the manor at that time belonged to the king. If the date assigned to that event in the text be correct—and it cannot be very far from the truth—then Luton was a royal manor *at the beginning of the tenth century*. That it was so about that very period is certain from the fact that King Athelstan, in 931, held at Luton a National Witan, at which it is expressly stated that he then—as he was wont when he was at either of his *royal manors*, and as only then was it convenient for him to do so—entertained the guests at his own expense.

There are also some arguments of a rather negative character which, as they tend to show that the old Anglian township of

Luton differed in some important respects from most, if not all, of the neighbouring townships, so they go towards supporting the theory that it was from the earliest Anglian period a royal demesne.

The older name, probably of the whole township, viz., *Lygeanburh*,<sup>1</sup> was not derived, as was the case of so many of the neighbouring manors and parishes, from some patronymic (implying as that latter does that the land was taken possession of by a whole clan or family of the same name, as *Harlington*, the town of the Herlings, *Toddington*, *Caddington*, etc.),<sup>2</sup> but was derived from the British name of the stream, or at least from that form of the name which has come down to our time, *Lyga* or *Lygea*. This leaves it open to the inference that the district was originally seized and colonized either by some king in person, or his reeve in his name, or else by some Saxon or Anglian military leader and his host, who took to himself both the property and position of the earlier British chief or prince of the country. When such a petty chieftainship was merged into a larger one, and that again was absorbed into a kingship, as evidently happened throughout the greater part of Mercia in the days of Penda (626-655), the property would pass along with the chieftainship, and so be handed down, according to all Teutonic custom, alike through Mercian ealdorman, Danish jarl, and Anglian king to the Norman Conqueror; only, a new town springing up in course of time and eventually giving its name, *Lygetun*, the "tun" or town upon the *Lyga* (Luton), in place of that of *Lygeanburh* (the fort upon the *Lyga*) to the whole district—an event which took place certainly as early as A.D. 792—the date of Offa's grant of land (Biscot?) at *Lygetun*.

Lastly, the fact that Luton does not fall under the description of any of the other kinds of property, save that of an ancient royal demesne, which, according to Allen, Knight, and others, went to make up the *terra regis* in the days of the Conqueror.

It was not the confiscated land of either Saxon thegn or Norman noble, nor had it been let out to farm by the Saxon king or held from him by his thegns, but had been possessed and held by the Confessor himself.

It could not have been folkland, and so have been merely *reckoned* in Domesday as crown land—as so much unreclaimed

<sup>1</sup> Of course the same argument holds good if *Lygetun* and not *Lygeanburh* was the original name of the whole township.

<sup>2</sup> The termination "ing" signifies "a family."

folkland came to be considered in later times, without having been so originally, being "merged in the crown demesne" (Stubbs)—for besides there having been an inhabited town where the present one stands, at least as early as A.D. 919, the fact of its being a manor, with manorial rights, as well as of its including the whole township, proves that the estate could not have been all folkland. Neither, as it finds no place in any deed or will of King Edward nor is mentioned in Domesday, as certain other lands in the county are, as having belonged to him personally, can it be supposed to have formed part of the Confessor's own private alienable estate.

It was clearly, therefore, part of the proper demesne of the crown, royal property, land even then of "ancient demesne."

(II.) LUTON, IN ADDITION TO HAVING BEEN CROWN PROPERTY THROUGHOUT THE SAXON PERIOD, CLAIMS ALSO TO HAVE BEEN A ROYAL ESTATE IN BRITISH TIMES.

Although the fact could probably be proved only in a limited<sup>1</sup> number of cases, yet it seems to be a recognized historical tradition

<sup>1</sup> The West Saxon kingdom having conquered and survived the other kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy, and its royal family never having become extinct like those of the other kingdoms, any estates taken by them from British princes in the south of England, if assigned to the king, would naturally continue attached to the crown throughout Saxon times, and if they can only be proved to have belonged to the British princes, their later history is probably easily ascertained. The case of the Mercian kingdom, however, was very different both in its origin and its close, and matters bearing upon royal estates are accordingly very complicated, and the history of such hard to discover or follow. It is not known, *e.g.*, what British princes or chiefs ruled there at the time of the Saxon invasion or Anglian settlement; where they severally resided, or what property they possessed, or even at what period exactly, or by whom, each part of the country was successively taken possession of, and in its later history when its royal family became extinct. As the government fell into the hands at one time of the West Saxons and then of the Danes, and was carried on sometimes by the king in person and sometimes by one or more ealdormen whose very names and the extent of their jurisdiction, as well as their prerogatives with regard to crown estates, are matters of uncertainty, it would probably be almost impossible to trace through whose hands any particular manor (especially if situated, as that of Luton, on what was then an ever-shifting border-line between different governments) may have passed before it appears in Domesday as *terra regis*. That it appears, however, during this period on two apparently distinct occasions as "the king's demesne," and as one of his manorial residences, and is found again, still as a royal manor, in the days of Edward the Confessor, after an interval of a hundred and fifty years, notwithstanding the great revolution in the

Name.	R.	s.					Total value.
		Customary payments.	Sumpter horse.	Compos. for bounds.	To Queen.	To Sheriff.	
Luton (Loitone)	E.	10s. 8d.	70s.	£6 10s.	4 oz. of gold		
	W	...	...	...	...	1 oz. of gold	£ s. d. c. 67 10 0
		...	...	...	...	...	3 0 0
Biscote (Bissopesote)	E.	...	...	...	...	...	3 0 0
	W	..	...	...	...	...	2 0 0
Leighton (Lestone)	E.	...	S. Horse and co. bounds	70s.	2 oz. of gold		
		...	..	...	...	1 oz. of gold	£. 43 10 0
	W	...	...	...	...	...	4 0 0
		...	...	...	...	...	...
Houghton (Houstone)	E.	Customary payments and S. Horse	65s.	65s.	2 oz. of gold		
	W	...	...	...	...	1 oz. of gold	£. 31 10 0 0 12 0
Sewell (Sewelle)	E.	...	...	...	..	...	1 0 0
	W	...	...	...	..	...	...





that the early Saxon kings and ealdormen<sup>1</sup> "succeeded to the very extensive possessions of the British princes" whom they conquered; that they retained them, for the most part, as "crown lands" throughout the Saxon period, and that these formed the nucleus of the later "royal manors."

This seems to have been unquestionably the case with regard to the four towns, Aylesbury, Bensington, Ensham, and *Lygeanburh*, taken from the British in 571.<sup>2</sup> Ethelweard, a Saxon historian and an ealdorman, who died in 975, and Florence of Worcester,<sup>3</sup> a Norman, who died in 1118, both describe these towns as having been British royal villas (*regias villas*), whilst Henry of Huntingdon calls them fortified camps (*castra munita*). The places selected for attack by Cuthwulf would naturally be those strongholds which were the residences (in time of war at least) of the British princes or chiefs, and which when demolished, and the prince probably slain, would leave the country at the mercy of the conquerors.

Aylesbury and Bensington, it is certain, were royal villas in early Saxon times, and continued to be so throughout the whole Saxon period, and are accordingly entered in Domesday as being still *terra regis*. Ensham also, though it is early found forming part of the endowment of the see of Dorchester, must previously have been, as appears from this very fact, in the possession of the Saxon kings, and have been a gift to the bishop from the crown.

It might reasonably, therefore, have been anticipated that *Lygeanburh*, having been also a royal vill in the time of the British princes, would be found to have continued such under the Mercian and later kings. And the fact that Luton, the later representative of Limbury (identified, on other grounds, with *Lygeanburh*), is found to be, in the days of the Confessor, *terra*

government which had taken place in the meantime, is sufficient evidence that even such changes had no real effect upon its recognized position as crown property. As an example drawn from a neighbouring county of the descent of the property of British chiefs to the Anglian and Saxon kings, it is recorded by Newcome (p. 506 *et seq.*) that Kingsbury in Herts, which is known to have been the residence of Kings Ethelred and Bertulph of Mercia (801), was almost certainly the residence of British kings previously.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave's *Commonwealth of England*, p. 69, quoted by Bishop Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 89, note. See also Knight's *Pictorial Hist. of England*, and Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie's *A. S. Chron.*, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 525.

*regis* and a royal manor, taken especially in connection with the allusions to its being royal property in the interval just mentioned, amounts almost to a proof that it, like Aylesbury and Bensington, was not a late acquisition on the part of the crown, but had been from the first seized as a royal vill, and held as such through the five hundred years of Anglian and Saxon rule.

(III.) THAT BISCOT FORMED PART OF THAT EARLY ROYAL ESTATE.

(a) It will hardly be maintained to be in the least degree probable that, admitting the rest of the present parish to have been crown property from the earliest times, Biscot, which is a slip of land *entirely* surrounded by it, should from the first have been an exception, and have belonged to anyone else.

(b) The fact that Biscot must have been given to the bishop by a *king*, at so early a period especially, is a proof, as we have seen, that it *was crown property*; and that it formed part of the *township of Luton*, at least as early as 792, seems evident from the description of it in *Offa's Charter* as being "at Lygetun" (Luton).

## APPENDIX F. (a.). (Chap. I., p. 7.)

### EARLY HISTORY OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

It is no little discouragement, when endeavouring to investigate the early history of a district, to find that there is no consentient opinion either as to which great tribe, Saxon or Angle, first colonized those parts, or even in which of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy it was originally included; yet so it is with regard to the district now known as Bedfordshire.

The more general opinion<sup>1</sup> has doubtless been (1) that its early inhabitants, like those of most of the other Midland counties,

<sup>1</sup> Soames (*Hist. of A. S. Church*, p. 44). Fifteen maps lie before the writer, professedly ranging from the sixth century onwards, each of them endorsed by the authority either of Freeman, Green, J. F. Bright, C. H. Pearson, Keith Johnston, or the Nat. Soc., and in each of these one or other, if not both of these statements are either made or implied, though in some cases the maps are by no means consistent with the opinions expressed in the very work which they are employed to illustrate.

were *Angles*; and (2) that the district was included from the earliest period, *i.e.*, in the sixth and seventh centuries, as it certainly was in the eighth, in the *kingdom of Mercia*. Accounting them to be Angles, they are supposed by some to have come along with Crida's colony of Mercians (586) from Deira (Yorkshire);<sup>1</sup> by others, in part at least, from Lincolnshire;<sup>2</sup> by others, again, from East Anglia.<sup>3</sup> But from wheresoever first colon-

<sup>1</sup> Newcome, *Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Either a branch of the Lindiswaras, or some newcomers, made their way up the Trent, and established themselves first at Nottingham and then at Leicester, and called themselves the *Middle English*" (Gardiner, *Student's Hist.*, p. 36).

<sup>3</sup> Sharon Turner (*Hist. of A. Saxons*, i. 319) seems to lean to the opinion that the *eastern and southern parts of Beds* were peopled from East Anglia, and only the north from Deira. "The Angles," he says, "were divided into (1) *The East Anglians* in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, and, *it would seem, part of Beds*; (2) the *Middle Anglians* in Leicester; (3) the *Mercians*, divided by the Trent into (a) *South Mercians*, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, and Hunts, *the north parts of Beds* and Herts" (Bucks strangely omitted), "Oxford, Gloucester, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Stafford and Shropshire; and (b) *North Mercians*, in the counties of Chester, Derby, and Notts."

C. H. Pearson, in his map of Saxon England (*Historical Maps of Eng.*) adds, as other modern authors also, another division or nation of Angles, *viz.*, *the South Angles*, and makes them to have inhabited the whole even of Bucks, as well as of *Bals*.

Miller (*A. Saxons*, p. 88), by stating that "*some portion* of Beds was included *from the first in the state and kingdom of East Anglia*," implies that in his opinion *part of Beds* was peopled from that county. So also Giles (*Bede*, ii. 12, note, Bohn), "Redwald was king of East Anglia, which included Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and *part of Bedfordshire*." The question, though an interesting one, is not easily determined.

It is very questionable whether the East Anglians *could* ever at that early period have crossed in any great numbers the fens and marshes of the Ouse, which were their great protection on their western border (Grant Allen, p. 34), and helped to keep them for many centuries a separate and isolated kingdom. "The fens proved impassable to the East Angles" (Green's *Making of Eng.*, p. 134). "The East Anglians were stopped on their way to the west by the great fen" (Gardiner, *S. Hist.*, p. 36). Though there is, therefore, very little likelihood of any large body of East Anglians having crossed the Ouse and taken possession of the country in one or more invasions, and still less of Bedfordshire having at any time formed part of an East Anglian kingdom, yet as the natural road into the interior of the country for such a people as the Angles was the *water-way* of such rivers as the Ouse and the Welland, it would seem most probable—in default of any information whatever upon the subject—that various families, some of the same stock as the East Anglians, some of that of the Gironi or Fenmen, and others as well,

ized,<sup>1</sup> there is little difference of opinion among those who hold that they were Angles, as to which kingdom<sup>2</sup> it was to which they were early attached, though the date of that annexation is by no means agreed upon.

Green, however, in his *Making of England* (p. 122, A.D. 1881), takes a different view from most previous writers, and seems to consider that Bedfordshire was both colonized and ruled over for a time by *West Saxons*. This theory he grounds, apparently, upon the one only historical statement which we have concerning this district during the whole of the English conquest of Britain, and upon the not unnatural inference that whatever part of the country any of the tribes are known to have overrun and conquered, that part they ought to be credited with having retained and peopled, until evidence is forthcoming that it was taken possession of by others.

Though it may not be possible to clear up these points with any satisfactory degree of certainty, yet the presentation of a few acknowledged facts of history, and a comparison of the statements of those historians who have treated especially of this *period*—though generally with a sad ignoring of the *district* in question—may help towards elucidating them, and the bearing of them upon our present study seems to demand for them some investigation.

It is admitted by all historians that at least as late as the middle of the sixth century the whole district, both north and south of the Ouse, continued to be inhabited by the native, or perhaps

would early work their way up those rivers and locate themselves, on each bank at least, long before the approach either of other *Angles*, across wood and hill and marsh, from Lincoln or Yorkshire, or of the *West Saxons*, in any number, from beyond the Thames. Only we know that they had not penetrated so far up the Ouse as Bedford in 571.

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Anglian Kingdoms*.

<sup>2</sup> Lysons (p. 1), "After the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy" (a rather indefinite period), "Bedfordshire became part of the kingdom of Mercia." Brayley and Britton (*Beds.*, p. 1), "at the establishment of the kingdom of Mercia," which must mean in the days of Crida (586-600) or of Penda (626-655), "Beds was attached to that government, and so continued till the year 827, when, with the division of the island, it became subject to the West Saxons under Egbert." White, however (*Hist. of Eng.*, p. 39), assigns both inhabitants and the dominion of the south part, at least, of Beds, to the *East Saxons*. "Beyond the noble river" (*i.e.*, north of the Thames) "lay the seat of another detachment of the northern rovers, which, extending from Wallingford (?) to *Bedford*, took the name of the land of the East Saxons (?)." Referring to a later period in the history, Brompton falls into much the same mistake, in which he is followed by Lysons, including half of Beds in the kingdom of Essex. But see Part IV., *Lysons and Brompton*.

rather by a Romano-British population.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, too, that it was still possessed by them, at least the southern part of it and "the Bedford district," in the year A.D. 571; for in that year, Cuthwulf, the general of the West Saxons, "fought against the British at Bedcanforda" (Bedford); and though it is not so stated in the chronicle itself, yet subsequent events, as well as the accounts of Florence of Worcester (p. 7) and Henry of Huntingdon (p. 52) lead to the conclusion that the Saxons conquered in the struggle. This victory, with what immediately followed it, the taking of four towns,<sup>2</sup> or "fortified camps" (*castra munita*, H. Hunts), or royal villas (*regias villas*, Ethelweard and Flor. of Worc.), is the one historical fact above alluded to, which, though not entirely ignored by early historians, seems to have been regarded by most of them as a mere isolated occurrence having no bearing whatever upon the future history of the district.

Green, however (as has been intimated), who has treated this

<sup>1</sup> "The language of a considerable portion of the south and east of the island may be supposed to have become Latin by the time of the English conquest. Indeed, it has been argued with great probability (see Coote's *Romans of Britain*, pp. 176-180) that the inhabitants of Britain, whom the English first called Wealas, or Welshmen, were not the Brythons or Brettas (British), as they termed them, but the provincial Romans, or the Latinized parts of the population, though the name got eventually to include the Brythonic Celts of the west of the island" (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, S.P.C.K., p. 110).

<sup>2</sup> *Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 571: "This year Cuthwulf (Cutha) fought against the Brito-Welsh at Bedcanforda, and took four towns, *Lygeanburh*, Aglesburh (Aylesbury, Bucks), Benesington (Bensington, Oxon), and Egonesham (Ensham, Oxon)." There is no difference of opinion as to the identification of the three latter-named places, but *Lygeanburh* for the last three centuries has been the sport of conjecture. In App. F. (b.) (*Lygeanburh*) it is considered that sufficient evidence, both etymological and historical, has been brought forward, not merely to prove that it was situated *within the parish of Luton*, but also to establish its exact site, and to indicate the present existence of its remains. The *British* names of both Bedford and the four towns have apparently been lost. That of Bedford, indeed, is given in Freeman's map (1838), and elsewhere, as Lettuydor, but it is a question if this is not a mere late and puerile attempt to translate *Bed-ford* into British: "Lettuy" being said to signify "public inns" (where "beds" were to be had) and "dur" a "ford." It has also been supposed by some to have been the *Lactodorum* of Antoninus. This, Camden observes, is not likely, as it does not stand on a Roman road, neither have any Roman coins been found there (Brayley and Britton, p. 1; Blyth, p. 21). Since his day, however (1586), Roman remains (pottery, coins, etc.) have been discovered, and a Roman road from their great station at Sandy, only about six miles away, running through Cople, has been traced to it (Blyth, p. 22).

part of the history more fully than other authors, reasoning from what happened in other cases and taking into account certain results *supposed* by him to have arisen from this very expedition, viz., the colonization by the Saxons of three at least of the four towns and their districts captured on this occasion (all *four* according to his theory situated in Bucks and Oxon, and colonized by this same tribe), infers that the district of Bedford also, and probably beyond its then boundaries, was in like manner taken possession of and held for some time by the West Saxons. Grant Allen (*Angl. Sax. Engl.*, p. 51) endorses this view: "Thus the *West Saxons* overran the whole upper valley of the Thames from Berks to above Oxford, and *formed a junction with the Middle Saxons* to the north of London; whilst eastward they *spread* as far as the *northern boundaries of Essex*." If they did so, they must have taken possession of at least the *southern part of the present county of Beds*, and the north-western of Herts, as well as of the southern parts of Oxon and Bucks. So also Bentham (*Dioc. Hist. Winchester*, p. 6), "The West Saxons went northward as far as the Thames valley, and before the end of the sixth century their *dominion* comprised the districts known to us" (reproducing Green's peculiar sequence of counties) "as Oxford, *Beds*, and Bucks." Geo. Hurst, too, in his *Historical Notice of Bedford Castle*, read before the Beds Architectural and Archaeological Society, November 11th, 1851, speaks of Cuthwulf as, after defeating the Britons at Bedford, "*maintaining his power there*" (Blyth, p. 23). As, however, Cuthwulf was only the general of his brother the king, and is described as immediately afterwards taking four other towns at some distance, and dying the same year, Mr. Hurst must presumably have meant that the *West Saxon king* maintained his power in the district. As the character, however, of the expedition appears to have been that of a mere hurried raid or foray—so called by Green himself—of fifty or more miles, going and returning the same way, any maintenance of power must have been, if there were any at all, more in the nature of payment of tribute by the natives than by any direct rule over the inhabitants, none of these probably being for some time Saxons.

Gardiner also (*Student's Hist. of Engl.*, p. 35) evidently adopts, in part, Green's view. "After this battle (of Wimbledon, in 568), the first in which the conquerors strove with one another, the West Saxons turned northward, defeated the Britons in 571 at

Bedford, and *occupied* the valleys of the Thame and Cherwell and the *upper valley of the Ouse* ;" apparently accepting Green's theory that Lygeanburh is now represented by Lenborough, near Buckingham. "They are next heard of much further west, and it has been supposed that they turned in that direction because they found the *lower Ouse already held by Angle tribes*." The occupation by the West Saxons of "the upper valley of the Ouse," an expression which seemingly must be understood to include the borders of the river down to the town of Bedford ("the Upper Ouse at Bedford," Green), if not even further eastward, would appear necessarily to imply their taking possession of some part of *western Beds* (on the right bank, at least, of the Ouse), as well as of the north of Bucks ; while the words of both Green and Gardiner imply a belief in the probability that as early as 571 the *Angles* had spread south as far as "the Lower Ouse," *i.e.*, had already located themselves in Huntingdon. Green, as will be seen, supposes that they may have also by this time settled in Northants, if they had not even spread to "the Upper Ouse at Bedford," which, consequently, according to him, became the future boundary between the Angles and West Saxons.

Yet if the Angles were so close to Beds in 571 as to be near any part of the Ouse *above* S. Neots, it seems incredible to suppose that they would allow the West Saxons, whose families would have to come from the southern side of the Thames, to be before them in settling down and peopling the whole county.

The probable course, extent, and result of Cuthwulf's expedition, as conceived by Green, both in their connection with the general history of the county, of which so little is known, and also as bearing in no slight degree upon the foundations of the history of Luton church, are deemed of so much interest and value, that, though there is strong reason to take exception to particular parts of his theory, it is thought well to give here his description of the incursion, as far as it relates to our subject, from his work, *The Making of England* (pp. 122-125).

"Just before the Thames enters the gap beneath the Chilterns, the Icknield Way crossed it by a ford, which was recognized for a thousand years as the main pass across the river. It was by this ford, 'the Wallingford' (Wealinga-ford, A.S.), or 'Ford of the Wealhas,' or Welshmen, as the conquerors called it, that the West Saxons must have passed the river in 571. Their leader was Cuthwulf, a son of Cynric, and brother of Ceawlin (the king),

eager, it may be, to rival the achievements of his father and brother in war. Of the events of this campaign, however, we know but one, the battle with which it closed. From the spot at which it was fought it seems as if Cuthwulf's *raid* had carried him from Wallingford, by the Icknield Way, along the western slope of the Chilterns as far as Bedford" [presumably, *i.e.*, to the points (perhaps Barton or Ickleford) on that Way *nearest Bedford*, about fifteen miles distant from it—and, if so, *passing through Limbury in the parish of Luton*—and thence across country, or by some British track, which probably existed then from each of those places to the town itself] "before the forces of the Four Towns could gather at the news of the foray and intercept him as he fell back from the valley of the Ouse, and force him to an engagement. But whatever were the circumstances which brought about the battle, victory fell, as of old, to the freebooters, and the success of Cuthwulf's men was followed by the ruin of the Four Towns of the league. The last raid of the West Saxons had brought them to the verge of Mid Britain. That they paused at this point in their advance to the north, and that *the upper Ouse at Bedford remained the boundary of their conquests* in this quarter, may probably be explained, like their previous turning away from London, by the fact that the country which they had reached was *already in the hands of Englishmen*. No written record, indeed, fixes the dates of the winning of Central Britain, but the halt of Cuthwulf is a significant one. In the years that followed the victory of 571 *the West Saxons must have spread over the country they had won*, over an area which roughly corresponds to that of the shires of Oxford, *Bedford*, and Buckingham. To the eastward, therefore, their settlements were pushed along the clay-flats of the Upper Ouse, along the valley which lies between the chalk ranges of the Chilterns and the oolitic upland of our Northamptonshire. On the Chilterns, as we know, the East Saxons had for some while been settled about Hertford; but that the West Saxons made no effort to push further to the east can only be explained *by the presence of other Englishmen* in that quarter. No natural obstacles arrested their march along the Ouse; neither forest nor hill forced them to halt at the point in its course which is marked by the little town of S. Neots, or to draw their border line from it along such lines as the little stream of the Kym.<sup>1</sup> We can only account

<sup>1</sup> Note, by Green: "I do not rely wholly on the fact of the present shire line; for here language serves as a more definite boundary—Bedfordshire—



for such a halt by supposing that across this border line on the course of the Lower Ouse, the ground which now forms our Huntingdon had been *occupied before 571 by the Englefolk*, whom we find in later days settled there. That the Englefolk were at the same time masters of the upland which stretched like a bar across Cuthwulf's path to the north is less certain; for in this quarter the dense screen of forest along the southern slopes of Northamptonshire might have held the West Saxons at bay. But the conquest of the Trent valley must now have been going on, and the *presence of Englishmen on the northern upland* is the best explanation of the sudden wheel which the West Saxons now made to the west."<sup>1</sup>

But, though it is possible that after spreading through Oxford and Bucks, some families of the West Saxons, with their chiefs, following in the wake of the early raid along the Icknield Way, may have pushed on into Bedfordshire and peopled thinly the part of the country which they had formerly conquered, but which they would probably have to win again step by step, viz., the south-west of the county—"the Upper Ouse at Bedford remaining (as Green admits) the boundary of their conquests in this quarter"—yet there seem to be strong reasons to conclude that at a very short period indeed after that conquest of 571 the whole district became by some means or other part of the country of the "Middle Angles," or, as those of them who settled so far south came to be called, "the South<sup>2</sup> Angles," and that this probably took place early enough for the inhabitants to become subjects even of the kingdom of Penda (626-655), when he united the territory of the Mid-Anglians to that of the Mercians proper,<sup>3</sup> gathering under him *all the central states* and founding a new Mercia which stretched from the Severn to the *Fens*."

men still speak a Saxon, Huntingdon and Northampton folk speak an Engle dialect." Freeman, though he does not particularize Bedfordshire, nor perhaps would have included it in his remark, corroborates the fact that the speech in many shires within Mercia is much more like the Saxon speech of the southern counties than it is like the Anglian speech of the shires further north, accounting for it in the same way as Green, that "though these shires were afterwards part of an Anglian kingdom, yet those who first settled in them were Saxons" (*Old Engl. Hist.*, p. 37). Bede (ii. 5) observes that the Angles and Saxons spoke different dialects (Lingard, i. 53).

<sup>1</sup> App. F. (e.), *Green's Theories*.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner's *Student's Hist. of Eng.*, p. 46.

As will be seen in the pedigree of the Mercian kings, the first recorded monarch of this kingdom was Creoda or Crida, who, though probably by no means the earliest colonist or ruler in that part of the country, was one who, having led a strong detachment of Northern Angles into the Midlands, established a permanent kingdom and dynasty there about 586. Dying in 600, he was succeeded by his son Pybba or Wibba, who in 610 was deposed by an usurper, Ceorl. Of him, too, we know but little, except that by the marriage of his daughter Quenburg he formed an alliance with King Edwin of Northumbria, his over-lord. He probably contributed much not merely to the extirpation of the British from the district, but towards the consolidation of many ealdormanries and petty states towards its western boundary. On his death in 626 the kingdom reverted to Pybba's son, Penda, "the Strong," who raised it to the foremost place among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, establishing a supremacy over almost all the rest.

During all these years from the time of Creoda (and even previously) it is to be supposed that fresh bodies of Angles were continually pouring into the country on all sides, driving out, destroying, or subjugating the British, establishing ealdormanries, larger or smaller, and erecting innumerable petty states or kingdoms, especially at a distance from the headquarters of the king of Mercia, who probably resided chiefly towards the western boundary of the Midlands.

With no record, however, of these proceedings, everything connected with any special part of the country is left to conjecture and inference. It is no wonder then that such matters as the time of the inroad of the first settlers into the various parts of Bedfordshire, the formation of petty states therein, their consolidation gradually into a few only, and then their absorption, along with others, into the growing kingdom of Mercia, should have given opportunity for vague and contradictory statements. Whilst some authors are found to attribute the absorption of Bedfordshire<sup>1</sup> into Mercia—the point of chiefest interest to us—to the time of Creoda,<sup>2</sup> others, and with more ground for the supposition, assign it to the reign of Penda, and others again to a still later reign. That all the

<sup>1</sup> App. 14, *Lysons and Brompton*.

<sup>2</sup> Newcome (*Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 11): "The country extending from the Humber to the Thames, and bordering on the limits of the other Saxon settlements, was conquered by Crida in 582" (586?).

counties of the Midlands, with the exception *perhaps* of the southern portions of Oxon and Bucks, were amalgamated into one kingdom during the time of Wulfhere is almost certain; it seems nearly equally certain that he found it so when he ascended the throne in 659. And all this goes far towards implying that the Angles and not the West Saxons were the most numerous and dominant party in those districts, and had been so from the earliest times.

According to Lingard, *e.g.* (i. 49), and others, the *Mid Anglians* settled down *before* the rest of the Mercians. "In 586," he says, "a colony under the command of Creoda crossed the Humber, and, after clearing the coast of the Britons, pushed their conquest *behind the East Angles*, till they had reached the very centre of the island. Some of them took the name of *Middle Angles* from their central position." If this be an accurate account of their movements, then Bedfordshire, which is immediately "behind the East Angles," must, it seems, have been taken possession of by the *Mid Angles* very soon after the battle of Bedford.

And to this agrees Freeman's map (*Norman Conquest*, i. 34, 35), "Britain in the Year 597" (*i.e.*, only twenty-six years after the battle, and even in the time of Creoda, 586-600), in which, whilst yet describing the *Britons as still in possession of the neighbouring district of a part of Northamptonshire*, he names the people of the district both *north and south of the Ouse*, covering, *i.e.*, the whole of Bedfordshire, "*South Anglians*." It is the same with another of his maps (*Old English Hist.*, 1885), "Britain at the Beginning of the Seventh Century," where the *West Saxons* are depicted as having already taken possession of Oxon and Bucks up to the boundaries of Middlesex and Herts—the date of which event is determined by Bede as happening about the year 616—but the *Middle Angles* to be at the same time inhabiting the whole of Bedfordshire.

Green's own map (*Hist. of the Eng. People*, pp. 32, 33, 1879), "The English Kingdoms in 600," gives exactly the same description, placing the West Saxons in Oxon and Bucks, but the *Mid Anglians* in both north and south Beds.

There is also another map (Pl. II. in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed.), "Britain in 597," of the exact same date as Freeman's, but differing from it in peopling Northampton already with Anglians in place of Britons, and Oxon and Bucks with Anglians instead of West Saxons. Whilst it includes the two latter counties in the kingdom of Wessex

(on the strength, no doubt, of the capture of the four towns in 571 accounting, after Green, Lenborough as the representative of Lygeanburh) it both peoples Bedfordshire with Anglians and excludes it from the West Saxon kingdom, notwithstanding the battle of Bedford in that same year.

So that, according to these three authorities, *before the close of the sixth century, i.e., during the reign of Creoda and some years before Penda even came to the throne (626), the population of Bedfordshire, both to the north and south of the Ouse, were "Middle" or "South Angles,"* a strong argument in favour of their having also been at this period under the rule of one or more Anglian and not of a West Saxon ealdorman or prince. It is also an acknowledgment on their part that if the West Saxons, during the last thirty years of that century, made any attempt to colonize the county, they were either driven out or absorbed among the larger body of Anglian settlers.

That this district, if ever in any true sense taken possession of and ruled by the *West Saxons*, was early lost to them may be concluded also from many considerations.

(1) After its conquest by them it is never again mentioned in connection with their history. And yet as the *Saxon Chronicle*, begun at Alfred's court, *c.* 900, concerns itself chiefly, in its earlier part, with West Saxon history, if Beds had continued long united to that kingdom it might not unreasonably perhaps be expected to have been alluded to there again;<sup>1</sup> as soon as it was alienated from it, it naturally fell out of their history.

(2) As Watling Street, which for some fifteen miles passes through its southern portion, formed the chief road<sup>2</sup>—and one in frequent use—for the Mercian armies into the territories of either

<sup>1</sup> Yet, as Bedfordshire covers so small an area (*c.* 35 × 20 miles, or *c.* 260,000 acres), is at such a distance from all the known seats of government, and, in Saxon times, apparently without any large town, unless Bedford might be reckoned as such, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at that it should have occupied so inconspicuous a place in any early history. If it had not been upon the border-line drawn by Alfred and Guthrum, it probably would not have received even the mention it has met with.

<sup>2</sup> In all probability the whole line of Watling Street, "the great *Mercian* Watling Street" (Hole, p. 195)—though nominally, perhaps, neutral ground, and offering a free passage to all—from its northern starting-place within, or from its entrance into, the Mercian kingdom, until it reached London itself, together with the district for some little way on either side of it, was either directly in the hands of the Mercian king or under his control, from the days of Penda down to those of Egbert. (*Vide* Hole, *E. M.*, p. 199.)

the East or the South Saxons or into Kent, and as the whole district of Bedfordshire must have been an almost necessary possession for carrying on all their numerous East Anglian campaigns as well,<sup>1</sup> it is not likely that this part of the country should have been long left in the hands of an enemy, when, from its situation at the extremity of his kingdom, it could have been so easily wrested from him.

(3) That the change from the dominion of the West Saxons to that of the Middle or South Angles, or of the Mercians, took place, *if ever*, very early, is not merely virtually implied by the maps (both of Freeman and Green) just referred to, and by another of Green's maps (*Short History of England*, pp. 10, 11), "Britain in the midst of the English Conquest" (a period rather vague indeed, but the map is practically, for our purpose, the same as his map for A.D. 600). It seems, however, inferentially admitted by Green's own words in another place (*Making of England*, p. 147), "The territory which the West Saxons *acquired* after the battle of Bedford to the north of the Thames *consisted of the four cities*;" where, as he identifies Lygeanburh with Lenbury in Bucks (an identification, as will be seen, which cannot be accepted), and as no mention of the *Bedford district* is made, it must be concluded that this latter was not considered by him to have been even "*acquired*," still less retained.

His account of this same expedition of 571, given in his *History of the English People*, vol. i., p. 26, published almost at the same time as his *Making of England*, is to the same effect: "Round the Roman Rataë, the predecessor of our Leicester, settled a tribe known as 'the Middle Engle,' while a small body pushed further southwards, and under the name of '*South Engle*' occupied the oolitic upland that forms our present Northamptonshire. The mass pushed westward to the head waters of the Trent; Repton, Lichfield, and Tamworth (*i.e.* the counties of Derby, Stafford, and Warwick) mark the country of the '*Western Engle*,' whose older

<sup>1</sup> According to Lappenberg (*Hist. of Eng.*, p. 242), Penda entered East Anglia (635), by the "Recken" or "Devil's Dyke." If so, in order to avoid the swamps of the Cam, it must have been almost imperative upon him to have passed through Bedfordshire, even if he did not take advantage, as he was almost sure to have done, first of Watling Street and then of the Icknield Way, which latter would have led him straight to the Dyke. This vast rampart, defended by a ditch, is said to have been erected, though ineffectually, by the first king of East Anglia expressly against Penda, though by some it is supposed to be much more ancient.

name was soon lost in that of Mercian, or men of the March. It was probably this conquest of Mid Britain by the Engle that roused the West Saxons to a new advance. For thirty years they had rested inactive within the limits of the Gwent, but in 552 their capture of the hill fort of Old Sarum threw open the reaches of the Wiltshire downs, and a march of King (?) Cuthwulf on the Thames made them *masters*, in 571, of the district which now forms *Oxfordshire* and *Berkshire* (*Bucks* ?) "where *Bedfordshire* is again significantly omitted.

Lingard's words (vol. i., pp. 52, 53) would seem to imply the same. "The battle of Bedford added to his (Ceawlin's) *dominions* the *towns* of Leighton (? wrongly, it is conceived, identifying this with Lygeanburh), Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham ;" where again there is no mention of *Bedford and its district*, unless it be included, as it does not seem intended to be, under the name of Leighton, a town on the very borders of Beds and Bucks.

Pearson's words (*Historical Maps*, p. 24) are still more confirmatory of the point. "With the fall of Ceawlin" (593, at Wodnesburh, Wanborough, Wilts, only twenty-two years after the battle of Bedford), "the *Saxon dominion north of the Thames* seems to have *receded for a time*, and the name *South Angles* attests an *Anglian* supremacy in the district of the old diocese of Dorchester<sup>1</sup> during a part at least of the seventh and eighth centuries. The Mercians must have been from very early times a mixed people."

So, too, Gardiner (*S. History*, p. 35), the West Saxons "crossed the Cotswolds in 577, under two brothers, Ceawlin and Cutha" (or rather, "father and son," for Ceawlin's *brother* Cuthwulf, called also *Cutha*, had died in 571), "and at Deorham defeated and slew three kings who ruled over the cities of Glevum (Gloucester), Corinium (Cirencester), and Aquæ Sulis (Bath). They seized on the fertile valley of the Severn, and during the next few years they pressed gradually northwards. In 584 they destroyed and sacked the old Roman station of Viriconium.

<sup>1</sup> He cannot mean any diocese of Dorchester *previous* to this date, as the West Saxons were even at this period heathens, and the first bishop not appointed until 634. Neither is there any reason to suppose that the *West Saxon diocese* of Dorchester ever extended beyond Oxford and Bucks in the direction of the East Anglians, which two counties alone of that diocese were at any time inhabited by S. Anglians. The *Mercian* bishopric of Dorchester, established in 869, no doubt included Beds, and all the *country of the South Anglians*. (Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 110.)

*This was their last victory* for many a year. They attempted to reach Chester, but were defeated at Faddiley by the Britons, who slew Cutha in the battle. After this defeat the West Saxons split up into two peoples. Those of them who settled in the lower Severn valley took the name of Hwiccas, and joined the Britons against their own kindred, and defeated (and slew) Ceawlin at Wanborough (593). After this disaster, though the West Saxon kingdom retained its independence, it was independent within smaller limits than those which Ceawlin had wished to give to it. If he had seized Chester he would have been on the way to gain the mastery over all England, but he had tried to do too much in a short time. *His people can hardly have been numerous enough to occupy in force a territory reaching from Southampton Water to Bedford on one side, and to Chester on another."*

Whilst all this warfare, northwards, was going on, the West Saxons can hardly have made much advance in colonizing so distant a district as Bedfordshire, including, as that necessarily did, the subjugation, if not even the extermination, of the native British. The paucity of the West Saxon settlers, if they *were* the first occupants, no doubt led early to an inroad of Angles into the same district. But it will be observed that the tide of conquest of the West Saxons, and therefore of this emigration, after 571, went for a time northward rather than eastward, and that their *last* conquest is stated to have been in 584, only thirteen years after the battle of Bedford, before even the erection of the Mercian kingdom by Creoda, 586, and considerably before the close of the sixth century.

From the admission, therefore, tacit or explicit, even of those who advocate, or who support more or less directly, though often apparently in mere subservience to earlier writers, the theory of the original settlement of West Saxons in Bedfordshire, the retention at least and rule of the country by them was completely at an end long before even the rise of Penda to weld the many states of the Midlands into one powerful kingdom.

(4) Penda, "the Strong" (626-655), who "united to his own Mercians of the Upper Trent, the middle English of Leicester, the Southumbrians" (of Notts and Derby), "and the Lindiswaras," or Lincolnshire folk (Green, *S. History*, p. 20), and who began his reign by wresting at Cirencester in 628 from the West Saxons their newly-acquired territory along the Severn; the fierce ravager of Bernicia (Northumberland), even to its extreme northern point, the royal fortress of Bamborough (633); the conqueror and over-

lord of both the East Angles (635, 642, 654)<sup>1</sup> and the East Saxons, the two nations who bordered on the *further* side of Beds; such a king was not likely to leave long in the hands of an enemy of no greater power than the West Saxons—if he had found it still under their rule—a district through which he must certainly have passed when invading the country of the East Saxons, if not also that of the East Anglians. In 645 he came into conflict a second time with the West Saxons, and for a while drove Cenwealh, their king, from his kingdom on account of his repudiation of his wife, Penda's sister. "It was perhaps now" (says Freeman, *Old English History*, p. 65) "that Gloucestershire and some of the other West Saxon lands *north of the Thames* and Avon *became part of Mercia*." As the southern portions of Oxon and Bucks<sup>2</sup> certainly remained West Saxon territory for some years after this, the only lands *north of the Thames* that could have then "become part of Mercia" were the northern parts of those two counties; which was probably what really happened, and *if* up to this period it had belonged to the West Saxons, *Bedfordshire*.

(5) But even if colonized or ruled for a time by the West Saxons, Bedfordshire must have been taken from them, according to Green's own showing—if his statement could be received as strictly accurate—if not previously, yet along with his four towns,

<sup>1</sup> "It is probable" (says Lappenberg, p. 244), "that the East Saxons were conquered by Penda, though the chroniclers have not condescended to record the event." "Even London, with its environs, must at an early period have fallen under subjection to Mercia" (*Ibid.*, p. 245). There can be little doubt that Penda subjugated the East Saxons as well as the East Angles, and consequently, in Green's map (*Making of Eng.*, p. 273, "Britain in 634,") "the supremacy of Penda" is described as extending over both these kingdoms. Penda's rule over the East Saxon kingdom, *i.e.*, Essex, Middlesex, and the eastern part of Herts, is a strong argument in favour of his dominion extending over the intervening country of Beds, although Green in this same map still assigns it, as he does also both Beds and the west part of Herts in the map of 665, during Wulfhere's supremacy, to the West Saxons. It was probably during Penda's reign that the north and west of Herts also, by whomsoever peopled or ruled hitherto, became, like Bedfordshire itself, Mercian territory. Wulfhere, on his accession, seems to have found all this part of the country subject to him.

<sup>2</sup> As Dorchester, in Oxon, was made the seat of a West Saxon see in 635, that part of Oxfordshire was clearly within the West Saxon border, and was not included in the territory gained by Penda of Mercia after the battle of Cirencester, 628. (Bright, p. 153, in note, and Green's *Making of England*, p. 267.) The southern parts of both Oxford and Bucks seem to have become Mercian in the days of Offa, 777.



when, according to him (*Short History*, p. 31),<sup>1</sup> "they (the West Saxons) were driven across the Thames by (King) *Wulfhere* (in 661), and all their settlements to the north of that river were annexed to the Mercian realm." This latter assertion, if it were supported by sufficient evidence, would at least prove that *Bedfordshire belonged to Mercia in the days of Wulfhere*. The original accounts, however, do not seem to bear out so large an assertion, and later events contradict its full accuracy, although very probably some annexation of Wessex territory on the north of the Thames, by way of compensation, then took place. Accordingly, in his history of this same transaction in *The Making of England* (p. 328), Green's words are more guarded, and do not imply that any part of the country north of the Thames was at this time wrested from the West Saxons. "The conflict between Cenwealh's host and that of Wulfhere, in 661, ended in so decisive a victory for the Mercians that their ravages extended into the heart of Wessex, as far as Ashdown (in Berks, *A. S. Chron.*)."<sup>2</sup> It was probably this triumph which enabled Wulfhere to carry his arms into the valley of the Thames."

To the eastward the East Saxons and London came to *own his supremacy*, while southwards he pushed across the river and over Surrey,<sup>3</sup> which we find governed by an underking of his appointment, into Sussex.<sup>4</sup> Here "King Æthelwach," who had sought the protection of Wulfhere against Wessex, and who had been baptized at the Mercian court by Wulfhere's persuasion, Wulfhere himself standing sponsor,<sup>5</sup> "was rewarded for his submission by a

<sup>1</sup> This he repeats in his *Hist. of the E. People* (p. 60), only modifying the last expression into "*nearly all their settlements*." And again, "Unable to save the possessions of Wessex north of the Thames from the grasp of *Wulfhere*, their king, Cenwealh, sought for compensation on his Welsh neighbours."

<sup>2</sup> All that the *A. S. Chron.* says is, "In this year (661) Kenwealh fought at Easter at Posentesburh (Pontisbury), and Wulfhere committed ravage as far as Ascendan. And Wulfhere committed ravage on Wight, and gave the people of Wight to Æthelwald."

<sup>3</sup> This county must have been taken by Wulfhere from the West Saxons, who had added it to their dominion on the occasion of a victory over the King of Kent at Wimbledon a hundred years (568) previously.

<sup>4</sup> Soames, *A. S. Church*, p. 68; Freeman, *O. E. H.*, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Bright (p. 154), describing a similar occasion, viz., the baptism of King Kynegils, the first royal convert of Wessex (635), when King Oswald stood sponsor, says there would be a font large enough for immersion, which would be solemnly dedicated, into which the convert would step and be baptized,

gift of the Isle of Wight and of lands along Southampton Water, which we must suppose to have been *previously torn from Wessex by the arms of the Mercian king*." In all this, however, there is no allusion to the *annexation* of any part of the West Saxon territory to the *kingdom of Mercia*, though if Wulfhere had so desired there was apparently nothing to hinder him from accomplishing his wish; and it is of course possible, although not alluded to in the brief chronicle, that he took possession of that part of the country<sup>1</sup> (if it had not already been seized by either of his predecessors), which by this time, at all events, was evidently peopled chiefly by his own Angles, viz., parts of Oxon, Bucks, and *Beds*, perhaps also of the north and west of Herts.

"The dominion of *Wessex north of the Thames* and Avon had rather the character of an outlying territory stretching into a hostile land, than of the compact dominion which the West Saxon kingdom held over Hants, Wilts, and Berks." "Mercia under Wulfhere (657-675) and his successor Æthelred (675-703) pressed far towards the dominion of the southern as well as of central England."

These many and long extracts have been given in great measure for the purpose of showing the extent of the Mercian kingdom, and of its supremacy in early times, the improbability, if not almost the impossibility of any other kingdom at that period ruling over *Bedfordshire*, and therefore the great probability of its having been included in that of Mercia almost from the very first. Independent of any *proof* of annexation on the part of Penda, Wulfhere, or other monarch, it seems to follow from the foregoing facts, arguments, and opinions, that even in the days of the earliest of these—at the very latest during the reign of the second of them—*Bedfordshire* came to form part of that kingdom. The arguments seem clearly in favour of the earliest of these dates. And what is true of *Bedfordshire* is probably true of parts of some of the adjoining counties also.<sup>2</sup>

and that as he came forth from the laver, he would be "lifted up," according to the usual rite, by his sponsor.

<sup>1</sup> Cenwealh, it seems, was now a second time exiled by Wulfhere, and "his kingdom fell into the hands of the Mercian sovereign" (Miller's *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 118), affording a special opportunity, *if needed*, for annexing *Beds* or any other district to his dominions. Sharon Turner also (i. 375) considers that in Wulfhere's time "part of Wessex" (which can hardly mean elsewhere than on the north of the Thames) "was subjected to the authority of the Mercian king."

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Part IV., *The Province of Herts.*

The theory advanced in these pages that Bedfordshire was certainly within the dominion of Wulfhere (and had formed part of the kingdom of Mercia even previously), and that its inhabitants at that period were Christians, receives some amount of support from the fact that a well at Chalgrave (not four miles from the borders of Luton) bore in Saxon times (926) the name of Wulfhere's sainted sister, S. Cyneburg. The charter which mentions the fact is the only document relating to a place in Beds which is in any part written in Saxon, and as, in addition to this, it is the boundaries of the estate which in this instance are given in this language, it is highly probable that the description is, as was usual, but a repetition, renewed again and again, at distant intervals, of a *much more ancient document*. The charter seems little known. As it not merely supplies the above evidence, as far as it goes, to the probable extent of Wulfhere's dominion (for such an application of a local saint's name did not extend beyond such a boundary) but also affords a clear instance of the retention by the Danes of land beyond their allotted border after 879, it is thought too valuable to be omitted, and is accordingly inserted in Part IV., *Chalgrave* (*vide* Birch's *Cartul. Sax.*, ii. 659; *Chron. and Mem.*, No. 2; *Chron. de Abington*, i. 82, *et seq.*).

(6) If Maclear (*The English*, p. 73) is accurate in his statement, there is yet another argument, of a different kind, in favour of the early separation of Beds from the rest of their conquest in 571, viz., that whereas, at the very time when the heathen Penda was upon the throne of Mercia (626-655), Birinus, the first bishop of the West Saxons (634-650), who had fixed his seat at Dorchester in Oxfordshire in order to leaven indirectly the heathenism of Mercia, is said to have gone "about on many missionary tours eastward through *Oxfordshire and Bucks*, preaching the word, catechising and baptizing many proselytes;" yet no allusion is made to any such efforts of his in Beds—that district apparently being at this time at least, in the estimation of the author, beyond the boundary of the West Saxon kingdom, and therefore beyond that of his diocese. And Dr. Bright's opinion evidently coincides with this (p. 145). "From Dorcic" Birinus went up and down among the West Saxons, *i.e.*, from Dorset to *Buckinghamshire*, from Surrey to the Severn, preaching, etc., "building and dedicating churches."

The importance of the subject, as far as this history is concerned, lies in the facts that the date of the conversion of Bedfordshire, and

the determination of the point as to which band of missionaries may be supposed to have effected it, and also the *original proprietorship of the manses at Lygetun* (Luton), are all bound up with the question of the tribe and kingdom to which Bedfordshire at that time belonged. Even if attached for a time to the West Saxon kingdom, its conversion seems never to have been attempted by Birinus, their bishop, and before his death, in 650, the district was in all probability in the dominion of Penda; and these things being so, there seems no reason whatever to doubt but that its conversion to Christianity took place through the instrumentality of the four priests<sup>1</sup> introduced by Penda among the Mid Anglians (652), and by their assistants and followers; and, consequently, that when Diuma<sup>2</sup> was consecrated their bishop (656), it was placed under his charge, and remained for many a year under that of himself and his successors, whether ruling from Repton, Lichfield, or Leicester.

At the division<sup>3</sup> of "the diocese of the Mercians," a little later on (680), by Archbishop Theodore, under King Ethelred, Bedfordshire would naturally be assigned to Leicester, the special "see of the Mid Anglians" (and no doubt, also, of the South

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Maclear, in his map of "Celtic and Roman Missions" (*The English*, pp. 58, 59), includes Beds among those counties converted by the northern missionaries, and not, as those south of the Thames, by bishops in Roman orders. So also Freeman (*O. E. Hist.*, p. 50), "The Scots had the chief hand in converting Mercia, and all the lands north of the Thames."

<sup>2</sup> So Soames (*A. S. Church*, p. 66) considers: "Under these four prelates (*i.e.* Diuma and his three immediate successors), all our Midland counties were converted."

<sup>3</sup> Green seems to lean to the opinion that *Dorchester* was established as a *Mercian see* at this period, and that "the people whom Wulfhere's sword had torn from the kingdom of the West Saxons, and part of whom at least seem to have been known as the *South Engle*" (a description which, according to his own map, "The English Kingdoms in 600," as well as according to those of Freeman and others, referred to lately, points especially to the *people of Bedfordshire*), "may have been committed to the charge of a Bishop of Dorchester" (*M. of Engl.*, p. 343), but there is no evidence whatever, and but little probability that Dorchester itself ever belonged to Mercia before Offa's victory at Bensington in 779. Beda (*Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23) mentions, indeed, one "Bishop of Dorsic," Ætla, as apparently ruling there after the translation of the see to Winchester, but no succession of bishops is given by anyone; Ætla being identified by some with Bishop Heddi himself, who removed the see to Winchester, and being supposed by others to have been a separate occupant of the see for a short period, and then to have left it vacant by an early death (*Dioc. Hist. Oxford*, p. 15). Haddan (*Remains*, p. 322, note f.) suggests that perhaps

Anglians), rather than to Lindsey (Lincolnshire), or to Lichfield, both of them much further off.

And when,<sup>1</sup> about two hundred years later,<sup>2</sup> owing to the Danish invasion, the seat of the see of Leicester was transferred to Dorchester (in Oxon), that city having ceased to be the seat of the *West Saxon* bishopric when the bishop's chair was removed to Winchester (676-705), though it was adopted about this time as the seat of a *Mercian* see (869-888), Bedfordshire became a part of the former diocese of Dorchester. It remained so for another two centuries, until after the Norman Conquest, when, agreeably to a canon of the Synod of London held in 1075, which ordered the transference of episcopal sees from villages and small towns into cities, the seat of the see was finally removed to Lincoln, apparently in 1095 (Hole, p. 106).

"there was an attempt to preserve the see of Dorchester, which may account for the otherwise incomprehensible *Ætla* of Dorsic" (Dioc. Hist. *Oxford*, p. 11). But even in this case it would have been as a West Saxon, and not as a Mercian see. Green and Newcome (*Hist. of S. Albans*) seem to have adopted their views from M. Paris (*Hist. Maj.*, i. 360, Luard's ed.), who, giving the bounds of the various sees in *Offa's* reign, assigns Bedfordshire to Dorchester. But Haddan and Stubbs (*Conc.*, iii., p. 130, note e.) can find no evidence whatever for the existence of a see at Dorchester until long after that period. Of the many charters, too, of *Offa*, witnessed by Mercian bishops, not one contains the signature of anyone who can be supposed to have been a bishop of that see. The fact that Alhmund, the possessor of the *monastic land at Luton*, was certainly an abbot of the diocese of *Leicester* (*ibid.*, p. 547), is an argument in favour of Bedfordshire having been in his time (781-803), *i.e.* in the reign of *Offa*, in that diocese; and if at that period, then probably also from the first establishment of that diocese.

<sup>1</sup> "Mercia, during its existence as a kingdom, was arranged into five regions, none of which bore the name of shires: Lindsey, the district of the Lindisfari and diocese of Sidnacester; Hwiccia, the diocese of Worcester and its appendant Magasætania; Mercia proper, with its bishop at Lichfield and its royal city at Tamworth; Middle Anglia and *South Anglia*, dependent ecclesiastically on *Leicester*, and later on Dorchester. These represent the early settlements out of which the Mercian kingdom was created by Penda and his immediate successors, and which were arranged as dioceses by Theodore before their several nationalities had been forgotten; nor were they rearranged as shires and named after their chief towns before the reconquest of Mercia from the Danes under Edward the Elder" (Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 110).

<sup>2</sup> The removal "was undoubtedly occasioned by the conquest of Mercia by the Danes, which took place in A.D. 874" (H. and S., iii. 129, note d.).

## APPENDIX F. (b.)

## LYGEANBURH.

THERE are some slight verbal differences in the various MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as given in Thorpe's ed., 1861, pp. 16, 17, which are not without interest.

1 (C. C. C. MS. clxxiii.). An. DLXXI. Her Cuþwulf feaht wiþ Bretwalas æt Bedcanforda 7 iiii tunas genom. Lygeanbirg 7 Ægelesbirg, Bænesingtun. 7 Egonesham.

2 (Cott. Tib. A. vi.). Her Cudulf feaht wiþ Bryttas æt Biedcanforda 7 feower tunas genam Liggeanburh 7 Æglesburh 7 Bensingtun 7 Egonesham.

3 (Cott. Tib. B. i.). Her Cudulf feaht wið Bryttas æt Biedcanforda 7 feower tunes genam. Liggeanburh 7 Æglesburh 7 Bensingtun 7 Egonesham.

4 (Bodleian, Laud). Her Cuda gefeaht wið Brytwalas æt Biedcanforda 7 feower tunas genam. Lygeanbyric 7 Æglesbyric 7 Benesingtun 7 Egonesham.

It will be observed that there are here three forms under which the name Lygeanburh appears, viz., Lygeanbirg, Lygeanbyric, and Liggeanburh (*bis*), and two under which Bedford occurs, viz., Bedcanforda and Biedcanforda (*ter*), whilst the Britons are variously named Bryttas (*bis*), Brytwalas, and Bretwalas.

There are also three accounts of the same events found in early chroniclers which it may be well to bring together here, as references to them are frequently made in these pages.

ETHELWERDI CHRONICORUM, Lib. I. (A.D. c. 975), Petrie, *A. S. Chron.*, p. 504.

"Post triennium vero, Cuthulf bellum instituit contra Brittanos in Bedanforda. Et quatuor *regias villas* accepit, scilicet, *Liganburh* et Egelesburh, Bensingtun et Ignesham."

"But after three years Cuthulf commenced a war against the Britons at Bedford, and took four royal vills (towns or cities), viz., Liganburh and Egelesburh, Bensingtun and Ignesham."

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (d. 1118), Petrie (*ibid.*, p. 525).

"A.D. 571 Regis Ceanlini frater, Cuthulf, in loco qui dicitur Bedanforda, cum Britonibus dimicavit; et victor existens, quatuor *regias villas* eis abstulit, scil. *Liganburh*, Egelesburh, Bensingtun, and Eignesham."

"Cuthulf, the brother of King Ceanline, fought with the Britons at Bedford, and gaining the victory, took from them four royal villis, viz., Liganburh (Leighton or Lenbury) and Aylesbury, Bensington and Ensham" (Forester's trans., Bohn's Antiq. Lib., p. 7).

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON (c. 1154), Petrie (*ibid.*, p. 714); Arnold, 1879, *Chr. and Mem.*, p. 52 (2073-4).

"A.D. 571, Ceanlini anno XII, pugnavit Cutha, frater ejus, cum Brittannis apud Bedeanfordam, quæ modo dicitur Bedeforda et est modo caput provinciæ circumjacentis: pugnavit igitur et vicit, cepitque armorum effectu *iiii castra munita*, scil. *Lienberig*<sup>1</sup> et Ælesbury et Benesintune et Ægonesham."

"In the 12 year of Ceanlin, his brother Cutha fought a battle with the Britons at Bedeanford, now called Bedford, the chief town of the neighbouring (surrounding?) district. In this battle he was victorious; and the fruits of his arms were four fortified places, viz., Lienberig, Ælesbury, Benesintune and Ægonesham" (Forester's trans., Bohn's Antiq. Lib., pp. 52, 53).

The identification of "Lygeanburh" is of no little importance, both in connection with the general history of the county and with the special history of Luton Church.

Three towns or villages at some considerable distance from each other have been named in modern times (though with a suggestive absence of all attempt at evidence, or even of argument) as its present representative, viz., Loughborough in Leicestershire, Lenbury in Bucks, and Leighton (Buzzard) in Bedfordshire.

To each of these identifications there are strong objections, either etymological or topographical, or both combined, whilst the claims of a fourth village and hamlet have been, until quite recently, unaccountably overlooked, although they are distinctly indicated by a mediæval writer, when the tradition of the locality of Lygeanburh was plainly extant, and are supported by the evident derivation of its modern name, its peculiar situation—answering in all respects to the requirements of the case—and the presence within its borders to this day of an undoubted British "burh" or fort.

(1) *Loughborough*, the first of these suggested places, is alluded to by Lysons as "supposed by some antiquaries to be the ancient

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note, Lygeanburh; footnote, C<sup>3</sup> (a MS. of twelfth cent. at C. C. C. Cam.) Lienberis, S.; C<sup>2</sup> (MS. of thirteenth cent., Cam. Univ. Lib.) *Lyemberig*; S<sup>2</sup> (MS. of thirteenth cent., Adv. Lib., Edinb., 33) Lyenbirig.

Lygeanburg"; and their opinion is embodied in Philip's map (xxxii.), "England under the Saxons." But this place is altogether too far north, and also at too great a distance from the other captured towns, for the expedition to have reached it. Nor does there seem to be anywhere a single allusion in history to the West Saxons ever having possessed any town or district, or even to have advanced, so far north of the Ouse. Camden (p. 389) (A.D. 1586) seems to have been the first to suggest Loughborough as the representative of "Lygeanburh" <sup>1</sup> (or "Liegianburhge," as he writes it), but Bp. Gibson, in his *Index of Names to the Saxon Chronicle*, observes that "the resemblance of sound misled that great antiquary; for if he had attended to the series of transactions, he would have been led with *greater appearance of probability* to *Leighton* (?) in Beds. For, after Cuthwulf had taken Lygeanburh, he is said to have possessed himself of Aylesbury and Benson, both which towns are in the straight road for Leighton; whereas he could hardly have taken such a circuit from Loughborough to Aylesbury without making himself master of several intermediate towns" (Nichols's *Hist. of Leic.*, iii., pt. 2, p. 884). Nichols himself also rejects both Camden's etymology of Loughborough and his identification of it with Lygeanburh, and considers that the name of Loughborough was probably derived from the river *Leire* ("Legra"), now called "the Soar," and was, perhaps, originally "Leireborough," *i.e.*, "a borough or market-town on or near the Leire," a name gradually corrupted into Loughborough, supporting the conjecture by the fact that Leicester was once spelt and called Leir-cestre. In Domesday Loughborough is called Lucteburue and Locteburue, in 1227 (H. III.) Lucteburgh, in 1311 Loughteburgh, and in 1331 (*Gest. Abb.*), Louthebourth, none of which names have any affinity with Lygeanburh.

(2) *Lenborough* (Lethenborough or Lenbury) is the rendering of Lygeanburh by Ingram <sup>2</sup> (*Sax. Chron.*, 1823), Thorpe (*Sax.*

<sup>1</sup> In a map of "Saxon England in the Seventh Century" (No. 2 of *Geographical Illustrations of Eng. Hist.*, published by the Nat. Soc.), both Camden's *Liegianburge* is located at Loughborough and Gibson's *Lygeanburh* at Leighton!

<sup>2</sup> Yet in his map he omits all mention of any name whatever where Lenborough ought to occur, and applies to Leighton (though misplacing that town on the north instead of on the south of Watling Street) the name "*Lageanbyric*." Grant Allen (*Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 51) seems to give the preference to "*Lenbury*," though he adds "*or Leighton Bussard*." Forester, in his notes on Henry of Huntingdon (p. 53), explains "*Lienberi*" (Lygeanburh) by *Lenbury*,



*Chron.*, 1861), Giles (*Sax. Chron.*, Bohn's Antiq. Lib.), Kemble (*Saxons in England*, ii. 395), Green (*Making of England*, 1881), Scarth (*Roman Britain*, p. 228), and Elton (*Origins of English Hist.*, pp. 374, 375). The situation of this place falls in, no doubt, very well with Green's theory of the returning course of the raid—that theory being founded, indeed, entirely upon this very identification—as also with the after history (so ingeniously conjectured by him from their physical character) of Bucks and Oxon.

But though Lenborough is somewhat near to a small stream, a tributary of the Ouse, neither he nor any of the other authors quoted ever state that that stream was called "Lygea,"<sup>1</sup> or by any name from which "Lygean" could have been derived; nor, indeed, do they give any etymology at all of the name Lenborough, or mention that there are any remains or signs there of an ancient "burh" or fort, the termination of its name being probably derived either, as Camden remarks of Loughborough, from its having been in ancient days a chief or market-town, often designated "burghs." Such a town, no doubt, was Lenborough once, giving its name, as it does, to the Hundred. Neither Brown Willis, nor Lipscombe, nor Lysons, in their histories of Bucks, make any allusion to Lenborough as having been, even conjecturally, the "Lygeanburh" of the *Chronicle*. None of the forms, either, under which the name appears at various times, seem to be possible derivatives from the name "Lygeanburh." The earliest undoubted mention of Lenborough (now a small hamlet of about thirty houses) seems to be that in the Domesday Survey, where it is called "Ledingeberg," which name passes in 1202 into "Lithingeberg," and is met with in 1250 as "Ledinberge," and in 1364 as "Lethingborough" (Brown Willis, pp. 35, 37). These early forms seem still further removed from "Lygeanburh" than even the modern name Lenbury.

It would rather appear as if "Lenbury" was adopted by the above authors simply from "the resemblance of sound" between that name and the rendering of "Lygeanburh" as given by Henry of Huntingdon (p. 52), and after him by Roger of Wendover (M. Paris, *Chr. Maj.*, i. 249, Luard), viz., "*Lienberig*" and "*Lien-*

quoting Ingram, but in his translation of Florence of Worcester (p. 7) interprets "*Liganburh*" as *Leighton* or *Lenbury*.

<sup>1</sup> The Ouse seems to be the only name by which it is known. Its nearest point to the present village is about a mile.

ber;” but even if “*Lienberig*,” and not, as in one MS., “*Lyemberi*,” be the true reading, it will be seen from the quotations just given from Domesday and B. Willis, that, in the days of Huntingdon (c. 1154) and Roger (d. 1235) (who must be supposed to give to Lienberi (Lygean-“burh”), as *they do to the other three towns*, the name by which it was in their days known or spoken of) that village in Bucks was not then designated by any such name at all as *Lenbury* (or *Lienberi*). It may fairly therefore, it seems, be inferred that neither Huntingdon nor Roger referred to that place, but, on the contrary, it is most probable, as will appear presently, that the latter (or, at least, M. Paris, who incorporated Roger’s work with his own), if not also the former, was personally acquainted with, and referred directly to, a hamlet in Luton, which then was bearing a name of exactly the same sound as one of the names found in the MS. of Huntingdon mentioned above. It must not be forgotten either that M. Paris spent the greater part of his life within ten or twelve miles of Luton, and that his abbey owned a large manor in this very *hamlet*—a manor, too, the contention about which he relates at full length, and though he does not at any time directly mention by name the hamlet in which it was situated, yet as it can be proved to have borne that name long before, he must have been perfectly familiar with it. Roger of Wendover (in *Bucks*), born within sixteen miles of Luton, was also a monk of S. Alban’s for many years, and is described as being a particularly “careful and honest historian.” For a time he was prior of Belvoir, but returned to S. Alban’s c. 1219.

(3) *Leighton* is named by Kemble in his list of Anglo-Saxon towns (*Saxons in England*, vol. ii., p. 556, App. 2), by Bp. Gibson (*Chr. Sax.*, p. 34), Petrie (*A. S. Chron.*, p. 304), J. Arnold (*Hen. Hunts.*, Bohn, p. 52), J. Milton (the poet), with a little reserve, “possibly Layton (*sic*) in Beds;” see Gloss. in *A. S. Chron.* (Kennet’s *Hist. of Engl.*, i. 36), Lingard (i. 52), Lysons (*Beds*, p. 1), C. H. Pearson’s map (*Saxon England*), Nat. Soc. map (*Saxons in Engl. in Seventh Cent.*), and Dr. Prior, *Beds and its Danish Period* (*Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.*, x., p. 112).

If this were Lygeanburh, as it is only six miles from the Icknield Way, the West Saxons, if they entered Beds as Green no doubt rightly conjectures, must have passed pretty close to it and then returned upon it and taken it—a fact which would imply at least that their homeward route was not, as Green describes it, parallel to the Ouse as far as Lenbury, and then right across the

county of Bucks, but by the way which they had come—capturing immediately afterwards Aylesbury, which is only four miles off that Way, and then Bensington, which is still nearer to it, all three of which towns they had in this case passed also on their outward march.

But the name "*Leigh-ton*" does not, in either syllable of the word, seem to be derived from or in any way connected with that of "*Lygean-burh*." Stevenson, the late *vicar of Leighton*, in his lectures on the history of that town, himself takes two exceptions to their identification.

*First*, that the termination "*burh*" was not likely ever to have become changed into "*ton*"; *secondly*, that the first syllable of the name *Leigh-ton* seems to be derived not from any word like *Lygea*, but from "*lagh*,"<sup>1</sup> low; and moreover, that the word "*Lygean*" must have reference "to the river *Lygea* (the *Lea*) which flows through *Luton*," and therefore the meaning of the whole name, "*Lygean-burh*," must be "the fort upon the *Lygea*," upon which river the town of *Leighton* is *not* situated, though *Luton* is.

The changes which the name *Leighton* has undergone either in *Saxon* or in later times have never, it seems, been catalogued, but the name of the town as it appears in *Domesday*, viz., *Lestone*,<sup>2</sup> seems to remove it still further from "*Lygean*" than the present form of the name. Nor do any of the later forms met with show any greater affinity to it, e.g., *Leochton*, 1189, 1190 (*Pipe Rolls*), *Lechton* and *Lecton*, 1201-2 (*Rot. Canc.*), and *Leygton*, temp. Ed. I. (*Plac. q. warr.*).

These seem sufficient arguments against admitting the identification of *Leighton* with *Lygeanburh*.

These three identifications being each beset with such difficulties,<sup>3</sup> their adoption being in fact simply conjectures based

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places*, p. 329) derives the name *Leighton* from Anglo-Saxon *leah*, an open place in a wood.

<sup>2</sup> Airy (*Digest of Domesday*, p. 13) considers that *Lestone* as pronounced by the Normans would give almost the exact modern pronunciation of *Leighton*. The "*Leiston*" or "*Leyston*" from which Henry III. dates a letter to Pope Alex. IV., Ap. 1, 1256, though sometimes so attributed, is clearly not *Leighton* in Beds, but a place of that name in Suffolk, as his letter on the following day is dated from Framlingham in Norfolk (M. Paris, *Chr. Maj.*, vi. 318).

<sup>3</sup> Sharon Turner (*Hist. of Eng.*, i. 321), evidently dissatisfied with all three identifications, avoids committing himself to any of them, leaving in his text

either upon some "resemblance of sound" in the names or upon the supposed homeward course of the West Saxon expedition, and being, moreover, entirely unsupported by any evidence whatever, a fourth, *Limbury*, is here proposed.

There are three names attached either to the town and parish of Luton itself, or to its hamlets, each of which may with confidence be considered to derive its first syllable from the ancient name of the river, which has its source and continues to run for some miles within its boundaries, the "Lyga" or "Lygea,"<sup>1</sup> now "the Lea."

Is there not also some connection between the ancient Latin names of the two rivers—both of them, no doubt, but Latinized

the Saxon name found in the *Chronicle*, whilst yet giving the modern names of the other towns.

<sup>1</sup> The following are the different forms of the name as given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, when recording King Alfred's blockading the Lea in 895 (pp. 172, 173 *bis*, 186, 187 *bis*, Thorpe's ed.), viz. *Lyga*, *Lygea*, *Ligea*, *Liggea* and *Ligena*. Thorpe identifies the name there with the Lea, to which river alone the references to it are applicable; nor does there seem to be anywhere a reference to any other *Lygea*. Ingram, on his map (*Sax. Chron.*), writes the name of the Lea as "Lygaea." The name is said to be derived from the British word "*Llyg*," "bright"; the root, it is also stated (strangely enough), of "*Llyfed*," "a bog or marsh." (It is in *Leagrave Marsh* that the springs of the Lea are found.) The river "Lug" or "Lugg" in Herefordshire, anciently, in all probability, spelt, like other British names, "Llug," had obviously the same origin, "Llyg," but seems never to have had its name Latinized in that semi-British county, as what was doubtless the original British name of the Lea, though nowhere recorded, viz. "Llyg," came to be. The hamlets, too, of *Limbroke*, *Limbrook*, or *Limebrook*, close to a *brook* or stream of the same name that runs into the river Lug, is clearly an example (and of some interest) of the same softening of the hard guttural letter "g" into the soft labial "m" (so frequent in English) of what there can be little doubt was its original name, viz., "*Lyg-brook*" (as the modern "*Lim-bury*" is of what must have been an earlier and transitional form, "*Lyg-bury*"); even if the neighbouring town of "*Luc-ton*" did not derive its name from "Lug-ton," "the town near the Lug," and so be somewhat of a parallel to "Lu-ton," formerly "Lygtun" and "Ligtun," "the town on the Lyga." H. Hunts (c. 1150) calls the Lea "*Luye flumen*," M. Paris (c. 1259) in Latin also "*Luie*" and "*Luei*," and Brompton (c. 1450) both (p. 19) "*Ligea fluvius*" and (p. 12) "*Luye fluvius*," clearly transitional forms towards the present name. It is interesting that the old name of the river of Luton should have been that which the Greek nymph "*Ligeia*" bore, whom Milton introduces in *Comus* as a water-nymph, though only *pro tem.*, of the *Severn* (Sabrina):

"And fair *Ligea*'s golden comb,  
Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks,  
Sleeking her soft alluring locks."

forms of Celtic names—the English *Ligea*, and the continental or Gaulish *Liger* (the Loire), the latter described by Sequester as dividing the *Celts* from the Aquitanians (Elton's *Origins of English History*, p. 25), to say nothing of the name of the country of those Celts, *Lugdunensis*, with Lugdunum (Lyons) as its capital? If not even the district of *Liguria*, part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, whose inhabitants were also Celts? It is curious in connection with this latter name that probably the earliest application of the name Albion to England<sup>1</sup> “occurs in the story of the labours of Hercules, who, after securing the cows of Geryon, comes from Spain to *Liguria*, where he is attacked by two giants, whom he kills before making his way to Italy. According to Pomponius Mela, the names of the giants were Albiona and Bergyon, which one may, without much hesitation, restore to the forms of Albion and Iberion (Erin, Ierne, Ibernica, Hibernia), representing undoubtedly Britain and Ireland, the position of which in the sea is most appropriately symbolized by the story making them sons of Neptune, or the sea-god.” In another allusion to this story, “the second giant is called *Ligys*, who doubtless represented the Ligurian race,” *Liguria* perhaps being thought to have extended so as to have included England and Ireland. The story can be traced back to the sixth century before the Christian era.

These three names are *Lea-grave*, the name of the hamlet in which it takes its rise, *Lim-bury*, that into which it immediately enters and through which it flows for a considerable distance, and *Lu-ton*, the town upon its banks.

If the right interpretation of the name “*Lygean-burh*”<sup>2</sup> be (according to Stevenson, and all rules of etymology) “*the fort (or town) upon the Lea*,” and if it be a fact, which it appears to be,

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>2</sup> There are three forms, as has been pointed out, in which the name appears in the different MSS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* (Thorpe's ed., pp. 32, 33), *Lygeanbing*, *Liggeanburh*, and *Lygeanbyric*. Ethelweard, of not much later date than the *Saxon Chronicle* (c. 975), calls it “*Lyganburh*” (Petrie's *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 504). The terminations “*burh*,” “*burg*,” “*byric*” (*burgh*, *bury*, *borough*, etc.), have almost, if not exactly, the same meaning. Kemble (*The Saxons in England*, p. 55c) explains “*burh*” as a “*fortified place, a stronghold*,” a word applied “*to a single house or castle, or to a town*.” Earle (p. 34, Pearson's *Historical Maps*) says, “*the word 'byric' is nothing but an orthographic variety of 'burh,' but this variety came to be generally used for the oblique cases of the word, while 'burh' stood for the nominative.*” The form “*Lygeanburh*,” adopted throughout this work, is the form used by Thorpe in his translation of the *Chronicle*.

that there is no other stream, within the possible extent of the expedition of 571, known in Saxon times by the name of "Lygea," then it would seem that it is in this locality<sup>1</sup> and amongst these names that we must search for the ancient "Lygeanburh."

(1) As far as *Luton* itself is concerned, the same objection with regard to the change of "burh" or "byric" into "ton" or "tun" holds good as in the case of *Leigh-ton*, though even here it is not to be overlooked that besides *Luton* being, as its name implies, "*the town on the Lygea*," which none of the other above-named towns can claim to be, there was a field adjoining the river in the midst of the present town, which in 1538 bore the name of the "*Bury-Mede*," and a century previously that of "*Bury Milleponde*" (1455) (now *Dallow Mead*), which (as might be deduced from the name,<sup>2</sup> if there were no more probable explanation of it), might be supposed to have once contained a "burh" or "fort" within it, and which would then have been a true "Lygean-burh"; nor is it to be forgotten that there is still what, if required, might be more to the purpose, a "Burh" or "*Bury Farm*," only a short distance from the river, but away from the present "ton" or town, called formerly (e.g., in Bryant's *Map of Beds*, 1825) "*Luton-Bury*," and which, as is suggested in the text, was most probably *the seat of the later manor of Luton*, and also not improbably derived its appellation of "Bury," and especially that of "*Luton-Bury*," from the fact of its being the later representative of the seat of the early royal vill of "Lygean-burh" or "*Lygean-bury*."

It has only to be supposed that, when the old British "burh" or fort, or one erected by the conquerors upon a British entrenchment, at either of those two spots, had fallen into disuse, a new "ton" or "town" arose at a little distance away,<sup>3</sup> and distinguished from the old by a name ending in "ton" instead of in "burh,"

<sup>1</sup> For though the *Lea* flows through *Herts*, that district (beyond the *Chilterns*) was quite out of the line of march from *Bedford* to *Aylesbury*.

<sup>2</sup> Viz., from its being from time immemorial reckoned in the hamlet of *Lim-bury*, though isolated from it, and in the midst of the township of *Luton*: "*Bury-Mead*" in this case being a short name for "*Lim-bury Mead*," as no doubt "*Bury-Hill*," so called at least as early as 1631 (*Cole's Exch.*, iii. 132), adjoining "*Burntclose*," the British potter's field, is only a shortened form of "*Lim-bury Hill*."

<sup>3</sup> "Saxon 'boroughs' and other settlements were generally at a little distance from the British strongholds which they superseded, as, e.g., at *Redbourne*, *Herts*, where the church and oldest part of the village is about a quarter of a mile from the British work called 'Aubreys' " (*Rev. H. Fowler*).

such as "Lyge-tun" or "Lig-tun," the "town," in contradistinction to the "burh" or "fortified camp," upon the "Ligea," which gradually took the place of the old name, and so that which was formerly "Lygeanburh" came to be called in time "Luton." But it is doubtful whether the compiler of this part of the *Chronicle* (written probably about the close of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century), if he had meant to name any spot so close to Luton itself, would have called it "Lygeanburh," and not "Lige-tun," when we know that the whole township or manor was called by the latter name as early at least as Offa's charter, 792.

It will be observed, too, that the other three captured "towns" were not mere forts (as supposed above), but "royal vills,"<sup>1</sup> "king's tuns" and residences, "fortified camps" (H. Hunt), "oppida" (Bp. Gibson), both retaining their names up to the present time, and giving them still to the surrounding districts, as will be shown presently in the case of Lygeanburh. It would rather seem also as if Lygeanburh was still so far in existence as to be a well-known spot or district at the date when the account in the *Chronicle* was written.

But though a better site than in the town itself of Luton can be found for "Lygeanburh," viz., in one of its hamlets, yet it will be well to trace the name of Luton from the earliest known mention of it, and to claim for the town the historical renown which is certainly its due, though scarcely ever paid to it, by modern writers.

The two names just mentioned as those of Luton in its earliest days, viz., *Lygetun* and *Ligtun*, have not in general been assigned to Luton. A century ago Leighton<sup>2</sup> seems to have held a more prominent place in the public mind than Luton. Accordingly, it is to Leighton that Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.*, i., p. 196) ascribes the name "Lygetun" in Offa's charter, and, together with Stevenson

<sup>1</sup> Aylesbury and Bensington, like Luton, were royal manors still at the Domesday Survey. Ensham was by that time in the hands of the bishop of the diocese presumably, having been granted previously by some Saxon king (*vide* Part IV., *Royal Manors*).

<sup>2</sup> In 1801 the population, according to Lysons, was, of Leighton (including its four perpetual cures or chapelries, Billington, Eggington, Stanbridge, and Heath and Reach), 3,172, but of Luton only 3,095; whereas, in 1881, the population of Leighton was only 8,278, whilst that of Luton (the whole parish) was 26,222. At all times, however, the area of Luton has been nearly double that of Leighton, viz., Luton, 15,232 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches (according to the tithe-book), and Leighton only 8,990 acres (according to Kelly's *Directory*).

and others,<sup>1</sup> such as Ingram (*A. S. Chr.*), Giles (*A. S. Chr.*, Bohn's Antiq. Lib.), Arnold (*H. Hunts*, p. 155), Dr. Prior (p. 117), Philips's Map, xxxii., etc., that of "*Lygtun*" in the *Sax. Chron.*, anno 914. Yet Stevenson's own second objection, viz., that the name "*Lygean*" is connected with "*Lygea*," or the *Lea*, ought to have restrained *him* at least from claiming such names as "*Lygetun*" and "*Lyg-tun*," which are as evidently and as directly as "*Lygean*" itself derived from the name of the said river, and which have no nearer affinity than that name with the name Leigh-ton.

The former name, "*Lygetun*," as found in Offa's charter (792),<sup>2</sup> can be proved to refer to Luton (and not to Leighton); first, by the fact, dwelt upon elsewhere, that in other documents recounting Offa's grants, the name substituted for it, and only marking more particularly the exact site of the lands mentioned, is "*Bishopescote*" (*Biscot*), a *hamlet of Luton*, and secondly, from both Florence of Worcester<sup>3</sup> (who died 1118) and Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1154) calling the town which in the *Saxon Chronicle*, anno 914, is named "*Lygtun*," by the fuller form "*Lygetun*" or "*Ligetun*," showing that the two names, in their minds, were identical.

These two cases supply us with the only undoubted instances in which reference by name is made to Luton, before the Norman Conquest. But there is another instance of the occurrence of the name "*Lygetun*"<sup>4</sup> in a grant of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey in 1066. Though there is a difficulty in its application there to Luton (which, however, is equally great, and exactly of the same nature, if applied to Leighton), yet from the fact that Luton is the only place that can be identified with the *Lygetunes* mentioned above, it must, it seems, be concluded that Luton is the place referred to. After confirming what had been

<sup>1</sup> Luard, however (*M. Paris, Chr. Maj.*, vi. 5, where the charter is given), after translating or identifying *Lygetune* as Leighton, adds the note and query, "*Luton, Beds?*"

<sup>2</sup> *Vide App., Offa's Charter.*

<sup>3</sup> "In provinciam Heortfordensem versus Ligetun mittitur" (*Petrie, A. S. Chr.*, p. 570, Flor.); "ad Ligetune" (*Ibid.*, p. 73, H. Hunts).

<sup>4</sup> Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.*, iv. 177. Thorpe (*Dipl. Ang. Sax.*, p. 674, who also, as usual, identifies it with *Leighton*), "concessi etiam et confirmavi donationes quæ ab eisdem regibus ante me donatus sunt, hoc est circa ipsum monasterium xvii hidas et dimidium . . . in Holewelle vi et Dim. . . . necnon et illas quas optimates mei meo tempore addiderunt, scil., Attere Swerte Lygetum cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus."



granted before his reign, and giving some of his own lands, e.g., six and a half hides at *Holwell* (in Beds), he confirms also whatever any of his nobles (optimates) have given to the abbey during his time, mentioning among other grants that by "Adser, the Black, of '*Lygetun*,' with all that belongs to it." It is certain from Domesday that the whole of *the manor of Luton* belonged to K. Edw., but it is very probable that Adser,<sup>1</sup> a *Dane* (and perhaps some other of his countrymen), held lands on the east side of the Lea (in Stopsley or East Hide) under the manor, and that it was these lands which the king allowed to be alienated. It is to be noted, however, that while in Domesday and later documents *Holwell* is still found in the possession of the abbey, no place of the name "*Lygetun*" anywhere, or of any place or property whatever in Luton, appears ever after in their possession. Whether it was never really conveyed to them (for the Norman Conquest took place before the close of the year), or whether the Conqueror refused to sanction the alienation of any portion of the royal manor, cannot, it seems, be determined.

The other (shortened) form of the name,<sup>2</sup> "*Lygtun*," does not occur except that once in the *Saxon Chronicle*; but there is nothing whatever in the account there given to indicate Leighton, in preference to Luton, except it might be the difference of a few miles in the extent of the incursion. The words of the *Chronicle* are: "In this year (A.D. 914) the army (of the Danes) rode out after Easter from Northampton and Leicester and broke the peace, and slew many men at Hoceratun" (determined by H. of Huntingdon's words to be in Oxon) "and thereabouts. And then very soon after that, when one came home, then they raised another troop, which rode out against *Lygtun*,<sup>3</sup> and then were the country people aware of them, and fought against them, and put them to full flight, and rescued all that they had taken, and also a great portion of their horses and their weapons."

<sup>1</sup> Worsæ (in his *Account of the Danes in England, I. and Sc.*) mentions Adser Swerte among K. Edward's favourite Danes, and signatories of his charters.

<sup>2</sup> The three forms in which this name appears in the various MSS. of the *A. S. Chron.* (pp. 188, 189) are *Lygtun*, *Ligtun*, and *Legtun*.

<sup>3</sup> Their road would be very simple and open, and suitable for a quick movement. Those from Leicester joining Watling Street by the Fosse Way, and the contingent from Northampton meeting them at Towcester, and all turning into the Icknield Way at Dunstable, and so coming straight "against Luton."

The Danish incursion being a mere border raid, whichever town was at the time deemed to be the most open to attack, or most profitable for plunder, the most dangerous to leave standing, or on the highway to some more attractive district, would probably be the one chosen for attack.

And that it was Luton and not Leighton, on this occasion, seems proved (as well as by other evidence), by this one fact, that Roger of Wendover,<sup>1</sup> in describing this very raid, and subsequent slaughter of the Danes, expressly states that it took place at Luton,<sup>2</sup> "the same year (A.D. 914) a great slaughter of the Danes was made in the district of Leuton and the province of Hertford."<sup>3</sup> The wording of Florence of Worcester points to the same conclusion, *Leighton* being at this time most probably attached to *Bucks*, which it adjoins, but *Luton* to *Herts*, which encompasses it on three sides; "the horsemen were sent into the province of Herts, towards Lygetun."<sup>4</sup> This could hardly have been so described, if Leighton were meant by Lygetun, for that town would rather have taken them out of their way to Herts—the nearest point of the latter, and only a projection of the present

<sup>1</sup> His work, *Flowers of History*, being incorporated by M. Paris into his own, though with full acknowledgments, has generally been attributed to the latter, but Roger is responsible for all the history up to the year 1235 (when he died), though, of course, it has received the endorsement of Paris (*vide* Giles, *Trans. of M. Paris*, Bohn's A. Lib.).

<sup>2</sup> "A. 914. Eodem anno facta est Danorum strages maxima in finibus Leutoniz et provincia Hertfordensi" (M. Paris, *Chr. Maj.*, i. 443), Luard's marginal note being "Slaughter of the Danes at *Luton*." Matthew of Westminster, *ante* 1307, p. 357, reproduces this sentence word for word (*vide* App. F (c.), *Dray's Ditches*).

<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered that however much the district now called Bedfordshire may have been regarded as a distinct district with more or less of its present boundaries, and with some unknown designation, before its seizure by the Danes, yet it was not formed into a county with its present name and dimensions until after the capture of the town of Bedford from them in 919 (Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 110). From the above it would seem at this time to have formed part of the province of Herts.

<sup>4</sup> "Equitatus in provinciam Heortfordensem versus Ligetun mittitur." As the Danes resided on the north and east of the Lea, and the Saxons on the south and west, the above loyal conduct on the part of the men of Luton towards Edward proves that the *town* which they inhabited, and which must have been upon his side of the stream, was situated on the south and west of the river, even previous to that event. This fact is in favour of both the manor house and the future manorial church, and consequently of the rectory and its lands, being also on that side of the river—a point which we have endeavoured to establish in this history.

county, being seven miles from Leighton, whereas Luton, if not even then in the province of Herts, would have led them directly into the present county of that name, which comes within two miles of the town of Luton.

Bishop Gibson's attempt to identify Ligetun and Ligtun with any place rather than with Luton is curious and amusing. "Except," he says, "for the authority of Flor. of Worc." (whom, from his expression, "in *provinciam Heortfordensem* versus Ligetun," he understands to apply the name to some place in *the modern county of Herts*), "he would say that the town meant was Laiton (Leyton) in *Essex*, as being a town at or near the real *Ligea* ('quasi oppidum ad Ligeam amnem')." As he credits Herts with containing the sources of the river Lea (*A. S. Chron.*, p. 34), which, according to him, have their origin near to Wheat-hamstead, he not unnaturally ignores the claims of Luton, which nevertheless, unlike either Leyton in *Essex* (*pace* Gibson) or Leighton in Beds, is situated upon the banks of that river. "As Liga," he continues, "changed into Lea, so Ligtun *might have changed* into Laiton." He is not, however, quite satisfied with his conjecture, and so adds, "perhaps *Leighton* Buzzard, a town on the road from Northampton to Herts?" If he had had an accurate map of Bedfordshire before him, with the true course of the Lea upon it, he could hardly have failed, with his etymological instinct, notwithstanding his confusion between the *ancient province* and the *modern county* of Herts, to fix upon Luton as the true Ligtun.

Whilst, therefore, *Leighton* (and the same might be asserted about Lenbury and Loughborough also, the only other places which find advocates in the present inquiry), neither in the derivation of its name, its situation, or history, seems to have any connection with either of the three names met with in the Saxon period, (*viz.*, Lygeanburh, Lygetune, or Lygtun) on the other hand, Luton, from its situation upon the Lygea, from the evident derivation both of its own name and of other names within its boundary, as will be endeavoured to be shown presently, as well as from its history, which appears perfectly continuous and consistent from the first, has, to all appearance, a very intimate connection with all the three names; and not only so, but all the later indisputable appellations by which the town has at various times been distinguished since the Norman Conquest, seem to bear, in each of their several modifications, traces of their original

derivation. These are, Loitone (Domesday), Loitona and Loituna (*Pipe Rolls*, K. John), Luitona and Luiton, Luituna (Henry II.), Luytona, Luiton, and Luytone, Luthune and Lutune (1221), Leuton, Lutona, and Lutone,<sup>1</sup> Luton (*Cal. Gen.*). M. Paris alone (including Roger of Wendover's work) uses the following variety of forms, Leitune, Loitonia, Luitona, Luitonia, Luituna (*vide* Index, *Chron. Maj.*, M. P. Luard, p. 392). All of these Latin and English names of the town, unlike either the Latin or English name of Lestone and Leighton, retain the soft sound of the letter "y" in "*Lyga*" (*pronounced originally*, as in *the present name*, like "*u*"), the guttural "g" being naturally dropt simultaneously with the change in the name of the river itself, which the same last-mentioned author calls, not "*Lygea*," but in its later Latinized form, "*Leue*" ("*fluminis Leui*"); whence shortly afterwards our present "*Lea*."

The proof afforded by Roger of Wendover of Luton being the "*Lygtun*" or "*Ligtun*" of the *Chronicle*, is of far-reaching consequence, confirming, as it does, the derivation of its modern name from that ancient one; whilst the form under which the same name appears in Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon,<sup>2</sup> viz., "*Ligetun*" and "*Ligetune*" (besides being probably *pronounced* exactly in the same way as "*Ligtun*" above), establishes the fact that they are all identically the same name, and proves the justification of applying to Luton the name of "*Lygetune*" in Offa's and Edw. Confessor's charters.

<sup>1</sup> An intermediate form between that of the time of Edward the Elder and Domesday, viz., in the reign of Athelstan, 931, is Leowton. A few other forms occur which are evidently misspellings or misreadings, e.g., Luctuna (for Luituna) Liuton (even in Domesday, for Loiton, and afterwards for Luiton), Lutton, etc.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hunts. (*Chron. and M.*, p. 155): 917. "Et postquam domum redierunt, statim exiit alia caterva, et ivit ad *Ligetune*. Gens autem patriæ illius eos comperiens, pugnavit cum eis, et eos fugavit, et totam prædam quam ceperant, eis abstulit, et etiam equos eorum." It ought not to be overlooked, in connection with Huntingdon's knowledge of places in Beds, and the application of the names Ligetune, Lienbirig, and Lygeanburh, to Luton and Limbury, that he was both a native of Huntingdon (or Cambridge), and also spent a large portion of his life within a few miles of Beds, being Archdeacon of Hunts for upwards of forty years, and always taking great interest in antiquarian research. His work "derives high value from the numerous ancient authorities, now lost, which appear to have been consulted in its preparation; some fragments of very early Saxon composition appear to be almost literally translated and fitted into the text" (Knight, i. 614).

(2) The names Lytgrave, Lytegrave, Littegrave,<sup>1</sup> 1224 (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, ii., p. 5b), and Littlegrave (*sic*) (1240, *Chron. Dun.*), Lithegrave (1276, *Rot. Hund.*, p. 4), Leigrave (1280, 9 Ed. I., *Rot. Fin.*, i., p. 313), Lightgrave (1390, *ib.*), Litgrave (1572), Littgrave and Lytgrave (*t. Eliz.*), Lygrave (1630, in an *Ind. Beds N. and Q.*, vol. iii., pt. viii., p. 233), and in all the early maps—and since at least 1627 Leagrave or Legrave—these all show other modifications which the name “Lyga” or “Ligea” seems to have undergone when in composition with a different word—its first syllable, “Lyg,” with which alone we are at present concerned, passing easily into “Lyt,”<sup>2</sup> or else dropping altogether its last letter “g” before another word beginning with the same letter, “grave.”

It is open to question whether this latter part of the name is derived from “graf,” a grove—which, as it is never in the above instances ever written “grove,” would seem not to be likely—or from “grefa,” a hole, alluding to the peculiar and extensive pool, evidently *dug out*, where the springs of the river rise—which seems the most probable interpretation—or from “grafan,” a grave, either pointing to the fact of the district having been the burial-place of some clan in British or in Saxon times, or indicating that some great battle had been fought upon, or close to, some spot within its boundaries.<sup>3</sup> The decision either way, however interesting be the enquiry in itself, does not affect our present subject.

<sup>1</sup> This, though ascribed by the editor in the *Index* to Bucks, clearly is the same as Leagrave. It is especially related there that the land referred to was of the gift of Earl Baldwin, who owned the manor of Luton, but had no property in Bucks. The error arose from the writ being issued to the sheriff of *Bucks*. Until 1574 the sheriffs of Beds and Bucks exercised jurisdiction over these two counties conjointly (*Harvey's Bedfordshire*, p. x.).

<sup>2</sup> There is said to have been a similar change in the name of a parish now called Lighthorne in Warwick, which, though considered to be derived from “Ligea” (Llyg), a stream (Miller, *Parishes of the Dioc. of Worr.*, p. 25)—a derivation, however, which cannot be admitted—and “Horne,” a corner, has had its name variously spelt, as *Leitet-horne*, *Lithet-hurn*, *Lichet-herne*, *Lythet-hirne*.

<sup>3</sup> There are many names of places, some of them at no great distance from Lea-grave, which have a similar termination, but perhaps with some variety of origin and meaning, as Chal-grave (Cel-grave, *Domesday*), Pottesgrave (Potes-grave, *Potesgrava, Dom.*) adjoining *Battles-den*, and Short-grave (in Whipsnade), Beds; By-grave in Herts; Win-grave in Bucks. The earliest form in which Chalgrave appears is *Cealhgræfan* (926), which certainly suggests “grefan,” a grave, as the origin of its termination.

Unhappily, although the name, no doubt, was attached to the hamlet early in Saxon times, no reference to it can be met with before the Norman Conquest, or indeed earlier than, as above, in 1240, on which occasion we have a Latinized form of the name. The etymology, however, of either of the syllables of *this* name affects but remotely the present argument.

(3) We may now see what special reasons exist for concluding with some confidence that the ancient Lygeanburh is represented at the present time, both in name and position, by the hamlet of *Limbury*, or rather by a particular spot within it. The following are the forms under which the name of Limbury in Luton appears in early records, these latter being in almost all instances in Latin: Limberi (1195-1214, *Ped. Fin.*), Lunberi (1201-2, *Rot. Canc.*), Limbery (1225, *Bp. of Linc. Reg.*), Lymberg (1225, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii., p. 85, *vide Ind. loc.*, etc.), Lanburi (*t. Edw. I.*, 1272-1307, *Add. Ch.* 15,432), Lymburi (1283, *Chron. Dun.*), Lymbure (1284, *ib.*), Lymbury and Lymbery (1367), Limbury and Limburg, Limberry (1658).

In the name itself, throughout almost all its forms, some of them being clearly corruptions or errors, we seem to have just what is required, viz., a later, and consequently a softer form, merely, of the very name "Lygeanburh" or "Lygean-byric." The first syllable in each of the above names being, like those of Lea-grave and Luton (Lyge-tun), evidently modifications of "Lyga," "Lygea," or "Ligea," as the last syllable in each is of "burh," "birg," or "byric."

A few facts have to be noted in connection with this hamlet:

(i.) Though the springs of the river Lea are on the *Leagrave* bank of the pool or basin, which is reckoned its chief source, yet *Limbury* shares equally with that hamlet all the earlier portion of the stream—this latter being the boundary between the two for rather more than a quarter of a mile, after which the stream winds exclusively through Limbury for another mile. From these facts, if from nothing else, it would seem reasonable to infer that, in common with Leagrave and Luton on either side of it, it derived its name from the "Lygea" or Lea.

(ii.) *The Icknield Way*, along which the expedition may be supposed to have marched either going (as Green suggests) or returning, or both, as is most probable, runs through the length of it for two and a half miles, crossing the Lea in the centre of the village. At the intersection is an ancient moat (called

"the Bears' Moat"), which doubtless at one time included a "burh" or "fort" of some kind, and at a short distance from this a larger moat,<sup>1</sup> also close to the stream.

(iii.) In Limbury, too, close to the sources of the river, but extending over into Leagrave so as to enclose the springs, is a large encampment or earthwork of rather more than fifteen acres,<sup>2</sup> described by Davis as "nearly of a circular," but being, in fact, rather of a harp-shaped "form," "the ditch which surrounded it being," according to that author, writing only a few years ago (1874), "very deep and broad, and perfect in many places." It is difficult to ascertain what the real name of this entrenchment either was in ancient times or is now.<sup>3</sup>

In Faunthorpe's *Map of Beds* (published by Philip, 1873) it is called "*Wayland Bank*,"<sup>4</sup> in the *Tithe Book* (1844), "*Wallards*," in the *Ordnance Survey Map*<sup>5</sup> (1886), "*Waulud's Bank*;" being popularly named "*Waller's Bank*." This latter is probably the nearest approach to the original pronunciation and suggestive of its real and ancient name, for is not that way of spelling and pronouncing the name merely a corruption of "*Walas*," or "*Wealhas*," i.e., "*Welsh* (British) *Bank*," as *Wallingford* is the modern form of A.S. *Wealinga-ford*, i.e., "the ford of the *Wealhas*" or Welsh (Green), and *Wall-combe*, near Wells, that of "*Weala cwm*," "Welshman's combe" (Freeman, *O. E. H.*, p. 36)? This name is expressly applied by the chronicler to the Britons on this

<sup>1</sup> This latter was probably the site of the manor house or castle of Philip de Limbury, 1349-1367, but either one or both of the enclosures may be much more ancient. Hen. III. dates one of his mandates from Lymberg (*Rot. Litt.*).

<sup>2</sup> Davis describes it (p. 103) as containing about 30 acres, but the exact extent, according to the tithe map, is 15 acres, 1 rood, 4 perches, viz., Wallards, 10 acres, 3 roods, 19 perches; Spinney, 1 acre, 2 roods, 4 perches; Homeclose, 2 acres, 3 roods, 21 perches. Even if it be supposed to have enclosed what is called "*Barnclose*," on the south, where probably was the entrance, perhaps by one or two terraces, this would only add 2 acres, 0 roods, 8 perches. *Claus. Index loc. quibus Litt. attestantur*, Lymberg, Limbury (Beds), 12 Nov., 1225—so that there must have been a residence, probably a manor house, there.

<sup>3</sup> The name, or even any mark of its existence, have been sought for in vain in all the *old* maps of the county.

<sup>4</sup> App. F. (d.), *Wayland Bank*.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Puncard considers that this was probably nearer to the original form of the name, which he supposes to have been *Weahlote* (*hlote*=*lod*, share, *hlut* Teut., *lod* Danish), "the lot of the Welsh," that portion being perhaps assigned to one or more of the Welsh to inhabit.

very occasion, for he calls them "Bret-Walas" (Britonish),<sup>1</sup> a name retained not merely in *Wallia, Wales*, but also in what used to be West-Wales, viz., *Corn-wall, i.e., A.S. "Corn-wealas,"* or "*Corn-weallas.*"

*Saxon* encampments (as well as Roman and Danish) were generally rectangular, but *British*, as Strabo describes them (Camden), circular, such as the inner mound of "*Totternhoe Castle,*" and the perhaps still more interesting "circular earthwork, enclosing about nine acres, called *Maiden-Bower*, about one mile and a half west-north-west from Dunstable, consisting of a single vallum and ditch, the banks being from eight to fourteen feet high, upon a level plain" (Lysons, p. 35; Brayles and B., p. 29).

There can be little doubt, therefore, from the remains found there and in its immediate vicinity, from its form (if not even from its name), as well as from its situation, being but little over half a mile from the great British track, the Icknield Way, that this entrenchment at Limbury was a British camp,<sup>2</sup> or rather, probably, one of their larger fortified towns ("*castra munita,*" as Lygeanburh is described by H. Hunts), and a residence of one of their petty

<sup>1</sup> There are probably at least a dozen names of places in Kemble's *Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax.* alone, which perpetuate the memory of places connected with the Wealas or Welsh, as, *e.g.*, besides Wealcyn (p. 314) Wales, Weale-broc (p. 161) Welsh-brook, Weala bracc, W. bridge, Wealinga-ford and Welinga-ford (Wallingford, Berks) W.-ford, Wealeshûd (Welshithe, Sur.) W.-port, Wealles-wyrd (Walworth, Sur.) and Wealinga-wyrd (Wallingworth, Sus.) W.-farm, Wealagat (Walgate, Sur.) W.-gate, Wealinga-ham (Wallingham, Wilts) W.-home. It will be observed that the name is in most other cases now pronounced, if not written, with a double "l," as in the above instance of "Waller's Bank."

<sup>2</sup> Besides the above British camps in Beds, to the west of Limbury, there is another about sixteen miles eastward, in Herts, on "Well-bury," or "Wilbury Hill," where Roman coins have been found, whose area includes c. seven acres—the *Icknield Way running right through it*. A little further on is "Arbury," or "Harborough Banks," said by Mr. Stukeley to be a work of a similar kind to that of "Maiden-Bower." Though we know little about the Britons and their towns after the departure of the Romans, c. A.D. 410, and therefore can predicate little with regard to the four towns taken in 571, yet it is not to be overlooked that *all the other places* mentioned in the *Chronicle* as being taken by either Saxons or Angles for many years together, were places of importance, generally old Roman stations; minor places, of which the number must have been very great, being passed over in silence. It may therefore be inferred that "Lygeanburh," like the others, was no mean city. Pearson (*Historical Maps*, p. 24), as is stated in another note, names "Lygeanburh" as one of the towns which date back to the Roman occupation.



kings (*regias villas*," as recorded by Ethelweard), though, as perhaps may be inferred from the Saxons giving it a partly Saxon name, "*Lygean-burh*," utilized afterwards for a time by themselves.

Among the many proofs of the position being inhabited by the Britons may be mentioned the finding of *British coins*, and those, too, of *gold*, in the immediate neighbourhood. Thus, in 1870, a gold coin of a very early type,<sup>1</sup> weighing ninety-six grains, was found in Legrave Marsh, which was for some time in the possession of Mr. Francis Lachmore, of Hitchin. Another found at the same time and place was inscribed with the name of Tasciovanus<sup>2</sup> (the father of Cunobeline), who died probably *c.* A.D. 5 (Evans, p. 289), and is still in the possession of Mr. Lachmore.<sup>3</sup> A third was also found there in 1887, weighing ninety grains—of the time of Addedomaros—being one of the coins of the eastern district, and it also belongs to Mr. Lachmore.

Nor can exception be taken to Limbury having been the site of a British town or camp from its low position. This is just the character given by Cæsar of the Britons' best defences at the time of the arrival of the Romans. "Their towns," he says, "were nothing more than places fortified or made defensible by woods

<sup>1</sup> Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (part ii.), p. 435, illust. (part i.), pl. B, No. 8, described (p. 63) as being *obv.*, plain and convex. *Rev.*, disjointed, tailless horse to the right; a pellet below; above, the arms of victory, pellets on exergue ornamented in various ways; sometimes with a cable and chain pattern as on the coin engraved, sometimes with semicircles and pellets.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (part ii.), p. 539, illust. (part i.), pl. viii 6, described p. 269. *Obv.*, "Tascio Ricon" in two compartments of a tablet with curved ends, placed across a five-fold wreath of alternately plain and corded lines; the line of division of the tablet is extended across the coin, and there are curved lines which spring from the angles of intersection of the wreath and tablets. *Rev.*, horseman to the left, armed with a sword, shield, and cuirass, and looking backwards; below a ring ornament (and on another coin, an annulet in front). The whole within a beaded circle. N. 84 grains.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (part ii.), p. 577, illust. (part i.), pl. xiv. 1, described p. 367. *Obv.*, ornament, consisting of two narrow solid crescents back to back, the cusps retorted and terminating in pellets; in the interior of each crescent a chevron-shaped compartment, enclosing five pellets; a pellet in each angle, between the crescents. *Rev.*, "Addedomaros;" horse prancing to the right, with a ring ornament on his hind quarters, his tail branched; above, a rosette and a ring ornament; beneath, a branch and a ring ornament; in front and behind, two similar ornaments connected in the form of an S. The legend on the reverse commences at the bottom, and runs from left to right beneath and in front of the horse, but owing to the die having been much larger than the coin, only the tops of the letters are visible. The S. is apparently reversed S.

Ensham was so also at first, but it early became the property of the bishop of the diocese, being given to him, as *it must be presumed*, by the king himself. The fact that Luton also is found to have been a royal vill not merely in Edw. Confessor's day,<sup>1</sup> but in that of Athelstan also, and therefore inferentially for generations previously, though there is, besides, much in support of the theory, is an argument in favour of its being—at least in contradiction to the other two claimants—the representative of the other of the four towns. For if Limbury be the Lygeanburh of the *Chronicle*, and the above authors correct in their assertion of all four towns being royal vills—and the proof with regard to three at least of them seems complete—then Limbury also was in ancient times a *royal vill*—a vill, *i.e.*, of the *British kings*—a vill evidently also, subsequently (as all such were), of the *Saxon kings*, or ealdormen, and consequently may fairly be regarded as the original seat and nucleus of the later *royal manor of Luton*, the existence of the latter being thus accounted for.

There is possibly another Saxon form through which the name Lygeanburh may have passed, and which may have given rise to Henry of Huntingdon calling it, in Latin, "Lienberig." In Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.*, iv. 288, is a deed of one Ulf, the date being about 1066, and written in Saxon. It is a deed full of interest, beginning, "This is the agreement that Ulf and Madselm his consort ('Gebedda') made with God and S. Peter, when they went to Jerusalem." In it occur these words, "And *Lindbeorghge* habban mīne cnihtas gif ic ham ne cume; and ðæt land at Lohtūne ðæt heo hafoð ðérinne intó Dornege." The meaning of which is, "And let my servants (knights or pages) have the land at *Lindbury*, if I come not home; and the land that she (his wife) has at Lohtune, be given to Thorney." Kemble, who is backward in ascribing any Saxon name to Luton, can yet find no other equivalent for Lindbeorghge but *Limbury*, Beds (*Ind.*, p. 953). The name of Shillington (Scillintune), Beds, it may be mentioned, also occurs in the deed. Lohtūne Kemble identifies, rightly or wrongly with Loughton, Essex. If the above Lindbeorghge could rightly be identified as Limbury in Luton, then *Lohtūne* might rather be supposed to be some Saxon form of *Loitune*, Luton—in this case alluding to some land held under the manor. But the present writer is inclined to think that the

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Royal Manors*.

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### Granting Certificate.

Yearly value . . . 26. 6. 5.

Rents residue . . . 2. 14. 4.

~~Remainder~~  
~~Yearly value~~ . . . 23. 12. 1

5. 18. 0

Good & ornaments  
very many 9. 5. 5  
in hands of J. A. C. 14. 0. 0

23. 5. 5

29. 3. 5

The Fraternity founded by John Rotherham &  
John Acworth . . .

No grammar school. Re. Vicar & 2  
Pro: priests.

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No grammar school. Re. Vicar & 2  
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place referred to by Ulf is more likely to have been *Limberg* (Domesday) in Lincolnshire, and if so, it affords another example of a hard form as "Lind" being softened into "Lim," as *Lienbury* or *Lanburi* into *Limbury*.

There is also an interesting point in connection with the change, or rather the modification, of its name from the old to the modern form, which affords an additional evidence of the identity of *Limbury* with *Lygeanburh*. Roger of Wendover (M. Paris, *Chr. Maj.*, i. 249, ed. Luard) when speaking of the *Lygeanburh* of the *Chronicle*—and he is followed therein by Matthew of Westminster—substitutes the name *Lienberi* for it. If this be taken as the true reading of the MS. he copied from, and not *Limberi*, then that name must be taken as the current name of his time for it, and from its approximation in sound towards *Limbury* may safely be regarded as a transitional form between *Lygeanburh* and that name, and the fact that in another almost contemporary MS. t. Ed. I. (1272-1307) (*Add. Chart. B. M.*, 15,432),<sup>1</sup> the name of *Limbury* in *Luton* is written *Lanburi*, is a sufficient proof that it was one of the forms in use in the thirteenth century for *this very place*, i.e., for *Limbury* as well as for *Lygeanburh*.

Roger, however, who died 1259, derived his account and the above name from Henry of Huntingdon,<sup>2</sup> who lived a century earlier (c. 1154), and in the edition of the latter by Arnold (*Chron. and Mem.*, No. 74), three different forms of the name, besides that of *Lienberig* in the text (from an excellent MS. of the twelfth century at C. C. Camb., 280<sup>b</sup>), are given (p. 52, note) as being found in the various MSS., viz., *Lienberis* (in a MS. of the thirteenth century in the Adv. Lib. Edinb., A 5), *Lienbirig* (in a MS. of the thirteenth century in Adv. Lib. Edinb., 33), and *LYEMBERIG* (in a MS. of the thirteenth century in the Cam. Univ. Lib., I. i. ii. 3).

So that while we have H. of Huntingdon, Rog. of Wendover, and M. of Westminster all calling the *Lygeanburh* of the *Chronicle* by some such name as *Lyen-* or *Lien-bury*, and the above-mentioned

<sup>1</sup> A charter of Alan de Brambelhanger, *Luton*, in which one of the witnesses is John de *Lanburi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Luton* was in the diocese of Lincoln. Henry (Archdeacon) of Huntingdon was brought up in the household of the Bishop of Lincoln, and at the request of his successor, Bishop Alexander, undertook his *History of the English*, and dedicated his work to him. As he twice (according to Forester) accompanied his patron to Rome, he very probably attended him on some of his visitations at *Luton* or *Dunstable*.

charter calling *Limbury in Luton* by a name of almost exactly similar sound, viz., *Lanburi*, we have also in this latter name of H. of Huntingdon, *Lyem-bury*, almost exactly the very same as the name found in the *Dunstable Chronicle* of the same century, and referring expressly to this same *Limbury in Luton*, viz., *Lymburi*.

But that which perhaps will be considered the most satisfactory proof of the identification of the two places is this, that whereas all the writers who have assigned the name to other places are all *comparatively modern authors*—Camden, the earliest of them, only going back to the sixteenth century, and the rest belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—on the other hand, there is the authority of a writer who was contemporary with Huntingdon (c. 1150), and who, if he had not Huntingdon's *History* before him, is acknowledged to have had access to many earlier works now lost, and may safely be considered to express the tradition and opinion of his own time.

This writer definitely states that the place taken on the occasion was at *Luton*. In the *L'Estoire des Engles* (Angles)<sup>1</sup> of the Norman rhyming chronicler, Geffrei Gaimar, occur the following lines:

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Hist. Mon. H. Brit.*, p. 777. A new edition of his work has been published in the Master of the Rolls Series. Gaimar flourished 1150; H. of Huntingdon died after 1154. Geoffrey Gaimar lived in the household of a northern baron, Ralph Fitzgilbert. Constance, the baron's wife, not being able to read Latin, but being desirous of reading the much-talked-of and new chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gaimar undertook to translate it for her into French verse. The chronicle had been written by Geoffrey for his patron, Robert, Earl of Gloucester (lord of one of the manors of Luton), and it was seemingly the very copy presented to Earl Robert, obtained through a friendly Yorkshire baron, that Gaimar used for his translation (H. Morley, *First Sketch of English Literature*, p. 48). Gaimar continued his chronicle in French or Anglo-Norman verse by adding the series of Saxon kings, and this latter part of his work is all that has survived. It may be taken for certain that Earl Robert, the greatest patron of letters in his day, to whom both Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the British Kings* and William of Malmesbury's *History of the Kings of England* were dedicated, was intimately acquainted also with *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which contains the account of the capture of Lygeanburh, and not less so with Henry of Huntingdon's *History of the English*, the first edition of which brought down the history to the death of his father, Henry I. (vide *Early Chroniclers of England*, S.P.C.K., p. 104). If Gaimar published his work (which only goes down to the death of Rufus) during the lifetime of Earl Robert, which is likely, specifying "the city" or township "of Luton" as the site of the engagement, it probably conveyed no new information to the earl concerning a spot so near to lands which had once been his.



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 Bretons venqui un jor matin  
 A Bedeford ; la les venqui.  
 Treis bons receis<sup>1</sup> donc lur toli :  
 Aylesbyres, e Besingtone,  
 E donc *la cité de Luitune.*"

which may be translated<sup>2</sup> thus :

" This Cutha was brother of Ceawlin :  
 One fine morning he vanquished the Britons  
 At Bedford ; he vanquished them there.  
 Then took he three good refuges (forts) from them :  
 Aylesbury and Bensington,  
 And then *the city of Luton.*"

Although he here omits one town of the four (owing perhaps to the exigency of his verse), alters the order in the subjugation of the rest, and makes, seemingly, the slight confusion of identifying the ancient "city" or royal vill of Lygeanburh (Limbury) in the *parish of Luton* with the later town and royal manor of *Luton itself*—which, however, as has been shown, seems to have developed from the former and to have practically taken its place, "Lygeanburh" being, as it has been well expressed, "the British Luton," to all intents, as Gaimar calls it, "the city of Luton"—yet it is clearly evident that in his opinion, at least, Lygeanburh was not to be sought for elsewhere, but was represented by some manor, town, or hamlet at *Luton*. And this, it is to be noted, is the very earliest interpretation and direct identification of Lygeanburh which we possess, and that four hundred years previous to Camden's conjecture (1586 being the date of his *Britannia*), and at the very time, too, when Huntingdon was calling it *Lienberig*, if not even *Lyemberig*, and whilst the *Dunstable Chronicle* was naming the *hamlet at Luton* Limburi. In all probability the site was well known and fully acknowledged in his and Huntingdon's day, and called indifferently, as it would be at the present time, either Limbury or (as being better known) Luton.

It is satisfactory to find that modern archæologists, having

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Ensham was so also at first, but it early became the property of the bishop of the diocese, being given to him, as *it must be presumed*, by the king himself. The fact that Luton also is found to have been a royal vill not merely in Edw. Confessor's day,<sup>1</sup> but in that of Athelstan also, and therefore inferentially for generations previously, though there is, besides, much in support of the theory, is an argument in favour of its being—at least in contradiction to the other two claimants—the representative of the other of the four towns. For if Limbury be the Lygeanburh of the *Chronicle*, and the above authors correct in their assertion of all four towns being royal vills—and the proof with regard to three at least of them seems complete—then Limbury also was in ancient times a *royal vill*—a vill, *i.e.*, of the *British kings*—a vill evidently also, subsequently (as all such were), of the *Saxon kings*, or ealdormen, and consequently may fairly be regarded as the original seat and nucleus of the later *royal manor of Luton*, the existence of the latter being thus accounted for.

There is possibly another Saxon form through which the name Lygeanburh may have passed, and which may have given rise to Henry of Huntingdon calling it, in Latin, "Lienberig." In Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.*, iv. 288, is a deed of one Ulf, the date being about 1066, and written in Saxon. It is a deed full of interest, beginning, "This is the agreement that Ulf and Madselm his consort ('Gebedda') made with God and S. Peter, when they went to Jerusalem." In it occur these words, "And *Lindbeorghge* habban mīne cnihtas gif ic ham ne cume; and ðæt land æt Lohtūne ðæt heo hafoð ðérinne intó Dornege." The meaning of which is, "And let my servants (knights or pages) have the land at *Lindbury*, if I come not home; and the land that she (his wife) has at Lohtune, be given to Thorney." Kemble, who is backward in ascribing any Saxon name to Luton, can yet find no other equivalent for Lindbeorghge but *Limbury*, Beds (*Ind.*, p. 953). The name of Shillington (Scillintune), Beds, it may be mentioned, also occurs in the deed. Lohtūne Kemble identifies rightly or wrongly with Loughton, Essex. If the above Lindbeorghge could rightly be identified as Limbury in Luton, then *Lohtūne* might rather be supposed to be some Saxon form of *Loitune*, Luton—in this case alluding to some land held under the manor. But the present writer is inclined to think that the

<sup>1</sup> Part IV., *Royal Manors*.

place ~~of the~~ ~~to~~ have been ~~timber~~

# Charity Certificate.

Yearly value .. 26. 6. 5.

Rents residue .. 2. 14. 4.

Remainder  
Yearly value .. 23. 12. 1

5. 18. 0

Good & ornaments  
ready money 9. 5. 5  
in hands of J. A. A. A.  
14. 0. 0

23. 5. 5

29. 3. 5

The Fraternity founded by John Rotherham &  
John A. A. A. A.

No Grammar School. Re Vicar & 2  
Pro: priests.

vicinal road<sup>1</sup> leading thence through Clophill and Haynes to Bedford; but considering the ignorance which must have prevailed among Saxons, living in a distant and hostile part of the country, concerning the exact position, if not even of the very existence of such a town as Bedford, it would seem more likely, perhaps, that they pursued the road somewhat further until they found it leading them too far from their camp. In either case, however, their course would have carried them through and beyond Limbury. As, then, the taking of Lygeanburh followed, and did not precede, that of Bedford (if Limbury be the same as Lygeanburh), they must have passed close by it on that occasion, leaving it untouched, or at least unsubdued, until afterwards. But this, though it might seem unlikely, is an objection of little force, for if the Icknield Way was their route, they had already passed by other British forts near at hand, as Eddlesborough, Totternhoe, and Maiden Bower, each of which was probably then in existence, and previously even close to both Bensington and Aylesbury, upon which also they *returned* afterwards.

(*b*). It would rather seem, too, as if Green and the other advocates of *Lenborough* (though indeed most of them appear to have but followed the leading of a previous writer) fixed upon that place, first, from the name being the nearest approach in sound or look, which they knew, to that of Lygeanburh—their attention not having been directed to Limbury on the Lea, a mere hamlet unmarked upon any but a county map—and also from its being situated where its capture might explain how and when the West Saxons got possession of the northern as well as the southern parts of Bucks and Oxon. But their seizure and appropriation of the whole of these counties may have been made, if ever made at all, even early, without their taking any fort at Lenborough. *That* could not have, and certainly did not, put them in possession of the north of Oxford, and yet they are credited with spreading over that also. There is no need, therefore, from the exigencies of later history, to suppose that they must have taken a fort in the north of Bucks on this occasion. Lygeanburh, therefore, may find a representative other than Lenborough without doing despite to history.

(*c*) Nor can anything in favour of Lenborough be inferred, nor

<sup>1</sup> Blyth, *Hist. of Bedford*, p. 21.

the course of the returning conquerors be traced with any greater probability as having started thence, from the fact that Aylesbury was the next town taken. That "burh" was equally the first royal vill which they would meet with on the road from Limbury to Bensington, the third town captured, as it would have been had they taken it *en route* from Lenborough to the same "fortified camp," with the additional advantage in favour of the former course that the marauders would have the open road of the Icknield Way for the whole of their return journey for carrying off their booty, even that which they had taken at Bedford.

(d) And if Lenborough be not Lygeanburh, Green's theory of a "League of the Four Towns," with their suggested boundaries, falls to the ground, leaving only the three southern towns affected by his observations. Whether there ever were, or could be, any league between these—men of different tribes (Catuvellani and Dobuni), if tribal distinctions still existed, considering how difficult it was to get the Britons at any time to act together against the common enemy—is a question that does not concern us here. Green himself admits that any account of the expedition, beyond the bare facts of the *Chronicle*, or of its results, must be mainly conjectural.

## APPENDIX F. (c.).

### DRAY'S DITCHES.

As the *Chronicle* states that these invading Danes came from Leicester and Northampton, and not from Ravensburgh, and that they were repulsed and routed at once, the trenches called "*Dray's* (or mistakenly *Gray's*) *Ditches*" (a triple row of shallow dykes running from near Great Bramlingham towards Warden Hill), which seem to imply a long defence or warfare—but which are connected by some with this battle—have probably nothing to do with this latter, but commemorate some earlier engagement between the two races. But it must not be forgotten that both the ditches and Warden Hill ("war-dune," perhaps from A. S. "wardian," to defend, and "dun," a hill, *H. Fowler*) were both within what was then and for a long time Danish territory, and consequently that their origin may be connected with the Danes' defence against the men of Luton rather than with that of the latter against the later invaders. As these ditches stretch across

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This writer definitely states that the place taken on the occasion was at *Luton*. In the *L'Estoire des Engles* (Angles)<sup>1</sup> of the Norman rhyming chronicler, Geffrei Gaimar, occur the following lines:

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Although he here omits one town of the four (owing perhaps to the exigency of his verse), alters the order in the subjugation of the rest, and makes, seemingly, the slight confusion of identifying the ancient "city" or royal vill of Lygeanburh (Limbury) in the *parish of Luton* with the later town and royal manor of *Luton itself*—which, however, as has been shown, seems to have developed from the former and to have practically taken its place, "Lygeanburh" being, as it has been well expressed, "the British Luton," to all intents, as Gaimar calls it, "the city of Luton"—yet it is clearly evident that in his opinion, at least, Lygeanburh was not to be sought for elsewhere, but was represented by some manor, town, or hamlet at *Luton*. And this, it is to be noted, is the very earliest interpretation and direct identification of Lygeanburh which we possess, and that four hundred years previous to Camden's conjecture (1586 being the date of his *Britannia*), and at the very time, too, when Huntingdon was calling it *Lienberig*, if not even *Lyemberig*, and whilst the *Dunstable Chronicle* was naming the *hamlet at Luton* Limburi. In all probability the site was well known and fully acknowledged in his and Huntingdon's day, and called indifferently, as it would be at the present time, either Limbury or (as being better known) Luton.

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any stream, like Waulud's, yet the source of the river Rhee (or Cam) is close at hand. The village itself, of Ashwell (an ancient demesne of the Saxon, and no doubt also of the earlier Anglian, kings, and of "Roman origin," probably of the British princes also), lies, as Camden describes it, "in a low situation" (again like Waulud's Bank), "on the northern edge of the county, where a famous spring breaks out from a rocky bank, overhung with lofty *ashes*, whence flows such an abundant quantity of water, as, presently being collected in one channel, turns a mill, and soon after becomes a river; from this spring and these ash-trees it is certain the Saxons gave it this new name of Ash-well;" called in Domesday, "Escewelle."

## APPENDIX F. (e.).

### GREEN'S THEORIES.

It is impossible for many reasons (those connected with the etymology of the name will be found in App. (b.), "Lygeanburh") to accept Green's conclusion to the above extract, that after the battle at Bedford the West Saxons followed upwards the course of the Ouse to Lenbury, a village close to Buckingham, and that this was the "Lygeanburh" of the *Chronicle*—the town which they next assailed and captured. This route would have cost them—laden we must presume with booty—some sixty miles of journey over swampy ground, and at the end of it, in order to reach Aylesbury, about fifteen miles more in a somewhat backward direction and without any beaten track. The journey from Bedford to Limbury would have been less than twenty miles on a well-marked road, and thence to Aylesbury along the Icknield Way about the same distance, with every facility for carrying home their increasing spoil.

But besides these and other objections to the above theory, exception must be taken to certain minor points in the passage here quoted. The "campaigns," *e.g.*, did not close with the battle of Bedford, but according to the *Chronicle* began with it. Nor can this battle be said to be the "one" only event of it, when four towns were also taken. Neither is there any hint given in the *Chronicle*, or any evidence elsewhere, of any "league" between the four doomed towns, the theory of which, purely imaginary in



itself at that period, falls to the ground if Lenbury can be shown to have *not* been, and Limbury to *have* been, the town alluded to. Also, the natural inference from the passage which speaks of Huntingdon having been occupied by Anglians before 571, compared with the former part of the quotation, is, that after the battle at Bedford Cuthwulf went on to S. Neots, preparing the way thereby for the West Saxons eventually to push their settlements eastward to the same point. Both of these seem to be improbable assumptions. After they had looted Bedford they were hardly likely to have gone much further away from home. That they went as far as S. Neots is quite possible; but it seems much more reasonable to conclude that this was *before*, and not after the battle. In this case they probably continued along the Icknield Way until they came to Baldock, whence the old Roman road would lead them near to S. Neots—a not unlikely event, as Bedford can hardly have been known to them, and they were passing at a good distance from it. Either the cause suggested by Green, the presence of Anglians on the other side of the stream, or even the streams themselves and the marshes of the neighbourhood, combined with the feeling that they had extended their raid far enough, may then have led them to return for a while along the Ouse until they came to and captured Bedford—the chief and probably the only town of that district. As to the other assumption, sufficient arguments, it is considered, are furnished in the text for rejecting it entirely. It is impossible to suppose that Anglians in Hunts and Northampton would wait until the West Saxons had migrated with their families from upwards of a hundred miles away before they would enter upon land separated from them only by the Ouse or other stream.

## APPENDIX G. (Chap. II., p. 19.)

### BISHOPESCOTE.

Two questions arise, *In what part of Luton were the "five manses" situated?* and *By what name are they now known?*

In Part IV. proof is adduced that the terms "manse" and "hide" were used almost indiscriminately and convertibly for the same lands—the former term having reference to them

merely as a "holding," the latter either particularizing their "extent," or, in later times, marking the value at which they were rated.

There are two distinct properties in the present parish, each of them rated in the Domesday Survey as at "*five hides*," the one of them being itself there called a manor, the other, though not so named, being virtually described as such. No other lands than these have any claim to be accounted the five manses of Alhmund and Offa.

(a) *The Rectorial lands*.—That the founder of the manorial church should endow it with so large an extent of land as five hides requires explanation, and this might have been found in supposing those hides to have been at some previous time monastic property, and then, having been lost somehow to the church, to have been given back to it as parochial property. That the "hides" should number exactly "five," the same number as the "manses" of Alhmund, would have been under the circumstances a strong argument in favour of the "manses" of Offa and the "hides" of Domesday having been one and the same lands, only under a different designation. Were it not that the argument in support of another "five hides" having been the "five manses" appears to be of still greater weight, the above facts would probably have been considered to be as forcible evidence as was likely to be obtained, after an interval of eleven hundred years, towards identifying any lands with those of Alhmund, so vaguely described. But though there are one or two slight difficulties in connection with the other manor of five hides, it has a claim to represent the land "at Lygetun," which seems to preponderate far over that of any other property in the parish. That other is—

(b) *The Manor of Bishopscote, or Biscot*.

It will have been observed that in the grant of Offa the expression used to distinguish the land is simply "the land of five manentes at Lygetun" (Luton).

There are two documents, formerly belonging to S. Alban's, in which occur enumerations of Offa's grants to the abbey. In neither of these lists, where the name "Lygetun" might reasonably have been expected to be met with, does the name occur at all, but, seemingly, in the place of it, in both instances, that of a *particular manor* in "*Luton*," viz., *Bisshopescote*.

The following are the two deeds :

(1) In Appendix D. to *Gesta Abbatum, etc.* (i. 507, Riley's ed.,

from Cott. MS. Nero, D. I., fol. 63), headed by "Quoddam sumptum *de veteri libro* qui sic incipit, 'Septem sunt signacula,'" occur these words, "Offa, rex Anglorum dedit Deo et S. Albano has terras, scil. Edelmetunam . . . (and 7th on the list) '*Bissopes-cote* ;'" and later on, among the lands *lost* to the abbey (probably in great measure owing to the Danish invasion) appears the name, not of the "five manses" at *Lygetune*, which *were certainly lost* to them before Edward the Confessor's time, but that again of *Biscopescote*: "Hæ sunt terræ quas ecclesia ista invicem amisit . . . (14th) *Biscopescote*," etc.

(2) Again—in a list compiled by Thos. Walsingham, a very careful historian (1377-1422), in *Liber Benefactorum* (Cott. MS. Nero, D. VII., fol. 4)—the name of *Biscopescote*, and not that of—but apparently in the place of—*Luton*, occurs as one of Offa's donations.

As "*Bisshoppescote*," in all probability, formed part of *Luton* in Offa's days, as it does now, though for a time separated from its manor, the natural inference from the above facts, if the documents can be relied upon,<sup>1</sup> is that that vill or manor of *Biscot* was "the five manses at *Lygetun*" granted by Offa.

One or two points have to be taken into consideration in thus identifying them :

(1) Newcome,<sup>2</sup> in transcribing the list, appends to the name

<sup>1</sup> Many such deeds, professing to contain grants of lands to monasteries in ancient times, are known to be untrustworthy (*vide* Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*) ; some of them being direct forgeries written to account for the possession of certain lands, the acquisition of which was forgotten, or their title disputed ; others being deeds professedly only embodying traditions of grants, the originals having been lost or destroyed. As no hint to the contrary is given by the editor of the above two documents, their genuineness is here presumed, especially as there appears to be no motive or reason whatever why *Bisshoppescote*, long lost to them (if they were Offa's gift, but restored, and again parted with by them), should have been introduced into the lists unless there had been good authority, traditional or otherwise, for so doing. The total omission of the "five manses at *Lygetun*" in the above two documents, though they are *prominently mentioned in one of the few remaining genuine charters of Offa*, can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition of their having substituted for them the name of a property of "five hides" known by them to have been "at *Lygetun*," and traditionally regarded, if not actually recorded, as those of Offa's grant.

"Offa's charters are more numerous than those of any other king of the age. Among the charters many are forgeries, chiefly those connected with S. Alban's (*K. C. D.*, 161, 162), Croyland, and Medeshamstede" (Smith's *Christian Biography*, "Offa").

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 408.

"Biscopescote," a "manor in *Surrey*;" on what grounds is not known. It is not so stated in either of the above MSS., or, apparently, in any known documents of S. Alban's. It would appear, therefore, that it was either a slip on his part, for "a manor in Luton," or "in Beds" (and his work is by no means free from such mistakes), or that, while ignorant of this latter manor, he was acquainted with one of the same name in Surrey, and conjectured that the two were one and the same. Yet Manning and Bray, in their very complete *History of Surrey*, make no mention of any such manor—at least in the index of their work. Neither does the name of any other "Bisshoppescote," besides that at Luton, occur in Domesday. A search, too, in many county histories, etc., has failed to discover any other place of the same name.<sup>1</sup>

(2) A second point is the origin of the name *Bisshoppescote*. The evident interpretation of the name is that of the "cote," or "cottage," or rather "*the house of the bishop*," the latter part of the name, viz., "cote," being a not infrequent appellation of a place in Beds, and very abundant elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The name, therefore, would seem to imply that the hamlet was the possession at a very early period of a *bishop*, doubtless the bishop of the diocese, and

<sup>1</sup> Of a kindred nature, however, to Bishops-cote is the Welsh name "Escobty" ("Bishop House"), the title given in Hywel Dha's laws to the seven bishop's houses in S. David's diocese, each of them being seemingly an outlying temporary halting-place for the bishop, where he also left in charge, as is suggested in the case of Bishopcote, a small body of priests and teachers, together with a church—the word "ty" coming hence early to signify, like the similar word "house" in English, a religious community, a monastic or educational establishment, and not simply a building (Besant, D. H. *S. David*, pp. 30-39). Somewhat kindred names marking the residence or other event connected with, for the most part, *early* bishops, will be familiar to many, as Bishopsbury (Staff.), Bishopsbourne (Kent), Bishop's Castle (Herf.), Bishopstoke (Hants), Bishopstone (Wilts, Herf., Suss.), Bishopstow (Wilts), Bishopthorp (York. and Linc.), Bishopsworth (Som.), and Biscopham (Dorset). Bishopsham, York.). Bishopstone, Sussex, was an early episcopal manor, its Saxon tower being still in existence (D. H. *Chichester*, pp. 32, 57). At every seven miles on the road along which, for fifty miles, from Douling in Somerset to Malmesbury in Wilts, the body of Bp. Aldhelm was borne to its burial, stone crosses were afterwards set up, which long stood uninjured, and were called "Bishopstones" (Malmesb., v. 230; Bright, 437).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Hul-cote and Calde-cote, or in the plural "coton" or "cotton," as "Cotton End" in both Wiltshire and Cardington; called simply "Cotes" in the deeds of S. Alban's. There is also Fenlake Cotes in Beds. In Warwickshire there are Knight-cote, Charle-cote (ceorl=husbandman?), Fox-cote, Lamb-cote, West-cote, Chelms-cote, Grims-cote, etc.

not at *first* of a *monastery*. It would seem to have been the property of both *successively*. Presupposing that Biscot originally formed part of the crown lands, *i.e.*, of the royal vill of Limbury, afterwards the royal manor of Luton, which from the way in which Biscot juts into the rest of the manor it is reasonable to infer, it seems natural to conclude, from its name, that it was granted by an early king<sup>1</sup> to one of the first bishops of the diocese, to Diurna or one of his immediate successors, and that one of them, perhaps S. Chad, on the removal of the see by him, *c.* 664, to the distant Lichfield, granted it, a not unlikely gift, to some neighbouring monastery, *e.g.*, to that of Bedford. If it had been designed for one of the chief seats of the bishop, it would probably have been rather named "*Bishopstow*," *i.e.*, "the bishop's place" or "residence," but if the whole hamlet were his property, and the "cote," or chief house, merely his temporary residence on his missionary tour, the district might naturally be called from that house, "*Bishopscote*." Whilst the chief residence was thus used, the five manes or hides would contribute efficiently to the support both of the bishop and of his missionary companions, and afterwards, probably, to the maintenance of a small monastery there.

The nearness of Bishopscote to what was probably the chief vill of the district in those days, Limbury (Lygeanburh, a royal vill), and the presence of the river at hand for the immersion of the converts,<sup>2</sup> would have made it a peculiarly suitable spot for the

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be something significant in the fact that just previous to the Norman Conquest, and probably for some long time before, Biscot, though surrounded *on all sides by the hundred of Flitt*, was not reckoned in that hundred but in another. This would seem to confirm the suggestion of its separation from the manor at a time earlier at least than the regular formation of hundreds, attributed in this part of the kingdom, no doubt rightly, to Edward the Elder; its union with that other hundred arising probably from some special reason, such as some further ownership by the same person in that hundred, "so that the proprietor might not have to attend two county courts" (Pearson).

<sup>2</sup> It was on the banks of the *Swale* that Bp. Paulinus of York preached to the crowds that gathered round him, "and in *its waters*, as in a second Jordan, (that) they were immersed in the All Holy Name; for, as Bede says, in the infancy of that new-formed church there were neither oratories nor baptisteries" (Dioc. Hist. *York*, p. 20). In Nottinghamshire also, in *the waters of the Trent*, near a place usually identified with Southwell, where the minster of S. Mary has always claimed Paulinus as its founder, he baptized multitudes. The *chief abode* of his companion and successor in his missionary work, James the Deacon, or "the Chantor," was also on the banks of the *Swale*, where a little vill was long known by his *name*.

conversion and instruction of the neighbourhood, and equally so, both then and afterwards, for a monastic establishment.

Assuming, then, Bishopescote, or Biscot, to have derived its appellation as has been suggested, and also to have been the five manses of Offa's grant, its *early history* may have been such as the following :

In order to have received that name it must have been given either to one of the first six bishops of *Mercia*, or, if a little later, to one of the earliest bishops of *Leicester* after the erection of that see, in 680, for the special care of the Mid Anglians. In the former case the grants will have been made either by King Oswy of Northumbria, the over-lord (656-659), who is spoken of as "establishing Christianity in Mercia,"<sup>1</sup> possibly in conjunction with the under-king Penda—if alive at the time—or by King Wulfhere (659-675). In the latter case it would have been granted by K. Ethelred, the brother and successor of Wulfhere. As has been suggested elsewhere, being part, apparently, of the royal estate at Luton, it was most probably granted by Oswy to his first bishop, Diuma (656), of the endowment of whose see we hear absolutely nothing, though possibly to his second bishop, Ceollach (658), or even by Wulfhere to the succeeding bishop, Trumhere (659-662), all whose episcopates were comprised within six years; and in either case it may have been made over by S. Chad or other successor, then amply provided for at Lichfield, to some central monastery.

After its transfer to S. Alban's in 792, and its continuance as the property of that abbey for near a hundred years, it is likely that it was all seized by the Danes in 880,<sup>2</sup> when they "settled the

<sup>1</sup> Lowe's *Dioc. Hist. Durham*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> "The Danes came merely as a 'host' or army of occupation, not as a body of rural colonists. They left the conquered English in possession of their homes, though they seized upon the *manors* for themselves, and kept the higher dignities of the vanquished provinces in their own hands. Being rapidly converted to Christianity, they amalgamated readily with the native people. Few women came over with them, and intermarriage with the English soon broke down the wall of separation" (Grant Allen, p. 134). "The English population was not displaced by the Danes, but the lordship of the soil was transferred to the conquerors" (Green's *C. of Engl.*, p. 116). "Their settlements were few in E. Anglia. Elsewhere they quartered themselves on their English subjects. In the dependent districts they seem rather to have clustered in town-centres such as Colchester and *Bedford*, or Huntingdon and Cambridge, where Jarl and Here (army) remained encamped, receiving food and rent from the subject Englishmen who tilled their allotted lands" (*Ibid.*, p. 124).

land and parted it among them," the larger portion of it, viz., that to the east and north of the Lea, being legally retained by them after the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum in 886, and even the rest also, for the two parts appear to have been still consolidated as one manor. On their submission to Edward the Elder three-and-thirty years afterwards (919), the Danes, notwithstanding their breach of the treaty, were in general allowed to keep their previously legalized possessions, and perhaps not always deprived of what else they had seized over the border. Accordingly, though from after-history it would seem that the rest of the present parish of Luton, on the east and north of the river (East Hide, Stopsley, and even part of the township itself), was restored to the *manor* of Luton and to the king, yet for some reason it would appear that no part of *Biscot* was so restored, and consequently, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, the hamlet is found disconnected with the king's manor of Luton, as well as with the hundred (Flitte) in which that manor is situated.

At the Conquest, as has been already mentioned, it was united, or probably *re*-united, with both the manor and the hundred; and when granted to S. Alban's (a second time?) by Hen. I. in 1115 its "soke" was stated to have been hitherto at Luton, a minor manor to the royal manor. Though rated only, at the Survey, at five hides, it consisted of five carucates (*c.* 600 acres) of arable land (two of them being in demesne), and three carucates (*c.* 360 acres) of meadow, together making about 960 acres, exclusive of commons, waste, etc. Neither mill nor wood are mentioned. There were on the estate ten villeins, just double the number of tenants then, as of "manentes" in Offa's days, each tenant holding on an average *c.* 36 acres of arable land and 36 also of meadow. There were three serfs on the manor. Edwin, a homager of Ascar (master of the horse to K. Edward), had held the manor in fee as his own. "Ralph Tailbois laid the land to the king's manor in Luton, by way of an increased rent which he paid to him," no doubt farming the royal manor, as was the custom for the sheriffs to do. Its value in K. Edward's time was £3 per annum, but it had fallen at the Conquest to £2, and had not risen again under Tailbois' management. Tailbois also "took it out of the hundred in which it was rated in Edward's time," and joined it evidently to that of Flitte, *under which*, together with Luton, *it is found*. The Domesday scribe, however, intending to add that compensation was made to the deprived hundred, makes the ludicrous assertion,

"On the other hand, he took *other five hides* from another hundred and laid *them* to the hundred of Flitt."

Airy (*Digest Dom. Beds.*, p. 14) is probably right in concluding that it was from the *adjoining* hundred of Manshead that Biscot was taken; and, if so, it may be conjectured that the five hides, given as an equivalent to Manshead, were the five hides of the manor of *Harlington*, which are on the border between the two hundreds, and might have been reckoned in either. This is the only manor of five hides now in Manshead which could be supposed ever to have been attached to Flitt, the only other manor of the same value in the former hundred being that of Salford at some considerable distance.

Though Airy faithfully translates the original in the text,<sup>1</sup> "Tailbois took the land out of the hundred in which it was rated, T. R. E. (in the time of King Edward), and on the other hand, he took *other five hides from another hundred* and laid *them* to the hundred of Flitt;" yet, as the scribe evidently meant just the reverse, viz., that "he took other five hides from the hundred of Flitt and laid them to that other hundred," he rightly also, in his note (p. 14), gives the correct meaning: "taking it from the hundred of Manshead and placing it in the hundred of Flitt, but *repaying the former hundred with another five hides from the latter.*"

It may be added that though there is no authority in the Survey for fixing upon either Manshead or Harlington, yet neither is there any allusion elsewhere in it to any other exchange with Flitt.

## APPENDIX H. (Chap. II., p. 23.)

### OFFA'S EXPEDITIONS.

It does not seem possible to make out any satisfactory list of Offa's successive expeditions during his long and active reign of forty years, so as to form any conjecture as to the reason or special occasion of Alhmund's neglect. Miller (*Anglo-Saxons*, chap. xvi.) gives only the following: (1) against Northumbria; (2) against Kent in 774, when he conquered at Otford and an-

<sup>1</sup> "Hanc apposuit Rudulf' tallieboc (*sic*) in Lointone M' regis p crēmū qđ ei dedit 7 foris misit de hund' ubi se defendet T. R. E. E cont' sūpsit alias v hiđ de alio hunđ' et posuit in Flitham hunđ" (*Dom.*, i. 209).



nexed Kent to Mercia ; (3) against Cynewulf, King of Wessex, in 777, when he again conquered (at Bensington) and took possession of part of his kingdom ; (4 and 5) twice, against the Welsh, in 779, when he took Shrewsbury and made his celebrated dyke ; and (6) again, according to most accounts, against the Welsh, when he slew Caradoc, the Prince of North Wales, and many of his principal chieftains at Rhuddlan, Flintshire—an event still commemorated in the pathetic Welsh air called “*Morfa Rhuddlan*” (“The Marsh of Rhuddlan”). There is a difficulty, however, about this latter battle, as in the Welsh chronicles it is ascribed to the year 795, whereas Offa, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, died a year earlier, though the correct time seems to have been in 796, which would allow the battle to have taken place at the time mentioned. If that date is correct, Alhmund’s neglect can have had no connection with this expedition ; but if that, like Offa’s charter, has to be reckoned as 792 ; then there was probably some connection between the two, just previous to the charter.

## APPENDIX I. (Chap. II., p. 23.)

### THE NEGLECT OF FYRD.

“FROM the days of King Ina (688-728) the landowner” (in the kingdom of *Wessex*), “if he held direct from the king, who neglected the fyrd, or ‘*expeditio*,’ both *forfeited his land* and had to pay 120 shillings” (Stubbs’s *C. H.*, i. 191). “By later legislation” (Ethelred I., 866-871), in the same kingdom, “the forfeiture of the land only took place in case of *the king’s presence* with the host, whilst a fine of 120 shillings was considered sufficient atonement if *he was not present*” (*Ibid.*). “In Canute’s laws” (1017-1035), for the whole kingdom, “neglect of the fyrd involves *only a fine* of 120 shillings” (*Ibid.*).

As the reign of Offa (754-796) was intermediate in time between that of Ina and Ethelred, and as the laws of the kingdom of Mercia were distinct from, though for the most part very similar to, those of Wessex, it may have been that the *customary* penalty of the time—the king perhaps being absent from the host—was only the fine. If the land had been absolutely *forfeited* by Alhmund’s dereliction of duty, Offa could hardly have described it as a “*grant* to himself

by way of reconciliation." It seems probable, therefore, that Alhmund, wishing to ingratiate himself with the king—a desire in which he was successful—and, perhaps, in a measure on account of his subterfuge, surrendered the land instead of merely paying the fine.

The only national army till the days of Alfred (878-901) was "the fyrd," or militia, known in Germany as "Landwehr." It was composed of the whole mass of free landowners, who, though they could only be called out by themselves in folkmoot, yet were expected to obey the summons of the king, on any of his expeditions, with their own provision and weapons—custom fixing the service at two months at a time, when they returned home. Long campaigns and distant expeditions early made this service irksome, and heavy fines ("fyrdwite"), even in the days of Ina, had to be exacted for non-attendance (Green, *C. of E.*, p. 136). Alhmund could not have come under the later law with regard to the possessor of *five hides*, for it was not until Alfred's time, or that of his son Edward, that *all owners of five hides* were subjected to *thegn-service*, every thegn being bound not only to appear in the host himself at the king's summons, but also to bring a well-equipped force with him. A little later still the whole country was divided into military districts, when, in addition to every freeman being liable to service, each five hides was required to send an armed man at the king's summons and to provide him with victuals and pay. As at the end of two months, though in the face of an enemy, the king might suddenly be deprived of his whole army, Alfred wisely "divided the fyrd into two halves, each of which took by turns its service in the field, while the other half was exempted from field service on condition of defending its own 'burhs,' and manning the rough entrenchments round every town-ship" (*Ibid.*).

## APPENDIX J. (Chap. III., p. 26.)

### PRIVATE CHAPELS.

It is not meant in the text that no private chapels had been erected before this period. As early as 686 (*Giles*, but rather 688) Bede (v. 4 and 5) casually mentions the consecration by

John of Beverley, then Bishop of Hexham, of two such churches, or oratories, built upon the estates of Yorkshire noblemen (Earls Puck and Addi) at North and South Burton ; and Lord Selborne (*A. F. and F.*, p. 120) adds to his reference to this fact the remark that he "sees no reason to doubt that there were at the same time other such churches, built by other private landowners on their own estates." Yet these certainly, at least for another century and upwards, would have had no burial-ground attached to them, nobles and all who could afford it invariably preferring to be buried in monastic churches. Nor, even if served by secular priests, located upon the spot, would there have been any such territorial arrangements for their sphere of duty or for their maintenance, as is implied in the idea of a modern parish. "There were no settled parishes in Northumbria" (which included Yorkshire, where the two above-mentioned churches were situated) "in 734" (H. and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 122, note). Throughout the ninth century the invasion of the Danes and their subsequent domination over the Midland counties must have deprived most landowners of the means and opportunity of erecting such oratories, even if they had been so minded—and in the still earlier period, especially in Mercia, the prevailing idea of the best means of carrying out the work of the church was evidently that of strengthening the hands of the monasteries. These latter, however, having now been destroyed, their lands in great measure alienated, and their cemeteries desecrated, landowners were driven either to take possession of those thus vacated by the monasteries, or to erect elsewhere new churches with cemeteries for themselves and their dependants, and in either case to maintain the clergy more or less directly at their own expense. This latter burden, and the endowment required before consecration of a church, no doubt operated in a measure to retard the general erection of manorial churches, except on the estates of the richest landowners, and in the Midlands especially so, until some time after the restoration of English rule. Lord Selborne (*A. F. and F.*, p. 81), speaking of the Church on the Continent, says, "From an early date, private oratories or chapels were built and consecrated upon the estates of powerful laymen. The rule was that no one should build a church before the bishop of the diocese came and publicly set a cross on the ground, and marked out the intended precinct (*atrium*) ; and the founder was required, by an instrument of gift to be produced before consecration, to make reasonable

provision for its lighting and due care, and for the wages of those (*custodes*) who should be put in charge of it." This was independent of the endowment for a priest to minister therein. Some such provision was probably made in England also for the care of the fabric.

The above manorial as well as monastic rural churches were probably included, together with the bishop's own diocesan churches, among what were called "baptismal churches." Little is known about early Saxon cemeteries unconnected with the precincts of monasteries, but there is an interesting reference to one in Bede, v. 2 (Giles, p. 237), which shows that they were sometimes attached in the country to what must be looked upon as a monastic cell, with doubtless a chapel of some sort adjoining it. "There is a certain building in a retired situation, and enclosed by a narrow wood and a trench, about a mile and a half from the church of Hagulstad (the cathedral of Hexham), and separated from it by the river Tyne, having a *burial-place dedicated to S. Michael* the Archangel, where the man of God (John of Beverley) used frequently, as occasion offered, and particularly in Lent, to reside with a few companions."

## APPENDIX K. (Chap. III., p. 27.)

### ERROR OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER WITH REGARD TO LUTON.

A MOST interesting addition is *apparently* made by Florence to his above description of the raid at Lygetun, viz., that "certain men of his (the king's) force being left to *build the town on the southern bank of the river Lea*, K. Edward, after the Rogation days (23rd May, etc.), taking the greater part of his army to Essex, pitched his camp at Maldon." This would not merely effectually dispose of any claim for *Leighton* to be considered the Ligtun of the *Chronicle*, as not being in any sense near the Lea, but would make it appear that K. Edward actually came to Lygtun, and ordered the town to be built (or rather in that case to be *rebuilt*) just where it is now, leaving there some of his soldiers to accomplish the work. But unhappily, Florence, in extracting from the

*Chronicle* (which, as having been written, in all probability, contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the event, must be regarded as the better authority), makes an evident confusion in both date and place. He seems to have overlooked the fact that the *Chronicle* omits any reference to King Edward during the years 914, 915, and 916, and consequently he enters the king's next proceedings, *i.e.*, what is related in the *Chronicle* under the year 917, as taking place in 914. He has also broken up the events recorded therein as having taken place in 913, and placed some of them, including the above statement, *after* those of 917. Accordingly, that statement, taken almost verbally from the *Chronicle*, with the omission, however, of the name there given, is entered by him *immediately after the reference to Lygetun*, whereas in the *Chronicle* it is directly applied by name to Hertford. His omission to mention at all the building of the town at *Hertford* on the south side of the Lea also proves that he has misapplied the passage quoted. Roger of Wendover and Matthew of Westminster both follow him in his mistake concerning the date of "the slaughter at Luton." We have not therefore any authority as far as Florence is concerned for Edward's residing even for a short time at Luton.

"A.D. 914. Post Pascha (17 April) exercitus Paganorum de Northanhamtune (Northamptune) et de Leogereceastre in Oxenfordensi (Oxfordensi) provinciâ prædam egerunt, et in *regia villa* Hokernetune (Hokentune), et in multis aliis villis quam plures occiderunt; Quibus domum reversis, alius mox equitatus paratur et in provinciam Heortfordensem versus *Ligetun* mittitur. Sed illis ad obsistendum provinciales confluebant et multis ex eis occisis, cæterisque in fugam versis, equos nonnullos, et arma illorum quamplura extorquebant, prædamque quam ceperant, reducebant. *Relictis quibusdam ad ædificationem urbis in australi plaga Ligeæ amnis*, rex Eadwardus, post Rogationes (23 Maii) cum majori parte exercitus, East Saxioniam profectus, in Mealdune castra posuit; urbi tamdiu moratus est donec apud Hwitham urbs ædificaretur, et ædificata firmaretur; cui magna pars populi quæ sub manibus Paganorum erat, cum suis omnibus, se dedebant."—Petrie's *A. S. Chron.*, p. 570.

## APPENDIX L. (Chap. III., p. 28.)

## LYGETUN AND ITS CHURCH.

THE inhabitants of the district had evidently in Offa's day (792) clustered at Lygetun (Luton), which at that time, as its name proclaims, was the "tun" or town of the royal estate. How early it became so, whether the first Saxon or Anglian settlers originally fixed their *stockade* and residence on and around the old British fort at Lygeanburh (Limbury), on "Waulud's Bank"—and in consequence gave to it the Saxon termination of "burh" (or "fort")—and migrated after a period, along with the royal residence, to the site of the present town, or whether from the first, settling with their leader at Lygetun, they at the same time retained Lygeanburh as an outpost and as the safeguard of the Icknield Way, is at present hard to determine. Possibly the discovery of Saxon remains of the different periods in either of the two localities may at some time solve the question.

The site of their church or chapels, in a measure connected with that of their residence, is consequently also in some obscurity. Assuming that the first building for public worship after their conversion to Christianity (c. 653-656) was at Biscot, which was sufficiently near to Limbury<sup>1</sup> for any residents at or around the fort there, it is to be presumed that chapels, served by the staff of clergy at Biscot, would be erected wherever in the district a "tun" or "ham" or hamlet was established. Hence it is more than probable that in Offa's day there would be some sort of a church at Lygetun itself, to which place, by this time at all events, the king's residence must be supposed to have been removed. When the Danes took possession of more or less of Biscot, probably destroying any monastery or church there, it would seem likely that the clergy, whether one or more, secular or regular, would migrate to the safer position of Lygetun—at least after the treaty of 886—and thus the church at Lygetune would become the church of the "Shrift-shire," conterminous probably with the old township, though not yet strictly a parish. This was probably much the position of the Church at "Leowtun" (Luton) when Edward the Elder or his son Æthelstan built a new church there and endowed it.

<sup>1</sup> But see a succeeding App., P. (b.), *Dallow in Limbury*.

## APPENDIX M. (Chap. III., p. 28.)

## EARLY ENDOWMENT OF CHURCHES.

It is not possible to determine at what exact period in this country an endowment was first required as a condition for the consecration of a church. The earliest rule has been given in Appendix J. Yet as early as 816 it was provided in the Council at Aix-la-Chapelle "that to every church *one entire manse*, free from all service, should be assigned; and that the priests appointed to the churches should do ecclesiastical service only for their tithes, for the offerings of the faithful, for their houses of residence, for the precincts or gardens adjoining the churches, and for the necessary manse" (*A. F. and F.*, p. 85). "After this new legislation, the endowment of new churches *with manses* and with tithes by lay founders, with the consent of the diocesan bishops, gradually became common. Districts were assigned to the churches so endowed; and those districts before the end of the century acquired the name of 'rural parishes' ('*rusticane parochie*')." (*Ibid.*, p. 86.)

With regard to this country, however, "we are," says Sir Wm. Dugdale (*Antiq. of Warwickshire*, p. 14, ed. 1730), "not only without all knowledge when our churches were *first founded and endowed*, but are very much to seek touching many of their presentations and institutions within the compass of time in which we are sure that such there were" (Selborne, *Defence of the Church*, p. 115). As accounting for the non-existence of records of early foundations, "it is probable," says Lord Selborne (*Ibid.*), "that the gifts, *both of sites and of endowments* of parish churches, made before the Conquest, were usually by word of mouth and symbolical delivery before witnesses, without any written title-deeds. The general use of charters first came in with the Normans (Ingulph., *Hist.*, p. 70), and even where written documents may have existed, they were liable, in course of time, to be lost through neglect, in the absence of any provision for their safe custody, or for their due transmission from the representatives of a deceased incumbent to his successor." Yet "*from the time when parishes were first formed*, a 'manse,' or house of residence for the incumbent, with a glebe or portion of land attached to it, was the *indispensable accompaniment* of a parish church. The word 'manse' includes both these things.

'The assigning of these at the first,' says Bp. Gibson (*Cod.*, p. 661), 'was of such absolute necessity, that without them no church could be regularly consecrated' (*Ibid.*, p. 116, 117).

## APPENDIX N. (Chap. III., p. 30.)

### WITENAGEMOTS.

ONLY a few of either the *places* where, or the *times* when, gemots were held are known. Amongst the names recovered where they were held by Æthelstan are four at least in the same year (931) as that held at Luton, viz., on March 25th (Lady Day) at Colchester, Essex; on June 21st at Worthy, Hants; at a date not given at Wellow, Wilts and Hants; and on November 12th at Luton.

Nor is it known in *what sort of a building* they were generally held. Perhaps it was often in the open air. "The gemot," says Kemble (*A. S. Chron.*, ii. 200), "which decided upon the reception of Christianity in Northumbria was held in a room (a banquetting hall) (Bede, ii. 13), and Dunstan met the Witan of England in the upper floor of a house at Calne." As the meetings were often summoned to one of the various manors of the king as he moved from one to the other, it seems probable that the great manor hall would very frequently be the scene of the gemot. On these occasions it may be concluded that, as in the case of Luton<sup>1</sup> and Worthy, the members were in the habit of enjoying the hospitality of the king. At other times, perhaps, the refectory of some monastery, as at Dorchester, Abingdon, etc., was used.

<sup>1</sup> Though Luton is not styled in the above deed as Welowe is in the preceding, a "royal vill," yet that the same mention is made of the signatories enjoying the hospitality of the king ("regia dapsillitate ovariantibus") is strong confirmatory evidence of it also being a royal vill. It is assigned (Kemble, ii. 198) as one of the reasons why gemots were generally summoned to meet at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, was that they might partake of the hospitality of the king, who at those periods took care, if possible, to be at one of his royal cities or manors. The royal scribe would hardly condescend to repeat the same description a second time. He evidently prided himself on his selection of titles, applying some special epithet to each of the places where gemots were held. Thus, Winchester is "civitas opimatissima," Middleton, "villa nobilissima," Welowe, "villa regia," Luton, "villa omnibus notissima."



K. Eadgar held one in 973 in S. Paul's Cathedral, London ; so it is not improbable that churches, where sufficiently large, were sometimes used for the purpose.

## APPENDIX O. (Chap. III., p. 39.)

### BURY.

“‘BERG,’ or ‘Bury’ (says Dr. Cowell, in his *Law Dictionary*), is the vill or seat of a nobleman, a mansion house or court ; from the Saxon ‘Beorg,’ which signifies a hill or castle. The chief house of a manor, or the lord’s seat, is still so called in many parts of England, as in Hereford.” He might have added in Beds and Herts also, where the instances are very numerous, *e.g.*, in Beds, Conquest Bury (Houghton C.) ; Apsley Bury (Shillington), belonging at one period to Lord Wenlock, and afterwards to the Rotherams ; Shillington Bury, the mansion house of the chief manor of Shillington, formerly also the property of the Rotherhams, and afterwards of the Napiers of Luton ; Hastingsbury (Kempston), one of the dowry manors, successively in the families of Bruce, Baliol, and Hastings, the three claimants to the crown of Scotland ; Holywell Bury and Sharpenhoe Bury. King’s-bury (Kingesburie) was the name of the palace and grounds (of nine acres) of Henry I. at Dunstable (MS. temp. H. VI., in the church chest, Duns.), as it was also of the “seat of the Mercian kings in Warwickshire, the name ‘Bury’ importing a curia, or king’s fortress and residence” (*Cam. Soc.*, No. 8, p. 123). In Herts there is another “Kingsbury,” “a residence of the British as well as of the Saxon kings” (Newcome’s *Hist. of S. Albans*, p. 506). “The manor of Rickmansworth claims to be *paramount* over four other manors, including the manor of the rectory or church, and is very extensive. The manor house close to the church is called ‘the Bury’” (*Ibid.*, p. 517). There is, besides, in the same county, Hertingsfordbury. “Bury farms” are also very abundant in Beds, as likewise “Burysteads” and “Berrysteads.” Most of these were probably Saxon or early Norman manors. Berrystead, on the crown of the church hill at Maulden, was the site of the chief manor of the parish, given by the Conqueror’s niece, the Countess Judith, to the abbey she founded at Elstow.

A writer in *Beds N. and Q.*, No. 5, March, 1856, discriminates between "Beorg" and Bury, asserting that "Beorg" originally indicated a hill or eminence, like the German "Berg," a mountain, not a castrum, town, or city, which was represented by Burgh. On the other hand, he remarks that "Bury" is identical with "Byrig," an enclosure, chiefly of a peaceful and domestic character, as a fold for cattle, etc. All the Burys, he says, which we are acquainted with in the county are enclosures, either by moat or earthen embankments. We have Howbury, an enclosure on the hill; Morbury, an enclosure on the moor; Medbury, an enclosure in the meadow; Woodbury, in the woods; Lathbury, in the cultivated district, with twenty-five others. At Ickwell Bury (Eik-weald-Byric, an enclosure in an oak forest—the finest oaks in the county being still there), the byric, or enclosure, may be seen there in the shape of a moat of great dimensions near the mansion, and a double one in an adjoining wood which is most unmistakably of very great antiquity, certainly as early or earlier than the Anglo-Saxon period.

## APPENDIX P. (a.). (Chap. III., p. 47.)

### DALLOW MANOR.

THERE are other arguments in favour of "Dallow Manor" having been the rectory land, or at least of its having included that land as the principal part, of which, though some of them will be found to be passingly intimated in the course of the history as the facts which give rise to them occur, yet the accumulative force of them can only be seen when brought together; while others, not alluded to elsewhere, will bring to notice not merely sundry points of local interest but also the contents of many documents,<sup>1</sup> the existence of which has only lately been made known, and whose chief value,

<sup>1</sup> These are the "Crawley Papers," discovered by Mrs. Crawley in an old iron chest at Stockwood Park, and numbered and described by H. H. Crawley, Esq., 1889-91, and most courteously lent to the author to examine them at his leisure. They consist of thirty-eight old deeds and papers, ranging in date from A.D. 1454 to 1772, with a few other papers not calendared. The chief of those bearing upon our subject are No. 1, "Extracts from the Court Roll of Dolowe Manor," giving the fines, etc., of the tenants for four consecutive years, 1454-57, arranged, nominally, though not quite distinctly, under the heads of the three originally separate properties of the abbey, Hertewell (Bucks), Crawley (Green), and Luton and Biscot.

beyond that connected with family matters, consists in the light they throw upon the history of various portions of this very manor of Dolowe.

The arguments are such as the following :

(1) Although the land itself of Dallow never paid tithes, of either kind, yet the *rectorial tithe barn*, referred to frequently in documents of many centuries apart, stood, until the present generation, on the *Dallow* land, close to the farm house, "at the entrance of the great gate of the manor," and was always leased in latter times, and eventually sold, apart from that farm itself, to the person who farmed the rectorial tithes.

(2) It is recorded in Domesday (1086), and confirmed by *Inquisitiones Nonarum* (1340), that the *rectory* possessed a *mill*, the only one in the parish at the former period beside the six belonging to the manor of Luton, and necessarily situated upon the only stream there, the river Lea.

It is also recorded that during the latter part of this same period *S. Alban's Abbey* (after it had obtained the *rectory*, though not before) had a mill at Luton and land adjoining it.

For Baldwin de Bethune, Earl of Albemarle, the lord of the manor of Luton at the time (between 1195 and 1212), speaks of a dispute that there was between him and Abbot John de Cella, "concerning the *millpool of the abbot* (de stagno mollendino abbatis) and the *fishing in the pool* up to the north bridge" (J. Amundesham, i. 421). Abbot Roger (c. 1278) "purchased back the lease of the *common pasture* in the *Abbot's Pool*" (i.e., in the field called "the Abbot's Pool," and no doubt containing, or at least bounding, the pool on one side) "*near the mill at Luton*, whilst Abbot Richard, in 1333, "repairs the *mill of Luton*." So the field, the millpool, and the mill, all belonged to the abbey at that early time.

That this *mill* was attached to their *Manor of Dolowe* (and mills were invariably attached to some *manor*), and also that the abbey retained to the last land adjoining the river and with a mill upon it, are determined—among other evidences—by the simple fact that in the licence granted to Sir Thos. Barnardiston, in 1586, to alienate the *Dollow Manor* (which his father had purchased from the king after the dissolution, it being "parcel of the property late of the monastery of S. Albans"), there is direct mention of a *mill*,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> It is not here overlooked that in this licence the number of mills is put down as *two*, but it will be observed that all the terms used therein are those

also of "*free fishery in the water of Luton*," an expression implying of itself the possession of land on the banks of the stream.

Yet the only lands on either bank of the river (waiving the question of the original proprietorship of the vicarage grounds), which are anywhere definitely attributed to the abbey, are what are now called "*Dallow Mead*" and "*Pondewick Gardens*," the former being easily identified, as will be seen presently, with the above field, called "*Abbot's Pool*," and the latter with their close, called "*Pondewych*." Here, then, in one of the fields, or immediately contiguous to one or both of them, we may with confidence conclude were situated both their mill and the "*Abbot's Pool*," or mill-dam.

But the abbey possessed at the above early period *the mill of the rectory*, given to it along with the rectory lands, only fifty years previously, in 1158, and confirmed to it in 1219.

If therefore the "*Dallow Manor*" mill was *not* the rectory mill, then the abbey had, both at that time and throughout its course, *two mills* at Luton, of which there seems no intimation whatever, and for which there could have been no need or any likelihood of such a thing—and which, moreover, the expressions quoted above seem directly to disprove, "*the mill at Luton*," "*the mill of Luton*," "*the millpool of the abbot*."

If, on the contrary, the Dallow Manor mill and the rectory mill were one and the same, then the Dallow *Manor*, if it was not identical with the *rectory* estate, must at least have included it.

But the possession by the abbey up to the time of its dissolution of these two pieces of land—Dollow Mead and Pondewych—is established by the mention in "*Extracts from the Court Roll of Dolowe Manor*" (Crawley Papers, No. 1) of the payment by Ric. Longe of 20*d.* for the pasture of the pool called *Bury Mille ponde* at Luyton" (1455), and by the terms of a lease (*Augmentation*

of a cautious lawyer, endeavouring to make sure of everything, and therefore exaggerating and *rounding* all numbers. This will be seen at once by those assigned, for no estate could possibly be supposed to have the exact numbers here given, viz., "600 acres of (arable) land, 100 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 40 acres of wood, 40 acres of furze and heath land, 40 acres of moor, and 40 acres of marsh;" these, if taken accurately, and not as indefinite numbers, would amount up to 960 acres. The remaining numbers, therefore, must equally be discounted and looked upon as general, viz., "10 messuages, 10 tofts, 10 apple orchards, 10 gardens, 3 dovecots, 2 *mills*" (*Pat. Roll*, 28 Eliz., p. iv., m. 32). This, it may be remarked, is the *latest reference* to the *mill* itself which has hitherto been met with.

*Office, Conventual Leases, Glouc. and Herts*, vol. iv., No. 85), granted to Sir Thos. Rotheram of Someries, Knt., by Abbot Richard (Boreman), in the year just previous to their suppression, dated August 20th, 30 Hen. VIII., 1538, of "a close in Luton called '*Pondewych*,' lying between the *common stream of Luton* on the one (west) side and the land of the aforesaid abbot on the east side, and the meadow of the abbot called '*Berymede*' on the north side, and the meadow of the said Thomas on the south side," for ninety-nine years, at the rent of 2s. per annum.

That these meadows thus variously termed "*Abbot's Pool*," *Bury mille ponde*, and *Berymede*, are one and the same, and identical with the Dallow or Dollowe mead of later times, is plain, both from the direct assertions of other documents and from the position assigned to them with reference to the river and to Pondwich.

In a decree,<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, for the reduction of the purchase money of the *Manor of Dolowe*, 1544, *Berymede* is identified with *Abboti*, "a meadow called Berymede, alias Abboti," and is said to contain three acres, *parcel of the manor*, being in the tenure of the vicar of Luton (J. Gwynneth) as a copyholder.

Not long after this, licence, as we have seen, having been granted to Thos. Barnardiston to alienate the *Manor of Dolowe* to Thos. Crawley,<sup>2</sup> 1586, along with the *mill* and free fishery in the water of Luton, this same meadow is found now under a new and more modern name, in the possession of Alice, the widow of John Crawley, and the mother, apparently, of Thomas, who, in 1598, lets to the said Thos. Crawley "all those several meadows called *Dollow Meade*" (*C. P.*, No. 17); and in proof of this being the same meadow, two years afterwards (1600) Alice quits claim to Thos. Crawley of a meadow "customarily called '*Dollermaker*,' alias '*Berry-mill Mead*,' al's Smythe's Mead'" (*C. P.*, No. 28). From Thos. Crawley it must have passed almost immediately, for in 1605 Francis Crawley purchases from Ric. Scudamore, gent., of London, for ninety-nine years, a close of meadow called *Dollowe*, alias *Dal-*

<sup>1</sup> *Vide p.* 461.

<sup>2</sup> It would rather seem, from other documents, that the purchase was made by John Crawley, the father of Thomas, perhaps at the same time as that of Havering Manor, in 1568 (*Fines*), and that Berry-mill Meade, together with nine acres in Sewell's Field, etc., were the dowry of Alice, his widow (*C. P.*, No. 28).

*lowe Meade*, of four acres, its situation being clearly defined as "abutting at one end on *Pondwich*, on the other on the *king's highway*" (*C. P.*, No. 6a). Twenty years later, 1625, Fr. Crawley sells the same to Thos. Creswell for ninety-nine years at 8s. per annum (*C. P.*, Nos. 6 and 6a); and in 1633 Sir Francis Crawley and T. Creswell, the latter receiving £104 for his share, part with *Dallow Mead* to Sir Rob. Napier (*C. P.*, No. 35). It is clear, therefore, that the *Dallow Mead* belonging to the Marquis of Bute in 1844—at that time divided into two small holdings of 1 acre, 0 roods, 11 perches, and 2 acres, 2 roods, 7 perches, respectively, the total extent being 3 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches—is the representative of the *Abbot's Pool* of the twelfth century, though probably there must be added to it the *tithe-free* *Dallow Mead* (of 3 roods, 2 perches) and the church river piece (of 3 roods, 26 perches) on the *western* side of the stream—lands modified, no doubt, in shape and extent when some years ago the course of the river was altered, together forming "all those several meadows called *Dollowe Meade*," 1598. And as *Dallow Mead*, unlike the adjoining *Pondewich*, was always, like the *Dallow manor farm*, in *Limbury hamlet*,<sup>1</sup> and formed part of the *Dallow manor*, it may confidently be assumed that the *Abbot's Mill* stood there on one or other side of the stream. From this mead having belonged to Sir Rob. Napier in 1633, it may be inferred that it was included in the Terrier of 1707 under "Land belonging to *Dollow Court*, in the occupation of Sir J. Napier, valued at £16 per annum." Though not the owner of the manor farm of *Dollow*, Sir John was evidently, according to Blomfield (p. 31) and Lysons (p. 110), the lord of the manor of *Dollow*.

That the *Abbot's close of Pondewyk* (1538)<sup>2</sup> is identical with the modern *Pondewich Gardens* admits of little doubt. In the Terrier of 1707 the vicarage grounds are said to "abut on the north

<sup>1</sup> App. P. (b.), *Dallow in Limbury*.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Pondewich* is found in the tithe map attached to three other small meadows, besides that of the abbey, all in close proximity; two of them, "*Pondewichfield Mead*" adjoining the stream on the east side and belonging to Ric. Waring, and one, "*Pondewich Meadow*," on the west side, belonging to the Marquis of Bute. The *Pondewich* of the abbot, however, as far as is known, has the precedence of three hundred years in bearing the designation, and may have led to the latter being called by the same name, though the direct origin of it in their case was probably the existence of a large round *pond* marked on the map in No. 1,093, whilst that of the abbot was its contiguity to the mill-*pond*.

(N.E.), on the lands of Sir J. Napier called *Pondewich*," and "Pondwich Gardens" adjoin the vicarage on the north. As the Napiers eventually succeeded to the chief part of the property of the Rotherams it would appear that the land, leased to Sir Thos. Rotheram in 1538, after the expiration of the ninety-nine years or more, probably shortly after the dissolution which took place the year following the date of the lease, passed completely into the hands of the Rotherams, and thence to those of the Napiers. The position of Pondewich is also defined in the covenant of 1625 between Fr. Crawley and Thos. Creswell, where Dallow Mead is said to abut east on Pondewich (*C. P.*, Nos. 6 and 6a), but its actual extent is unhappily nowhere given. In two deeds, 12 acres more, adjoining both Dollow Mead and Pondewich, are assigned to the abbey, but these were further removed from the river, being described in 1538 as "the land of the abbot on the east of Pondewich," and in 1625 as being north-east of Dollowe Meadow. These belonged in 1625 to W. Presson, gent.; in 1844 to the Ashton Charity (10 acres, 3 roods, 36 perches, arable), and at present form part of the property of the Midland Railway Co. It is observable that this "Twelve acres' field" was subject to rectorial as well as to vicarial tithe, and though probably both it and Pondewick formed part of the Manor of Dolowe, that fact is not asserted with regard to either of them in the above documents.

The following is the "*Decree*," a document of considerable interest as proving that the sale and purchase of the manor included the manorial rights over both the free and the customary tenants, and indicating the situation and extent of some of the outlying portions of the manor, together with the possession of Berymede, and so throwing light upon the exemption of certain lands from tithe.

Augmentation Office Decree Books, vol. xiv., p. 79b, February 4th, 35 Henry VIII. (1544), "A decree for the reduction by £13 6s. 8d. of purchase money paid by Sir Thomas Barnardeston for the manor of Dollow, because the manor is 13s. less in yearly value than is set out in the Letters Patent to him. For one tenement at *Crawley Grene*<sup>1</sup> and three closes of pasture and wood, and

<sup>1</sup> This was not the larger "Crawley Green Farm" of modern times, but one near to it, whose "tenement" is still marked on the map (No. 904), together with some of the adjoining closes, and the eight acres of Crawley Green Close, 8 acres, 2 roods, 26 perches (1844). These had been the property of the

eight acres of wood and land, parcel of the said manor, being in the tenure of William Chylde by copy of court roll of the said manor, and the rent of assize thereof was valued at 20s., whereas only 10s. is paid. And for a meadow<sup>1</sup> called *Berymede*, otherwise *Abbot's*, containing three acres, parcel of the said manor, in the tenure of the vicar of Luton by copy of court roll of the same manor, the rent of assize whereof was valued at 13s. 4d., but the yearly rent is only 10s."

Owing to the fact that the *church* does not lie, as churches usually do very nearly, east and west, but nearer north and south, and also that the *river* does not run due north and south through the town, but more or less from north-west to south-east, there must always have been great liability to inaccuracy in describing the situation of a field by making use of either of these natural objects *in conjunction with* the four points of the compass. Thus, in the Terrier of the vicarage, the latter is said to "abut on the *south* on the *churchyard* and on the west on Church Street," though the former is strictly *south-west* and the latter north-west of the vicarage. But this plain instance is of much service, as it determines what is meant both then and on other occasions by the *north*, *i.e.*, more accurately the north-east, and establishes the fact of the "Pondewich" of the lease of 1538 being the same as the "Pondewich Gardens" of later times, and "Catling's mead" (belonging to Thos. Cheyney) being in all probability the "Pondewich meadow" (of 1844), No. 1092. So again, in the lease of 1538, the *river* being taken as running north and south, and as therefore the *western* boundary of Pondewich, it is clear that "*Berymede*," described as being to the north of Pondewich, though strictly to the north-west, is the close now called "Dallow Mead," and Sir Thos. Rotherham's "own land" to be, not the vicarage grounds, as would be gathered from the Terrier, but either No. 1111 on the map of 1844, or possibly (*i.e.*, if Pondewich extended over No. 1111, which hardly however seems likely) No. 1093.

*Berymede* (*alias* Abbot's). This meadow was held by the vicar, abbey for more than three hundred years (*vide* chap. v., *Extract from the Court Roll of Dollow*, 1454-57, C. P., No. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Another meadow was also held by the vicar under the abbey, and sold to Geo. Rotherham, *t.* Mary (1553). "One parcel of meadow with appurtenances, in the parish of Luton, then or late in the tenure of the vicar of Luton and formerly belonging to the late monastery of S. Albans" (*Proceedings in Chancery*, 2 Eliz., iii., p. 409, *H. and P.*); but neither its extent, situation, or value is given.



*J. Gwynneth*, by copyhold, *i.e.*, as a customary and not a free tenant, either at will or for life; so it doubtless passed with the rest of the manor first to Barnardiston, then to the Crawleys.

The fact that the abbey's property extended on the east side of the river so far south as to include Pondewich (at least), is an argument in favour of the suggestion made in the history, that the vicarage grounds, which extend about the same length on the western side, also belonged originally to the abbey, but whether it had belonged to the rectory previously or was part of the land held by William the Chamberlain is uncertain. As neither it nor Pondewich seem to have ever been included in Limbury, perhaps it may be inferred that these latter pieces of land, as well as the twelve acres north of Pondewich, had belonged to the Chamberlain, and, perhaps also the other meadow held by the vicar, sold to Geo. Rotherham, 1553.

But there are *negative* arguments also, of perhaps equal, if not of greater force, for—

(3) If the Dallow manor was *not* the rectory land, it is impossible to find any lands which have the five "notes" or marks necessarily belonging to "the church land," viz., (1) proximity to Farley; (2) sufficient extent; (3) exemption from payment of tithes; (4) known to have been at some time in the possession of S. Alban's, and (5) possessing a mill upon the estate. Chaul End, which alone of large holdings exhibits the first mark, that of adjoining Farley, has not, in itself, one of the other notes.

(4) If it was not the rectory land, then this latter, though consisting of some 700 acres (six carucates of arable, besides wood, etc., and rated at five hides, a thegn's patrimony), about which, too, on account of its value, there was so much contention in early times—the dowry of the royal manor church from time immemorial—is never once again alluded to as being in the possession of the abbey after finally being confirmed to it in 1219.

As in *Computus Ministrorum*, 1544, there is no entry of the rectory lands *unless* they are included under "the farm of the *Manor of Dellow*" or of its tenancies (for the tithes are there given separate from the manor, as in *Tax. P. Nic. IV.*, 1291), every acre of them must have been parted with previous to that date—and yet there is nowhere any allusion to such a thing.

(5) If Dallow was not the rectory land, then there is no accounting for the possession by the abbey of this very *Manor of Dolowe*. For though there is a continuous list from the earliest period of

the benefactions which the abbey received—consisting at times as at Potesgrove, of only an acre or so of land, yet, in this supposed case, the acquisition of the *Manor of Dolowe*, containing even now 513 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches, is not once alluded to in any of their chronicles, or by Newcome. Yet this last historian of the abbey says, “Among the earliest and largest of the *donations* with which this abbey was endowed was the manor<sup>1</sup> or manors contained in the parish of Luton, together with the tithes;” adding, though not quite accurately, *unless* he refers exclusively to the *Manor of Dolowe*, “these all remained with the abbey until the dissolution.”

These manors therefore were *donations*, not purchases, and yet there is no record of the acquisition of that one of them—the most important and the only one that “remained with the abbey,” unless that one (Dolowe) be the rectory land—of whose gift we have an account; this latter, and this alone, too, having been granted to the abbey, “together with the tithes.”

Newcome’s words, therefore, seem to imply that Dolowe Manor must have been the manor granted together with the tithes.

(6) Again, when the title of “the *rectory land*,” or “the *church land*,” with its long early history, suddenly disappears—never to be met with again under that designation—the name of “Dolowe” or “the manor of Dolowe,” an estate of much the same extent, and with no hint of its origin or acquisition, unless it be the same as the church land, as suddenly arises, and seems to take its place and to carry on the history without any break or discrepancies. In the early part of the narrative it is the rectory or the church land that is spoken of, in the later exclusively “the manor of Dolowe.” The identity of the two and that alone clears up all such difficulties.

(7) In the year 1290, about the time when Dallow (Dolowe) is first styled a manor in any extant record, and when, if it was the rectory land, the remembrance of its having been so may be supposed to have been still in the minds of many, one of the chroniclers of the abbey (*Gesta Abbatum S. Alb.*, ii. 5) describes the king’s escheator as cruelly seizing and selling “the tithes of the

<sup>1</sup> The only other manor besides that of Dolowe which they are recorded to have possessed was that of *Biscot*, given by Henry I. at the consecration of their abbey in 1115, but parted with about a century later. They retained some portion of the land, but at the surrender the whole value of their property there was a rent of 26s.

*church of Dolowe* collected in the barns," thus confounding the name Dolowe with that of Luton, a not unnatural mistake to fall into, provided that Dolowe was the land of the *church* of Luton, but not easy to be accounted for otherwise.

(8) Another fact strongly confirmatory of the identity of Dallow Manor with the rectory lands is, that the tradition of that identity seems evidently alluded to, when, in the Court of Exchequer, on June 8th, 32 Chas. II., 1680, in the case of Thos. Pomfrett, vicar, against W. Wayte for non-payment of vicarial tithe upon land called "Three-score acres" (the modern Dallow land of Mr. Macnamara), proved at the time to be *in the Manor of Dolowe*, these words were used, "the abbot, his farmers, tenants and predecessors tyme out of mind before the said dissolution (of the monastery of S. Albans, 1539) did hold and enjoy the said manor and lands tithe free, and without paying anything in lieu of tithe then, and said manor and lands either by prescription or *unity of possession with the rectory* impropriate of Luton, *which was also parcel of the possessions of the said Abbey* of S. Albans, came to the Crown, freed of payment of tithe, and were so granted by Henry VIII. to Thos. Barnardiston, Esq., etc." It was not necessary for the advocate of the defendant to enter into a long investigation, or, even if he had full evidence before him, to determine, among the possible reasons, the original cause of Dallow Manor being free from payment of tithes—the fact of its having been so from time immemorial being quite sufficient; but he plainly asserts, not merely that its union with the rectory would have been sufficient to account for its freedom from tithe (implying, it seems, too, by omitting to suggest any other special reason, that *that* was probably the real reason), but also, which is of importance to note, assuming as if a well-known fact that the rectory lands were in the possession of the abbey up to the last. As no other lands in Luton except those connected with Dallow Manor were held by the abbey at the time of the dissolution, this manor, if the above implication be correct, must have been the rectorial property, and therefore naturally free from tithes.

These facts, then, (1) that the abbey did at one time own the rectory land, and that there is no record of its having parted with it, and therefore, until the contrary is proved, it must be supposed to have held it up to the end—and apparently did hold it to the end; (2) that, with the exception of Biscot and Dollowe, there is no record of the abbey having possessed land of any extent in any part of

Luton, and of Biscot it is recorded that a large part of it and the manor were given away ; and (3) that at the dissolution the abbey is found to have one large property still, and only one, and that one answering in all particulars to the early rectory land, seem sufficient proofs that the rectory land, though it ceased<sup>1</sup> to be called by that name or by that of "the church land," as it is styled in 1154, yet continued to be the property of the abbey to the end, merely passing under a different and natural designation, and is consequently for the most part that which is now known as Dallow Manor.

Admitting that there does not appear to be any one incontestible assertion, or perhaps even any one definite argument, taken by itself, to prove the identity of the rectory land with the manor, it is confidently submitted, that whilst on the one hand abundant evidence of the fact has been advanced, many lines of argument mutually supporting each other, there is not on the other hand a single word or fact in the whole history which militates against that identity.

<sup>1</sup> It may seem strange at first that the rectory lands should lose their designation as church lands, and never again be mentioned as such, but it is not so under the circumstances. A rectory simply appropriated by a monastery generally did retain its name, as we find in *Computus Ministrorum* (1544), where S. Alban's is entered as having "the farm of the rectory," i.e., the rectory lands and the tithes of, e.g., *Dunstable Houghton*,\* £41 ; but the rectory of Luton having been formed into a manor, and other lands (those which W. the Chamberlain held of the manor of Luton, etc.) having been added to it, the name of "the rectory" or "church lands" would be no longer appropriated, and a new designation would be required. On what ground that of "Dolowe" was chosen is not known, but it is quite possible that the name was applied previously to some part of the estate, as even in the present day there are special parts called "Dollars," "Dallar Downs," etc.

A perfectly similar instance of the merging of the name "rectory lands" in that of a newly-formed manor, occurred at *Clophill*. That rectory was given to a priory founded in the parish c. 1145, named "Beaulieu," which was made then a cell to S. Alban's. This priory was eventually (in 1428) absorbed into the abbey. But all the property of the priory in Clophill, together with the rectory of Clophill and lands in Maulden, Silsoe, and Pulloxhill, were formed by the prior into the manor of Beaulieu, and henceforth neither in the history of the priory or of the abbey does any allusion occur to the rectory lands of Clophill ; and when in 1436 Clophill vicarage was re-converted into a rectory, it would probably have been impossible to distinguish which had been the rectory lands, and certainly none of them were re-conveyed to the rector. The

\* So also the farm of the rectory of Middleton (Ernest), £6 13s. 4d.

## APPENDIX P. (b.). (Chap. III., p. 47.)

## DALLOW IN LIMBURY.

THERE is something, no doubt, significant in the fact that the Dallow Manor has been from time immemorial reckoned in the hamlet of Limbury, for both the Manor Farm itself, the Dallow land of Mr. Macnamara, and the Dallow Mead, all originally part of the same manor, are isolated from the rest of the hamlet, the former two being separated from it by a strip of Legrave, and the latter completely surrounded by "the township of Luton," and at a still greater distance from the hamlet, with Biscot also intervening. This unusual state of things seems hardly explicable except on the supposition either of some early common ownership of some, if not of all the separate parts, or at least of some very early special *manorial* connection.

It is not known—for it was prior to all local history—when the division of the parish into township and hamlet, for fiscal or other purposes, ecclesiastical or civil, took place, or on what principle it was conducted, though no doubt the boundaries of manors and of other properties, together with their extent and the situation of the dwellings upon them, had much to do in determining the lines of division whenever made. But as it was, in general, the original connection of some outlying piece of land with a manor or lordship situated in a different part of the country which caused detached estates, or even whole parishes,<sup>1</sup> in the midst of one county to be reckoned in some other county or parish,<sup>2</sup> in which the seat of the manor, or the chief manor, was situated, so, upon the same principle of connection, something of the same kind probably happened to retain Dallow and Limbury within the same hamlet,

entry in the *Computus Min.*, 1544, is simply "the farm of the *Manor of Beaulieu*, £9 13s. 4d.," which certainly included the rectory lands, though not the tithes, which were sold with the advowson and restored to the rector.

<sup>1</sup> The whole parish of Swineshead, situated in the north of Beds, is reckoned as part of Huntingdon.

<sup>2</sup> It is especially mentioned by M. Paris, *Chr. Maj.*, vi. 37, that Biscot (a manor), at the time of its grant to S. Alban's, belonged to the "soke" or chief manor of Luton (*vide Plac. de quo Warr.*, p. 81, MS. 35-57). So in Domesday Survey it is said of Elstow, that, though a manor of itself, "the soc always appertained to the manor of Kempston"—pointing to the original chief manor.

though divided eventually, and that very early, into two separate manors.

This opens out the twofold question :

(1) Whether any part, if not the whole of Limbury, can ever have been church property, and belonging to the rector?

(2) Or, on the other hand, whether Dallow, when originally granted to the church, did not form part of the estate, or, in the language of a later time, of the royal manor of Limbury? In other words, whether we have not here a confirmation of the suggestion that Limbury (Lygeanburh), entitled as this township was, under that earlier name, by Ethelweard, *Flor. of Worcester* (p. 7), and Camden (p. 389), “a *royal vill*,” was the original seat and name of the royal manor before the former was transferred to some other spot (Bury?) in the old township?—affording, as this would do, at the same time, additional evidence of the early endowment of the church.

Though nothing, probably, will ever transpire to throw much light upon the *origin* and early history of some of the hamlets of Luton, yet the first appearance of the names of any of them, either as manors or estates, has an interest.

Domesday contains the name of only one of them, but as the designations of the others are also evidently Saxon, doubtless these lands or districts bore the same appellation as at present both then and long before—though probably, owing to marshes and woods, with rather indefinite boundaries.

*Biscot* (Bisshopescote), which is alone mentioned in Domesday, is there called a manor and is said to have been so in K. Edward's time. It is found jutting into the royal manor of Luton almost to the centre, yet up to that period, at least for some time past, forming no part of it, and belonging even to a different hundred.

None of the other so-called hamlets were at that time *manors*, and therefore do not appear by name in the Survey.

The *Chronicle of Dunstable Priory*, a century and a half later, seems to give us the first mention of the names of three of the present hamlets,<sup>1</sup> *Leagrave* (Lytgrave), *Stopsley*, and *Hide*, as well as to furnish us with the next reference, subsequent to 571, after an interval of seven hundred years (!) of the name of *Limbury*.

<sup>1</sup> Of estates, not being hamlets, “*Wodecroft*” is mentioned in 1377 as being in “the north grove” and parcel of the manor of Luton (*Cal. T.*, p. m., p. 6, 1 Ric. II.), and as a manor in 1424-25 (*ibid.*, p. 98, 3 H. VI.), and *Bramlingham* (“*Brambleangre*”) is also named in the latter year.

Under the year 1240 it records that Dominus Alan of *Hyde* gave to the priory (*inter alia*) 1 virgate (c. 30 acres) of land in *Lytgrave* and the rent there of 4s., and in *Stopsley* a rent of half a mark (6s. 8d.); and under 1283, that the men of Dunstable, in order to avoid paying the prior his tithes of lambs, wool, and milk, built "sheep coates," etc., at *Lymburi*, and drove their sheep and cows there.

It is with the last alone of these hamlets that we are at present concerned. LIMBURY, from the omission of its name in Domesday, was clearly not a manor, at the Survey, distinct from that of Luton. It is equally certain that it was a separate and distinct manor, though doubtless still held under the chief manor, during the time (1351-67) of the redoubtable knight, Philip de Lymbury, who lived there and died "seized of the manor of Lymbury," 1367. It is mentioned again as a manor in 1388-89 (12 Ric. II.), when Thos. Tryvet, chivalier (leaving a wife, Eliz.), died possessed of it (*Cal. T.*, p. m., p. 105).

The village consists at present, according to Davis, of but two farms, one of them called the *Manor Farm*, and a few cottages, but two moats remain, which each, no doubt, once surrounded a castle or manor house. There seem to be signs also of other ancient buildings, which will have included the *chapel* mentioned in 1533, which had a farm attached to it, and with which the *Tithebarn Close* of some twelve acres had probably some connection. Is one of the present farms the descendant and representative of that Chapel Farm, whose acres were doubtless given at some distant period, as there is no record of their grant, for the support of the church's work there? Was the chapel built upon land which had been granted for the maintenance of that special chapel, but which the abbey took care to claim in the "composition" of 1219, whilst leaving to the vicar, who had to provide the services, only the offerings and fees there?—as in the similar case, no doubt, of S. Ann's Chapel, built upon the church's land, part of the manor of Dallow, upon S. Ann's Hill. Or was it built upon land *originally* belonging to the rectory, and so assumed by S. Alban's when the abbot became the patron in 1153; or, to go still farther back, was it erected even upon the site, and itself the representative of some very early royal chapel before the seat of the manor was removed from Limbury to Luton?

## APPENDIX Q. (Chap. IV., p. 50, note 2.)

## FREEDOM OF THE CHURCH FROM SECULAR SERVICE.

AT the Council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 742, Ethelbald granted and confirmed to the monasteries in Mercia all the privileges bestowed by Wihtried, King of Kent, on the monasteries in his dominions (*vide A. S. Chron.*, A.D. 694). The grant is given by Sir H. Spelman (i., p. 230), and a translation by Johnson in his *Ecclesiastical Laws* (8vo., Lond., 1770). After commending the wisdom of Wihtried's decree, Ethelbald bound himself to its observance in the following form: "Therefore I, Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, for the health of my soul and the stability of my kingdom, and out of reverence to the venerable Archbishop Cuthbert, confirm it by the subscription of my munificent hand that the liberty, honour, authority, and security of the *Church of Christ* be contradicted by no man, but that she and *all the lands belonging to her be free from all secular service*, except (military) expeditions, and the building of bridges and castles. And we charge that these be irrefragably and immutably observed by all, as the aforesaid King Wihtried ordained," etc. The words of King Wihtried at the great council held at Baccancelde (Beckenham? Kent), at which were present Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, together with abbots and abbesses, and many wise men, all to consult about the bettering of God's churches in Kent, were, "It is my will that all the *minsters and the churches* that were given to the glory of God in the days of my predecessors, do so remain. For I, Wihtried, an earthly king, instigated by the King of Heaven, have learned from the institutes of our forefathers, that no layman has a right to possess himself of a church, nor of *any of the things which belong to a church*. And hence strictly and faithfully we forbid to all kings, our successors, and to ealdormen and all laymen, *any lordship* whatever over the churches and over all their possessions which I, or my elders, have given as an everlasting inheritance to the glory of Christ," etc.



## APPENDIX R. (Chap. IV., p. 53, note 1.)

REVENUE OF THE MANOR OF LUTON,  
TEMP. HEN. I.

IN connection with the fact of the manor being for some years, after its first alienation, again in the hands of the king, it is interesting to note that it was during Henry's reign, though the exact date does not seem to be stated, that a great change was made in the mode of payment of dues and rents from royal manors, the old "feorm fultum" or payment in kind—such as the "half a day in corn and honey, and other customary provisions for the royal table," recorded in Domesday as due from Luton—being commuted into a money payment. "For some time after the Conquest," says Hardy, quoted in a note by Giles (*W. of Malmesbury*, p. 492), "there was very little money in specie in the realm, and until the reign of Hen. I. all rents and farms due to the king were rendered in provisions and necessaries for his household; but Hen. I. ordered payment to be made in money; they were consequently made 'ad scalam,' or 'ad pensam,' *i.e.*, by weight or measure, or 'in numero,' by tale, or 'per combustionem,' trial by fire against debased coin."

Even at the time of Domesday, as evidently before that also, much of the revenue from Luton was paid in specie, as in the case of the "6 mills yielding 100 shillings, tolls and markets another 100 shillings, from customary payment, 10s. 8d.," the total amount being 30 lb. by weight. The whole of the queen's dues also were paid in specie, viz., 4 oz. of gold; 70s. for a sumpter horse and other small customary tributes, and £6 10s. for the composition for hounds. There was also an "improved rent," presumably for the king's benefit, added by the Norman sheriff, of 7 lb. by weight and 40s. of silver blanch, and 1 oz. of gold to the sheriff. Whether any, or what compensation was made to the queen, if there were one at the time,<sup>1</sup> on each occasion when

<sup>1</sup> Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, had died three years before Domesday (Nov. 2nd, 1083), and therefore before the grant to the Count of Perche, and W. Rufus had no wife. Henry married the same year that the crown regained the manor, and his wife, Matilda, died May 1st, 1118; his second marriage occurring January 29th, 1121.

the manor was granted away from the crown, does not appear; nor whether, when there was no queen, the township was free from queen's dues. The total value of the whole manor, exclusive of Biscot, is set down as approximately £67 10s., a very considerable sum.

There are sundry allusions here and there to payments made by owners of the manor to the crown. In *Rot. Hund.*, p. 4, Ed. I., the Countess Alianora is said to pay 60s. annually for the *Hundred of Flitte*, granted to her by her brother, King Henry III., on her marriage to W. Marshall, and annexed henceforth to the manor.

In 3 John, 1201-2, the value of the manor is stated to be £80 (Hardy, *Rot. de Obl. et fin.*, p. 89).

In the *Pipe Roll*, 2 H. II., Dec. 19, 1155-56, and in each of the twelve succeeding years (except in the third and sixth years of H. II., of which there is no return for Beds), and 1 Ric. I., 1189, occurs, under the head of alms, "*Cont'cto de Loituna*, 30s. 5d.," and in the latter year,<sup>1</sup> amongst the disbursements, "*For enclosure of land at Luton*, 50s. 9d." The later *Pipe Rolls* have not yet been printed. The above statements, however, confirm what is stated in the text (Chap. IV., p. 54, note), that the manor was retained by H. II., and held by Richard, who eventually (1194-99) gave it to Baldwin de Bethune.

## APPENDIX S. (Chap. IV., p. 54, note 1.)

### GEOFFREY, COUNT OF PERCHE.

GEOFFREY, son of Robert, or rather Rotrou, Count of Mortaine (the capital of Perche in Normandy), having fought at Hastings, received great revenues and honours in England from the Conqueror. Ordericus describes him as "a man who feared God, a devout friend of the Church, a staunch protector of the clergy and poor, magnanimous, strong and handsome, in peace gentle and courteous, in war powerful and successful. The nobility of his own birth and that of his wife, Beatrix (the daughter of the Count de Rouci, Baldwin IV.), rendered him illustrious above his compeers; and

<sup>1</sup> Unless this is the sum received for newly-enclosed lands let out to farm.

he had among his subjects warlike barons and brave governors of castles. His son Rotrou being on pilgrimage at the time of his father's death, Geoffrey on his deathbed having prayed the lords of Perche to keep the lands and strong places for his son, and having received all the rites of the Church, was made a Cluniac monk, and died in the middle of October, A.D. 1100, at his castle of Nogent (Nogent le Rotrou), where he was buried; his father (or rather his grandfather Geoffrey) "having commenced building a monastery there (in 1030) in honour of S. Dionysius the Areopagite), which he had richly endowed with lands and other possessions." It shows how feeble at this time was the idea of the right of succession that his son Rotrou did not succeed to his manor of Luton. Three years after his father's death, 1103, King Henry gave him to wife his own illegitimate daughter, who perished at sea in the White Ship in 1120.

#### APPENDIX T. (Chap. IV., p. 54.)

##### ROBERT, EARL OF GLOUCESTER.

###### *His character.*

ROBERT, "the princely Earl of Gloucester," "the first of the name since the Conquest," as the virtual, though too long unrecognized founder of S. Mary's Church, Luton—the recorded donor of the site, and, no doubt, also the builder of its earliest fabric—might well have been provided by each successive generation, which throughout more than seven centuries has enjoyed the fruits of his gift, with a perpetual niche beside the doorway of the church, as a suitable memorial of one who conferred such a lasting benefit upon the parish.

It is singular that, notwithstanding the prominence of his position for so many years—at a time, too, of so great a change, chiefly effected by himself, in the ruling dynasty of the kingdom—and the high estimation in which he seems at all times to have been held, no separate and distinct biography of him appears at any time to have been attempted. The fact of his history having been for the last nine or ten years of his life—the time when he was most conspicuous—so interwoven with that of Stephen, that in reading the life of that king we can trace in great measure

also Robert's later career, seems to have satisfied most biographical, as well as historical writers, yet there is much of independent interest in that career.

Whatever judgment may be formed of his action in treating Stephen as an usurper, and, in consequence, of his adopting the cause of Matilda after Stephen's election and coronation, there can be no second opinion but that he exhibited one of the highest instances on record of devoted loyalty to the person whom he deemed his sovereign, and of self-sacrifice in upholding her hereditary claims to the crown, as well as of his deep sense both of the obligation of an oath of allegiance and of a promise to a deceased parent and benefactor.

Without either ignoring or extenuating the evils to which his advocacy of Matilda's cause gave rise, it is certain that to him more than to any man the nation is indebted for the introduction into this country of that royal Plantagenet dynasty of which we are wont to make our boast. Yet without both his initiative and his incessant and unselfish support, throughout some ten or eleven years, Matilda's cause could never have been successful, and Henry II.'s accession must have been more than doubtful.

Except from two of the contemporary historians we learn but little of Robert's private life or of the estimation in which he was held by those of his own time. Florence of Worcester, who, if he had lived a little longer, would probably have come into close contact with him at Gloucester, died (1118) just a year before Robert can be said to have distinguished himself. Florence's continuators, however, give us some little account of his later career. William of Malmesbury, who lived into the middle of Stephen's reign, and died only four years (1143) before Robert, and who was seemingly personally acquainted with him, as well as Geoffrey of Monmouth, who survived him (dying in 1154), both dedicate their works to him as to the chief patron of letters in their day, but it is the former who, in his various addresses and references to him, gives us the only picture we really have of his domestic life, his literary attainments, his tastes and character. Thus, at the close of an "Epistle" affixed to his "History" (or rather "Acts") "of the English Kings" (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*), and which he addresses without any hesitation or ambiguity of language "to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of King H. I.," after speaking of the qualities of his grandfather, uncle, and father, "whom while you equal in industry you resemble in person," he subjoins that he

"added to the qualities of these distinguished men this peculiar characteristic, a devotion to learning. Nor is this all," he continues, "you condescend to honour with your notice those literary characters who are kept in obscurity either by the malevolence of fame, or the slenderness of their fortune. And as our nature inclines us not to condemn in others what we approve in ourselves, therefore men of learning find in you manners congenial to their own; for, without the slightest indication of moroseness, you regard them with kindness, admit them with complacency, and dismiss them with regret. Indeed, the greatness of your fortune has made no difference in you, except that your beneficence can now almost keep pace with your inclination."

At the conclusion of this work, *i.e.*, at the close of the fifth chapter, he gives us almost all we know of Robert's earlier public life and personal habits, as well as the author's reason for dedicating the work to him.<sup>1</sup> "For if any man was truly noble, you certainly excel in that quality; being descended from the most glorious kings and earls, and resembling them in your disposition. From the Normans, therefore, you derive your military skill; from the Flemings your personal elegance; from the French<sup>2</sup> your surpassing munificence. Of your activity in war who can doubt, when your most excellent father himself looks up to it? For whenever any tumults are reported in Normandy, he despatches you before him, in order that what is suspicious may be dispelled by your valour, and peace may be restored by your sagacity. When he returns to his kingdom he brings you with him as a safeguard to himself abroad, a delight at home, and an ornament everywhere. So devoted are you to literature, that though distracted with such a mass of business, you yet snatch some hours to yourself for the purpose either of reading or of hearing others.

<sup>1</sup> Giles's transl., Bohn's Antiq. Lib.

<sup>2</sup> As the reference to his Norman extraction is an evident allusion to his descent upon his father's side, and that to the Flemings to his grandmother Matilda, is not that to the French an allusion to his mother, and so a confirmation, if not the original suggestive cause, of Freeman's supposition that he was the offspring of an unknown French woman? It is certainly strange that if Robert was known to have been the son of the Princess Nesta, with such a distinguished and ancient pedigree, W. of Malmesbury should have omitted to allude to his British ancestry, which might have accounted for his love of literature. Would not also Giraldus Cambrensis, himself the grandson of Nesta, have claimed Earl Robert as his mother's half-brother? even if Geoffrey of Monmouth did not claim him as half a Welshman.

The fame of your justice reaches even our parts ; for a false sentence has never been extorted from you, either by elevation of rank or by scantiness of fortune. Your munificence and disregard of money is amply shown by the monastery<sup>1</sup> of Tewkesbury ; from which, as I hear, you not only do not extort presents, but return its voluntary offerings. . . . Your father first commanded you to be instructed,<sup>2</sup> not superficially, as plainly appears at the present day, in science: he next made you master of a most princely fortune, and at this moment he reposes his paternal regards upon you."

It was at Earl Robert's request and instigation that Malmesbury added a continuation of his earlier work, under the title of *Historia Novella*,<sup>3</sup> or "Modern History," "going back a little," as he says, in the history to 1126, and bringing the narrative of events down to the year 1142, the year preceding his own decease, the last event recorded being the escape of the Empress from Oxford, and her joining E. Robert at Wallingford. To this also he prefixes a preface addressed to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, "To his most loving lord, Robert, son of King Henry and Earl of Gloucester, William, Librarian of Malmesbury, wishes after completing his glorious course on earth, eternal triumph in Heaven." In this work he for the first time introduces Robert's name into the history on the occasion of his taking the oath of allegiance along with Stephen to the Empress in 1127, where he speaks of him as "the king's son who was born to him before he came to the throne and whom he had created Earl of Gloucester, bestowing on him in marriage Mabel, a noble and excellent woman, a lady as devoted to her husband as blessed in a numerous and beautiful offspring."

<sup>1</sup> It is recorded that whenever E. Robert resided at his neighbouring manor house, he entertained at dinner every Sunday twelve monks from the abbey.

<sup>2</sup> It does not seem to be recorded where or by whom Robert was educated, whereas in Henry of Huntingdon (*Ep. ad Gault. de Contemptu Mundi*) it is incidentally mentioned that his half-brother, "Richard, the king's bastard," was "brought up" by Robert Bloet, the Chancellor and Bishop of Lincoln (1092-1123), "and treated with distinction by" Huntingdon "and others of the household." Also it appears that "the youngest of the king's (natural) sons," unnamed, who was (*N. K.*, ix.) drowned in the White Ship in 1120, had for his governor and tutor, Othere, the bastard brother of Richard d'Abrincis, Earl of Chester, who, "folding his royal charge in his arms, sunk with him" (*O. Vit.*, *N. K.*, 190).

<sup>3</sup> "This appears to have been begun after the death of Henry" (for in the preface he alludes to Robert's "father of glorious memory"), "probably not long before 1140" (Sharpe, *W. of Malm.*, p. x.).

Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Monmouth in Earl Robert's day, his jurisdiction extending, apparently, over some of the earl's property, afterwards (1152-54) Bishop of S. Asaph, thus addresses him in the dedication of his *History of the British Kings*,<sup>1</sup> with something too much of his usual studied flattery: "To you, therefore, this work humbly sues for the favour of being so corrected by your advice that it may not be thought to be the poor offspring of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but when, polished by your refined wit and judgment, the production of him who had Henry, the glorious King of England, for his father, and whom we see an accomplished scholar and philosopher, as well as a brave soldier and commander; so that Britain with joy acknowledges that in you she possesses another Henry."

Thomas Wykes<sup>2</sup> speaks of him as a "most renowned and powerful man, and illustrious for his military energy and promptness."

It is clear from these quotations that even during his father's lifetime, himself a great encourager of learning, Earl Robert was regarded as a great patron of letters, and after Henry's decease probably as almost the only one in England; and that especially, "through the stormy period" which ensued, authors looked up to him as their friend and benefactor."

The author of the *Annals of the Church of Winchester* (a monk of Winchester), recording E. Robert's death (p. 363), says, "This Robert was a good man, and the most loyal of the grandees of all England. When the adherents of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, set fire to the church of the nuns of Winchester and Werewel, and the church of Hide, he spared the church of S. Swithun, although he might have burnt it if he had thought proper."

An interesting illustration of the estimation in which his memory was held subsequent to his death, by one of his military followers and that soldier's son, is found in a charter containing a large grant of land for a priest to make perpetual intercession for his soul. It is a confirmation,<sup>3</sup> dated November 25th, 1183, by Gilbert, son of Hinganus, the archer, of his gift to Pershore Abbey of 12 acres of assarted (cleared) land in Hawkesbury, Glouc., "p salute aie dni sui Robi comitis Gloucestrie."

Even in the last century Earl Robert found some to appreciate

<sup>1</sup> *Early Chroniclers of Engl.*, p. 157 (S.P.C.K.).

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Mon.*, iv. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Chroniclers*, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Charters prior to 1200* (Pipe Roll Soc.'s Publ., p. 81).

his character and actions. "Lord Lyttleton" (says Bennet, p. 74 n.) "justly eulogizes this nobleman, who, he says, 'had no inconsiderable tincture of learning, and was the patron of all who excelled in it; qualities rare at all times in a nobleman of his high rank, but particularly in an age when knowledge and valour were thought incompatible, and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. He was unquestionably the wisest man of these times; and his virtue was such that even those times could not corrupt it. If when the nation was equally grown tired of Matilda and of Stephen he had aspired to obtain the crown for himself, he might very possibly have gained it from both; but he thought it less glorious to be a king, than to preserve his fidelity and honour inviolate. He seems to have acted only from the purest and noblest principles of justice and duty, without pride, without passion, without any private views or selfish ambition; and to this admirable temper of mind he joined all the address and extensive abilities that are particularly necessary for the head of a party, who must connect and keep together great numbers of independent persons, held by no regular bond of obedience, conciliate their different passions and interests, endure their absurdities, soothe their ill-humour, manage their pride, and establish an absolute authority over them without seeming to exercise any but that of persuasion'" (Lyttleton's *Life of H. II.*, 1764).

Later writers speak equally highly of him. "The Mæcenas of his age—a man of great talents and of unshaken fidelity."<sup>1</sup> "Brave, steadfast, of a free and generous nature, a sagacious counsellor, a lover of literature, he appears to have had few of the vices of that age and most of its elevating qualities."<sup>2</sup> "He strenuously supported the cause of Matilda against the usurpation of Stephen, and during every reverse of fortune, preserved a most unshaken loyalty to his sovereign. He was also distinguished above his contemporaries by his love of science and literature, and by his patronage of learned men; to him William of Malmesbury dedicated his history, and if no other circumstance entitled him to the admiration of posterity, this alone would consecrate his name to immortality."<sup>3</sup> "Foremost in the arts of peace, as afterwards in those of war, inheriting the literary tastes of his Beaucherc father, and a munificent patron of art, Earl Robert has left one

<sup>1</sup> Giles, note to preface of *W. of Malmesbury*.

<sup>2</sup> Knight, *Hist. of Engl.*, i., p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Bennet, *Hist. of Tewkesbury*, p. 74, note.



of the purest and noblest names which mark the Norman annals."<sup>1</sup>  
 "This Robert was perhaps the noblest of the early Norman barons. During a long and eventful life, he was conspicuous not only for his great powers as a general and a statesman, but for his spotless and chivalrous character."<sup>2</sup> "One of the greatest soldiers and most prudent and perhaps most astute statesmen of the day."<sup>3</sup>

### APPENDIX U. (Chap. IV., p. 55, note 2.)

#### CONJECTURES AS TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NORMAN CHURCH.

As remains of some of Earl Robert's buildings are still in existence, it was hoped that some satisfactory conjecture might be derived from them as to the special character of the architecture, if not also as to the form, of his church at Luton. But as each few years of that period saw a fresh development of style, at least in the way of ornament, and at the same time only an approximate date for the erection of Luton Church can be arrived at, whilst doubts also have arisen as to whether certain ornaments and other parts of Earl Robert's buildings are not later additions, no very decided inference, it is feared, can be drawn from this source.

It may, however, be of interest, and perhaps throw a little light upon the subject, to note the character of some of those works attributed to him, and also to specify a few buildings of about the supposed date of Luton Church.

The central tower of Tewkesbury Abbey, though no doubt it formed part of the original plan of Fitzhamon's architect, was yet erected, not by Fitzhamon, who died 1107, but by Earl Robert, and, as it was not finished till about the year 1140, it was probably in construction at the same time as Luton Church, whilst the design of it must have been drawn much earlier than any for that church. "It is now" (says Dean Spence, *Good Words*, February, 1892, p. 114) "132 feet high and 46 feet square, and for an early

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. Hayman, *The Antiquary*, i., p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Dean Spence, *Good Words*, January, 1892, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, *Archæol. Journ.*, xxxv., p. 11.

Norman tower extraordinarily rich in decoration, the ornamental work consisting of arcades and round-headed windows with the chevron or zigzag ornament used profusely." *The Antiquary*, however (i. 57), is inclined to think that the arcades are a later addition. These, nevertheless, are a characteristic, as will be seen, of Earl Robert's Priory Church of S. James, founded about the same year. The Tewkesbury tower was, Dean Spence adds, "originally capped with a lofty spire of timber, probably covered with lead. The spire stood for several hundred years; it fell while service was going on in the abbey, A.D. 1559." As the rich decoration of Tewkesbury is suggestive that something of the kind might have been found at Luton even at that early period, so the addition of a spire may be some ground for supposing that if there were a central tower at Luton it also was capped with a short spire. The following is Taylor's account of S. James's Priory Church at Bristol:<sup>1</sup>

"The original work has suffered much mutilation and demolition, the church being entirely deprived of its chancel, while *north and south aisles* have been incongruously rebuilt. *The west façade* is the only accessible portion of the exterior of the church of which the interesting character of the Norman building may be discerned. Above the doorway at this end is an *arcade* of intersecting arches, three of which are pierced for *circular-headed windows*. Independently of the pointed arches formed by intersection, there are in this arcade other and *very early examples of the same advanced style of arch*; over the arcade is a small but beautiful rose window. The ancient *clerestory* remains, but is exteriorly hidden on the north side by the adjoining houses, and on the south by the parapet of the aisle. The south clerestory, however, when discovered, exhibits an interesting *arcade*, extending the whole length of the outside of the church; it consists of a series of shafts, with the common Norman (cushion) capital, supporting arches of irregular forms, some *pointed*, some almost elliptic, with semicircular ones over the windows; near the east remains one *corbel* showing the height at which a corbel table once passed above these arches. On the north side the clerestory windows have what Bloxam calls nook-shafts, and are in other respects similar to those on the south; but here there is no arcade to connect them.

<sup>1</sup> *Book about Bristol*, p. 139, *et seq.*; *Sealy's Arch. Mag.*, p. 16.

"The *nave* of the church is divided from the aisles by two rows of massive Norman piers, which are connected by semicircular arches.

"The eastern end is a modern reproduction of the Norman style of building, and consists of three circular-headed windows with chevron mouldings, and beneath are two series of stone arcades.

"The chancel end of the church exhibits a large and deeply-recessed Norman porch, surmounted by an arcade of small arches in the same style."

The original tower (at the junction of the nave and chancel) has passed away, the present tower being of the Perpendicular style, and dating from the latter quarter of the fourteenth century, but since then has undergone considerable repair and alteration.

"The length of the nave is 84 feet; the height to the spring of the roof, 31 feet; breadth between the piers,  $29\frac{1}{2}$  feet; span of the arches,  $12\frac{1}{4}$  feet; diameter of piers,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet; height of the same, a little more than twice the diameter."

From this account it would appear that the style of the church was Early Norman, with little ornamentation as to moulding, but rich in the matter of arcades externally, with rather short but massive circular piers connected by semicircular arches; the church having circular-headed and rose windows, but occasionally with *early pointed arches* designedly introduced into the arcades.

In size it did not, probably, even when the chancel was entire, much exceed half that of Luton; in plan, consisting of chancel, central tower, nave, and two aisles, but, being designed for a monastic church, without transepts. The nave, however, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was made parochial. All this tends to confirm the suggestion that Luton Church, built probably a few years previously, was of a simple Norman character, though very likely, as may be inferred from the above, that is if the stone used admitted of it, a good deal ornamented with handsome arcades and with one or more porches.

That Earl Robert was fond of arcades may be concluded not merely from the instance of S. James, but from what is found at Tewkesbury, provided that the tower there, such as it is at present, was his work. That tower is distinctly stated to have been erected by him, and though some archæologists are inclined to rob him of the credit of the beautiful arcades which surround it, as being in character of a somewhat later date, yet if the arcades of S. James, with their advanced style of arches, be his work—and the same

date exactly (1140) is assigned to the two erections—the probability is in favour of those at Tewkesbury being his also ; though it is possible that in both cases the arcades were subsequently added.

It is recorded that Earl Robert assigned one-tenth of the stones which he imported from Normandy (Caen) for the construction of the castle of Bristol, to the building of the chapel of S. Mary in this priory. No such good fortune was likely to have befallen S. Mary's at Luton, the stone of Totternhoe being probably substituted for it in special parts, whilst the great body of the church was more likely to have been composed of flint and rubble.

The foundation of this Benedictine monastery of S. James at Bristol by Earl Robert is in many respects of interest : (1) The date generally assigned to it is 1140,<sup>1</sup> the year in which, as the representative of the Empress, he met at the neighbouring city of Bath (in May) the primate, the legate, and the queen herself, acting on Stephen's behalf, in the vain hope that by a conference an end could be put to the civil strife ; but Bishop Tanner suggests the latter end of his father's reign or the beginning of Stephen's as the more likely time.

(2) The dedication of it to S. Mary,<sup>2</sup> as well as to S. James the Apostle, is another instance of Earl Robert's attachment to that dedication, so prevalent among the Norman barons, as seen also in that of Margam, another of his foundations ; and is suggestive that it was likely to have been at his initiative that the new church at Luton was dedicated to the Virgin—there being no intimation whatever as to the name of the earlier church. The special festival in her honour does not seem mentioned in either of the two former cases.

(3) But the most interesting point is the style of the architecture

<sup>1</sup> It must have been in a state of forwardness, if not in actual occupation, at least as early as 1137, for in the confirmation by Simon, Bishop of Worcester (1125-50), appointing and sanctioning that the church of S. James should ever be subject to that of Tewkesbury (Dug., *Mon.* (3 vols.), iii., p. 121, CLXI. 24), he says that it was done "at the petition of Benedict, lord abbot, and with the assent of Robert, the king's son, E. of Gloucester, and his wife the Countess Mabel." As Benedict died in 1137, his petition must have been prior to that date, and the priory more or less completed before the petition. According to Barrett, Bishop Simon consecrated the churchyard or burial-ground of S. James c. 1129. See Deed of Consecration, Dug., *Mon.* (6 vols.), iv., p. 335, No. XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *Book about Bristol*, p. 139 ; Dug., *Mon.*, ii. 60 : "In honorem Dei et matris ejus et Sancti Jacobi."

of the church. As will be seen in the note upon its date, this was probably built between 1135 and 1140. The church at Luton, as far as can be inferred from allusions to its history, would seem to have been erected some few years earlier than this, and to have been finished and dedicated at the latest in 1137. The style of the two churches was therefore probably much the same, the latter if anything being a little earlier, and consequently perhaps a little plainer.

The remains at Margam are at present so insignificant, though the buildings are described as having been "very superb," that nothing can be deduced from them as to Earl Robert's taste. As this seems to have been his last architectural effort, it being founded, according to the annals of Margam, and Dugdale in the year in which he died, 1147, a special interest would have been attached to the latest development in style to which one so given to building had arrived before the close of the first half of the twelfth century.

As examples of churches of a rather early date which were considerably ornamented are the nave of Durham Cathedral,<sup>1</sup> built about 1130; Porchester Church, Hants, *c.* 1135; the tower of Castor Church, Northants, *c.* 1145.

## APPENDIX V. (Chap. IV., p. 63, note 1.)

### MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.

"THE marriage of the clergy had been denounced by Pope Hildebrand, and at the National Council held in London in 1102, it was strenuously condemned by Anselm of Canterbury and Gerard of York, as also at other councils in 1126 and 1127 by William of Canterbury and Thurstan of York. But in the northern province (at least) the marriage of the clergy held its ground for a long period after this, and only gradually died out by the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1221 Honorius III. wrote to Archbishop Grey of York, desiring him to remove from their livings the married clergy and all who had succeeded their fathers in their preferments, a similar order being directed to the bishops of *Lincoln* and *Worcester*" (*Dioc. Hist. York*, pp. 144, 145). Many of the Norman bishops were themselves married; *e.g.*, Bishop Lymesey, appointed

<sup>1</sup> Representations of these three are given in Gardiner's *Student's Hist.*, i., pp. 128, 130, 136.

to Lichfield by the Conqueror (1086-1117), and Bishop Robert of the same see (1121-1126), both of them chaplains of Henry I. To the latter bishop the monks gave the name of Pechs, or Peccatum, from this circumstance. He was the father of the succeeding bishop, Richard Peche. Sampson, Bishop of Worcester (1096-1112), was also a married man, and was the father of Thomas, afterwards Archbishop of York. So was Everard, Bishop of Norwich (1121-1145), and also Roger, Bishop of Salisbury (1107-1139), the celebrated justiciar of both Henry and Stephen, whose wife was the distinguished Maud of Ramsbury, who defended Devizes against King Stephen. The latter couple, too, were the parents of Roger, "the Poor" (ancestor of the Le Poers), the chancellor. "The king (Henry I.) in a meeting of bishops in London, September 29th, 1129, was given a dispensing power in such matters, a power which he exercised freely, priests, etc., being allowed to redeem their wives by a fine" (*Norman Kings*, pp. 216, 217). "The meeting in London was summoned expressly to take measures for enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, the secular portion of whom were still very commonly married, although their wives were not recognized as lawful, and were called by opprobrious names. The bishops being outwitted by the king, the council conceded the decision to him, who ordained that married clergy might purchase indulgence by payment of a large sum of money. Thus the royal treasury was enriched, the clergy impoverished, and in the eyes of strict ecclesiastics disgraced" (D. H. *Chichester*, p. 48).

#### APPENDIX W. (Chap. IV., p. 64.)

##### GRANT AND CONFIRMATION OF THE CHURCH OF LUTON TO S. ALBAN'S.

*Release by William, Earl of Gloucester, to S. Alban's Abbey of half a knight's fee in the parishes of Luiton and Houghton, formerly claimed by him.*

Relaxatio W<sup>m</sup> Comit̃s Glouc. sup̃. servicio dimid' feod' mil̃t̃s,  
mon' Sti Albani infra p'oc̃k de Luiton & Houghton primitus ven-  
dicatt'.

W. comes Glouc'.                      filio Unafrede, Constabulario suo,  
& Rualani dap̃. suo, ceterisque omibz hominibz.

Sciatis qđ ego, acceptis xxx mias argenti ab eccliā Sti Albani, remis eiđem eccliē & monachis ibidem Deo servientibus servitium dimidii militis, qđ Willmus cañarius solebat face' p'ri meo de feodo qđ tenebat de eo in soka de Luitonie, in villa de Hoghtona & in Hertewell' & in Badelesdona & in Potesgūa. Volo, itaque, qđ libere & quiete *in p'petuam elemosinam* teneant tenuram p'dictam de cetero, nisi qđ nolo in signū donacionis a me facte singulis annis a p'dicta ecclā Bottas unas recipere.

T. H(aweis), comitessa, p'prosito Hamo constabulario, Gregorio filio Roberti, Rob' Dalmari, dap. Rogero, dap. Rob. fil Hardingi, Poncio fil Simonis, Alan' de Warneford, Adam' de Ely, cler, Gilb' Croc, Ric' de Moddia, Hugon' de Deoda, mon', W. de Moddia, odone cognato Abbātis, Alex. Ap' Bristow.

*Confirmation by K. Stephen of the gift of Wm. E. of Glouc. of the churches of Luyton and Houghton and of the land which Wm. the Chamberlain held.*

Carta confirmationis Reg<sup>a</sup> Stephi de donacione Willi comit Glouc' de ecclis de Luyton & Houghton & de Praguā Willm̃s Camerarius tenuit in soka de Luiton & Houghton, (Hertes)welle, Badelesdune & Potesgraue.

Stephanus Rex (Anglie) (Episcopo) Lincolñ & justiciariis (& baronibus) vicecomit̃ & ministris & omibz fidelibz suis de Bedefordschire Salutū.

Sciatis me concessisse & confirmasse (donationem) quam Willm̃s comes Glouces. fecit eccliē Sti Albani & Monachis in ea deo famulantibus de eccliā de Luyton & de eccliā de Houghtuna & de . . . terris que ad eas pertinent, (et de) terra illa quam Willm̃s Came(rar)ius tenuit in socca de Luyton & in villa de Houghtone et in (Herts)wella & in Battelesdona & in Poteguā.

Quare volo & (firmater?) p'cipio qđ eccliā de Sancti Albani p'dictas eccliās et omnes terras bene & (in pace), & libere & quiete & honorifice teneant & habeant *in p'petuam elemosinam*, liberam & quietam *de omni seculari servicio*.

*Confirmation by K. Stephen of the church of Luton to S. Alban's.*

(Carta) confirmationis Reg<sup>a</sup> Stephi (eccl<sup>m</sup>) de Luiton cum omibz ptiis suis. Stephiūs Rex Angl' Eps, justiciariis, comit' et Baroñ vicecomit' et ministris & omibz fidelibz suis tocius Angl' sal<sup>m</sup>.

Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse eccliē S<sup>a</sup> Albani & Monachis

ibidm̄ deo servientibz eccliam de Lutona cum omibz p'tinenciis ejus i p'petuam elemosinā. Quare volo & firmiter p'cipio qd ecclia Sti Alban & Monachi illam ecclesiam bene & in pace & libere & quiete & honorifice teneant & habeant cum capellis & terris & d'cis & libertatibz & omibz rebus eidem ecclie pertinentibz.

T. Comite Simone & Rico de Luci, apud Dunstapl'.

## APPENDIX X. (Chap. IV., p. 65, note 1.)

### HOUGHTON CHURCH.

THOUGH it is nowhere definitely so stated, it would appear from the following considerations that the *advowson* of Houghton Church, as well as a parcel of land in the same vill, was given to Earl Robert by Hen. I. (presumably along with lands of which he is found possessed in Luton), and also that the *church*, with its half carucate of land, together with that of Luton, *formed part of his "Luton fee."*

1. The *advowson* of both churches was originally in the possession of the crown, both being royal manor churches, and both *churches* being seized by Hen. II., apparently upon the same pretence, viz., that they were built upon the king's demesne.

2. Both *churches* were, *i.* Wm. I., held, under the crown, by the same person, Wm. the Chamberlain, Sen., who apparently converted them both (though mention is only made of that of Luton, since the history of the transaction professedly only related to Luton, and the same reason existed for the conversion of the one as of the other) into a *military fief*—which fief included (as may be inferred from its being found to do so in his son's time) other lands which he held of the king in Houghton, Battlesden, Pottesgrove, and Herteswell. As also his son is found holding, as *part of the same fief*, "land in the soke of Luton," it may be presumed that Wm. the Chamberlain, Sen., also held these lands as part of the fief, especially as his son claimed to hold part at least of that fief (the church of Luton), a claim which probably covered the whole, "hereditarily." All these lands, along, apparently, with the *two churches*, certainly with that of Luton, are found forming part of the same fee in 1153, and held by the one "service of half a knight's fee."



3. That *K. Stephen* did not give the advowson of Houghton to *Earl Robert* when he granted him (1136) that of Luton seems clear, for Luton Church alone is mentioned in the charter (Charter of *K. Stephen*, Otho, D., iii.); nor is there the least likelihood of his having granted it subsequently to his strenuous opponent, *E. William*, the son of *E. Robert*. And yet it is found in the possession of *E. William*, who, in 1153, parted with it to *S. Alban's*, along with the advowson of Luton, and with the *the rest of the fee* (*K. Stephen's* "Charter of Confirmation to *S. Alban's* of the gift of *Wm.*, *E. of Glouc.*, of the churches of Luyton and Houghton and of the land which *Wm.* the Chamberlain held" Otho, D., iii., MS. 57/7).

## APPENDIX Y. (Chap. IV., p. 66.)

### APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE EVENTS RELATED IN CHAPTER IV.

WALSINGHAM had no occasion to give any nearer dates to the occurrences here related than to state generally that they took place when Robert de Gorham was abbot and in the reign of Stephen. But from his mention of certain other personages in connection with particular events, and from general history, it seems possible to assign definite periods to the most prominent of those events, even perhaps to arrive at some conclusion concerning the date of the erection of the first (Norman) church upon the present site.

On the death of Henry I. (December 1st, 1135) Earl Robert's right to his estates was, according to feudal laws, in abeyance until he did homage for them to Henry's successor. It was not until after the following Easter<sup>1</sup> that he came to England, when, without delay it may be assumed, he rendered homage to Stephen and was confirmed in all his possessions.

<sup>1</sup> This submission evidently took place in London, where the king held his court that Easter (March 22nd)—Stephen immediately afterwards making a progress through the country and receiving fealty in various churches and monasteries. At Oxford, still some time during Eastertide, Stephen ratified his coronation oath, Robert being one of the attesting witnesses. This is the last mention of his being with the king during this visit to England. The following Christmas (1136) the king spent so near to the earl's manor as Dunstable, but there is no notice of Robert being with him, though it is possible that he was.

It was, seemingly, soon after his submission that the grant of the advowson of Luton Church was made to him,<sup>1</sup> probably at his own request. This was speedily followed by his being publicly, and even ostentatiously, "invested" at Luton itself "with the church and its lands," *i.e.*, put into possession of the advowson. This latter certainly took place before the succeeding Easter (April 10th, 1137), for on that day Earl Robert sailed to Normandy and did not return until he came back in 1139 as the avowed opponent of Stephen. Indeed, as Robert after his investiture is said to have nominated Cymmay, and *with the king* to have presented him to the bishop, each of these transactions must have taken place before Lent, 1137 (February 23rd), for both the king and bishop went abroad at the beginning of Lent.<sup>2</sup> It would appear, likewise, from what follows, that before that time also two of the citations issued to Wm. Chamberlain by the bishop had taken place. All the earlier occurrences, therefore, here related happened between Easter (March 22nd), 1136, and Lent (February 23rd or March 30th), 1137, probably during the early part of Robert's stay in England, for towards its close the relation between him and the king was evidently "strained," Robert "dissembling for a time his secret intentions," and, according to his own partisan, W. of Malmesbury, it was only when "having thoroughly sounded the sentiments of those who with him had sworn to uphold Matilda, and with him had done fealty to Stephen, and planned his future course, that he sailed for Normandy."

It is natural to infer that there may have been some connection between the grant of the advowson and the completion of the church. As a rule the erection of a church and the providing an endowment for it gave a right of patronage to it. Many a Norman baron, too, demolished the Saxon church which he found upon his estate, and, building another adjoining his manor house, transferred the revenues of the former to his new church, often, however, indeed, adding to their value both by tithe and lands, and either retaining

<sup>1</sup> It is especially noted (*Gesta Stephani*, Giles's trans., p. 329) that it was "after being frequently summoned by messages and letters from the king to attend his court, that at last Robert came and was received with extraordinary favour, *everything he required being granted on his doing homage*. His submission, at length gained (so great was his influence and the effect of his example), was followed by that of almost all the rest of England."

<sup>2</sup> O. Vit. dates their landing at La Hogue, March 30th, but as Easter that year fell on April 10th, the 30th of March could not have been "at the beginning of Lent."

the services of the Saxon priest or substituting for them those of a Norman. But in this case, as the patronage of the parish church, and therefore the endowment connected with it, still belonged to the crown, upon whose demesne the original fabric had been built, Robert could only, when he erected his church, have made it over to the parish as a substitute for the older one, though hoping, perhaps, eventually to become its patron, as he owned the land on which it was situated. Yet, though having no direct claim to the advowson, it was no doubt in consideration of his having built the new church upon his own land—whatever Stephen's motive in making the grant may have been—that Robert took the opportunity of Stephen's desire to attach him to his cause, to ask for the advowson. This may appear at first an argument in favour of the church having been only just completed, as, of course, along with the transmission of the advowson passed the power of transferring the endowment, and, until the endowment was in some manner settled upon the new church, it could not be consecrated. As before his investiture, therefore, on this supposition, the church must have been completed, we get here the *latest* date which can be assigned to its erection.

And following out this line of argument, it might perhaps be inferred that it had only been completed a short time before this; for, if his father Henry, who died December 1st, 1135, had been alive at the time that the church was finished, it might reasonably have been thought that he himself would then have made over the advowson of it to him, and not left it to another to grant or withhold it. At the same time it is to be remembered that Henry was absent from England for the last three years of his life, and that Robert was most probably, as usual, with him—certainly he was present at its close; so that the church may have been erected any time during those three years, or so far completed that it was ready for use and only awaiting Robert's approval before its consecration, or at least the dedication of its altar—the advowson of it being designed perhaps to be given on their return home. In this case, then, it might be conjectured that even if the church itself was not consecrated, either a new high altar was dedicated, or that belonging to the old church was transferred into it, and divine offices commenced in the new fabric during the year of Robert's residence in England, *i.e.*, between the Easters of 1136 and 1137. The consecration of churches, owing to the difficulties and expense of travelling, especially in such an extensive diocese as that of

Lincoln, was generally deferred to the bishop's visitations, when many were often consecrated in quick succession.<sup>1</sup> The next occasion on which the bishop of the diocese is known to have dedicated any church in the neighbourhood was eight or nine years later (1145), when he consecrated that of Mergate Cell in the adjoining parish of Caddington. So that in this case the complete consecration of Robert's church and of the churchyard may not have taken place till this latter date. But as no hint of any of these things is furnished, where such might have been expected, it seems more probable that the whole matter of erection and consecration of the church, and the transference to it of the old endowment, took place, and consequently that the church was in full use, at a much earlier period than Robert's obtaining the advowson—he being quite content so long as that was in his father's hands. And this supposition receives much support from the expression used by the historian with reference to the jury of 1155, viz., that they were “*informed by many persons that the old church had been built upon the royal demesne, but that being entirely taken down the present was erected on the Earl of Gloucester's fee.*” As the jury could hardly require to be informed as to what happened amongst them only twenty years previously (when the advowson was granted), that period being within the memory probably of every one of them, it seems more natural to infer that the transactions of which they required to be informed had taken place earlier. Whether Earl Robert received the manor on his marriage (c. 1119?) or on his elevation to the earldom (1121-22), he would have had ample time to erect a new church some thirty-three years or more previous to the sitting of this jury, a sufficiently far distant period to make information from others necessary for the average-aged juror. It may be concluded, therefore, probably, that it was *rather soon after his receiving the manor* that Robert built his new church. This would constitute it a very early Norman church.

The mention also of the Bishop of Ostia (Alberic) as legate gives another useful date in connection with the lawsuit concerning the rectory, and shows that the law's delay in ecclesiastical suits was at least as great then as in more modern times. Alberic was not consecrated till the spring of 1138, and was shortly afterwards sent

<sup>1</sup> Thus Bishop Grosseteste, on his visitation of his diocese just a century later, 1238, besides suspending many rectors, dedicated many churches and monasteries (*Chron. Duns.*).

over as legate to England and Scotland. His intervention in the dispute *just before the third hearing of the case* proves that the suit had already gone on without any result for some time, more than a year, as it appears. This may, in part, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that the Bishop of Lincoln was absent from England along with King Stephen from Lent to Advent in the year 1137, and so probably no advance whatever was made in the matter during that period. The later events mentioned, ending with Cymmay's application for institution, seem, indeed, not to have taken place until towards the end of 1138, or the spring of 1139, for the bishop's referring his final decision until the meeting at Oxford seems to imply that such a meeting had been summoned and was near at hand. The date, also, of that meeting or council, and therefore of the termination of the suit, appears clear, for that it was not a private conference is evident from the fact of many foreign as well as English bishops, with Archbishop Theobald at their head, being recorded as giving their decision on the matter. Theobald, however, was not consecrated until January 6th, 1139, after which he went, together with Alberic, to Rome to obtain the pall. This fixes the meeting to that year, and as the only known council at Oxford of that year was the celebrated one of June 22-24, it may be concluded that this was the meeting alluded to, and that Cymmay did not gain his cause finally until that occasion, probably on the second day of the council, June 23rd. And, happily for him, it was then decided, as otherwise it might have been left undetermined for an indefinite period. For, on the following day, Stephen, jealous of the wealth and power both of Bishop Alexander and of his uncle Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the Justiciar, or suspicious that they might join the party of the Empress in return for Henry's many favours to them, arrested and shamefully imprisoned them, together with Bishop Roger's son, Roger the Chancellor, forced them to surrender their castles and treasures, and finally sent them back to their dioceses humbled and mortified, but ready henceforth to side with his enemies.

The reason of the bishop's deferring his decision till he could consult with his brother bishops was probably connected with Earl Robert's position at that time; for though the acknowledged patron when he presented Cymmay, yet if his manor was confiscated before the deposition of William the Chamberlain, as it evidently was, his right to present might have been contested by Robert de Waudari, to whom the manor, and presumably also the

advowson, had been granted. The bishop, too, who was still on the side of Stephen, though not altogether trusted by him, may have feared to awaken further suspicions against himself by instituting one of Earl Robert's nominees under the circumstances.

There is a difficulty, no doubt, in reconciling the historian's expression that Cymmay had at one time "*held the church from Earl Robert,*" with the above statement that he was not put into possession till June, 1139, considering the recorded facts that Earl Robert had renounced his allegiance to K. Stephen "after Pentecost"<sup>1</sup> in 1138 (*Matth. of Westm.*, ii. 45; Bright, i. 81; *Norman Kings*, p. 253), and that it was then that Stephen is said to have deprived him of all his possessions in England, "as far as he was able." It is probable, however, that Cymmay considered the earl his proper feudal lord, as either having been *presented* by him to the rectory (at that time still a fief of the manor), or even perhaps as having held it provisionally for the bishop, after William's deposition.

It is possible also, and indeed seems to be implied by Walsingham, that Waudari was not given the manor until after the Oxford council. There seems no occasion on which Cymmay could have done homage or service to the earl except on his presentation to the church, *i.e.*, long before his institution, and notwithstanding the Chamberlain's refusal to relinquish the rectory. The statement, however, is perhaps only a slight inaccuracy on the part of Walsingham, who is clearly in error, also, in placing the *revolt* of Earl Robert ("*a fidelitate et servitio recedente*") *after* ("*non multo post*") the council of Oxford, although it is true that the earl's *landing* and active opposition did not take place till the September (29th) after it. He has probably been led astray by the words of Simeon of Durham, who, describing what happened after the council of Oxford, says, that "*Robertus contra Stephanem insurgit.*"

<sup>1</sup> The expression "after Pentecost" naturally implies almost immediately after. The latest that Pentecost could ever occur is the 13th of June. Even this would bring Robert's revolt, supposing it to have taken place in 1139, before and not after the Council of Oxford. But Pentecost was in that year on June 11th, which is an additional evidence that the year alluded to as that of Earl Robert's renunciation of allegiance was not that of 1139, but 1138. The historians of the period are very vague and ambiguous in their dates, seldom mentioning the exact year either of the Christian era or of the king's reign. Both the weight of authority, however, and the sequence of events, are in favour of Earl Robert's having sent his message of renunciation of subjection to Stephen just after Pentecost in 1138.

## APPENDIX Z. (Chap. V., p. 69.)

## RICHARD, ARCHDEACON OF POICTIERS.

THIS Richard, though appearing here in so unfavourable a light, became a very prominent man. He is known by various names, as Toclive, Hokelin, and More, and also as Richard of Ilchester. He was a native of Winchester, and was elected, at the king's desire, Bishop of Winchester, May 1st, 1173, and, contrary to custom, was enthroned before consecration on Ascension Day in that year; not being consecrated, or even ordained priest, until October, 1174. In 1176 he was made Justiciar of Normandy, and in the parliament at Windsor, 1179, constituted one of the itinerant justices for Hants and other counties. Afterwards he was made Chief Justice of England. He was an ardent opponent of Archbishop Thomas à Becket, and at one time under sentence of excommunication by him. After Becket's death, and in penitence, it is said, for his opposition to him, he caused all the newly-erected churches in the diocese of Winchester (Portsmouth, *e.g.*) to be dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury. He founded S. Mary Magdalene's Hospital in Winchester, and died in 1189, the same year as Henry II. He witnessed, as Bishop of Winchester, Henry's confirmation in 1176 of the churches of Luton, etc., to the cellarer of the abbey, and his signature and seal are still to be seen attached to an agreement on the part of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem to surrender to him the Hospital of S. Cross, he consenting to raise the number of persons supported there, and to assign to the Knights Hospitallers the church of Morduna (Morden in Surrey). It is signed "+ Ego Ric. Winton Eps."

On his tomb in Winchester Cathedral is inscribed :

"Præsulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi  
Toclyve, cui summi gaudia sunt poli."

(Dioc. Hist. *Winchester*, p. 86.)

He signed sundry charters of Henry II. as Ric. Archid Pictaŋ as in *Ancient Charters ante* 1200, p. 65, A.D. 1163-66, at Wells, p. 66, A.D. 1164-65, p. 67, A.D. 1163-70.

It would almost appear from the entry in the *Pipe Rolls*, 15

Henry II., 1169, p. 50, "P'doñ p br R Et Arch Pick xiii." (Beds), as if the king had mulcted him, or laid claim to some fee from him, for his transaction at Luton, and afterwards forgiven it.

## APPENDIX AA. (Chap. V., p. 73.)

### HOSPITAL OF SS. MARY AND M. MAGDALENE.

5 *Ed. IV.*, 1465. *Add. Chart. B. M.*, 28,882.

THE following are the chief passages of interest which can be deciphered in this rather tedious and partly illegible document :

"Omnibus scti fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis vel audituris frēs et sorores Domus Dei et B<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> Marie, Dei genitricis. Et Sanctæ Marie Magdalena de Luton, Lincolniensis diocesi, Salutem in Dño sempiternam Noveritis, hos frēs et sor. pdicti unanimi consensu Willelmum Dywner (?) de Luton n<sup>r</sup> procto<sup>r</sup>," etc. Then follow the names of the popes who have granted to the benefactors of the hospital forty years' "Misericordiæ," Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander IV., and Urban IV.—ranging, however, in their dates only from 1216 to 1265—succeeded by "Itē a *Sco Thoma* Archiep. de Cant. *fundatore* n<sup>ro</sup> xl. dies indulgencie," and other archbishops and bishops,<sup>1</sup> all of the thirteenth cent., granting from thirty to forty days' indulgence. Certain religious orders also promise masses for their benefit, as those of Sempringham, 32,000, the Cistercians, 20,000, etc.

It concludes with : "In cujus rei testibus sigillum commune de Hospitalis," etc. "Ven. Dom. Wenlock, Thos. Hoo, Esq., Mag. J. Lammar, Vic. de Luton, J. Ackworth, Esq., J. Shelford, Gen., Thos. Whyton, Thos. Perot, W<sup>m</sup> Bradwey, Ric. Stoppasle, J. Thrale, Ric. Kylbege, Rob. Lawrence et aliis, *apud Luton* die Veneris p x<sup>d</sup> (prox.) post fer omñ Sanct.(1 Nov.) anno 5 Regni Edw. quarto." A fragment of the seal of the hospital is attached to it.

The only other document having any reference whatever to this hospital yet met with is that numbered 28,786 of the

<sup>1</sup> The scribe has made a curious mistake, inserting between the names of Archbishop Baldwin, 1184, and Hubert, 1193, instead of that of Reginald, 1191, the name of Theobald, who *preceded* (1139) the *founder*, S. Thomas, as archbishop.



Additional Charters in the British Museum. It is endorsed, "Carta feoffamenti pertinens domui Sancte Marie Magdalene, &c., Luyton." It clearly contains a grant of land which eventually, at least, came into the possession of the hospital. It is entitled a grant from Roger Gronewey of Luyton to Adam Uppinor (?), Richard Brown and W. Trygs, of the same, of all his lands, etc., in Luyton, being witnessed by J. atte Park, J. Baylyf, and Jn. Greneford. Dated, Luyton, the Feast of S. Barnabas (11 June), 51 Edw. III., 1377.

## APPENDIX AB. (Chap. V., p. 74.)

### HOSPITALS FOR LEPERS.

"Such institutions were much needed." The unhealthy dwellings of the period, the coarse swillings of bad fermented liquor, the poor and unwholesome food, produced a continual crop of horrible skin diseases, which required the separation of the patient and the strenuous help of devoted hands.

These hospitals were *not so common in Cheshire and Lancashire* as in other parts of England. There was one at Boughton, near Chester, dedicated to *S. Giles*, founded by Ranulph (Blandevil), fourth and last Earl of Chester (1181-1231), built for sanitary reasons just *outside the city*, and conveniently situated for appealing to the charity of those entering Chester from the east. In addition to this chance of charity, the lepers were allowed for their support certain *tolls* from every article of food, and every other merchandise carried for sale in Chester market one or more handfuls. At Bebington was another, referred to in a record of 11 Edw. I., the brethren being permitted to enclose within a small ditch and fence five acres of forest land. Another hospital for lazars at Nantwich is mentioned as having a chapel dedicated to *S. Lawrence*, whilst another was dedicated to *S. Nicholas*.

*Only one hospital* for lepers is recorded as having existed throughout the extensive but thinly-populated district of *Lancashire*. This is at Lancaster itself, dedicated to *S. Leonard* (the usual dedication in other counties), for a *master chaplain and nine poor persons*, whereof *three* were to be lepers. It was founded by King John while Earl of Moreton, and in the *Close Rolls* of

4 Henry III. permission is given to the leprous brethren to have pasture for animals in the royal forest of Loundesdale, as well as wood for fuel, and timber for building purposes" (Dioc. Hist. Chester, pp. 42, 43).

Geoffrey de Gorham, sixteenth Abbot of S. Alban's (1119-1146) built a church and hospital dedicated to *S. Julian*, near the way that leads to London, for the use of lepers, and endowed the same with sundry portions of tithe; as two parts in ten of the corn tithes of S. Stephen's and S. Michael's parishes; but with the whole tithe of S. Alban's parish (value 60s.), and the whole corn tithe of the lordship of Hamstude and of the lordship of Kingsbury; confirmed by Pope Gregory in second year of his pontificate; procured a charter of confirmation from Henry I., and a grant of 1d. a day out of his treasury for the use of the hospital. Besides the leprous brethren—of whom in 1344 there were never more than three at once, sometimes but two, and often one—there were five priests, always resident, one of whom was a kind of superior, and called *Rector Capellæ Juliani* (Newcome, pp. 56, 57).

"A very large hospital for lepers was founded at Burton *Lasars*, in co. of Leicester, with which all others were in some degree connected, and did hold an intercourse" (*Ibid.*, p. 56).

The only definitely recorded instance of a leper in the county of Bedford seems to be that of Gilbert de Saunervill, mentioned in a letter of Nicholas, Archdeacon of Bedford,<sup>1</sup> to Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury (1174-1184). Philip had sacrilegiously despoiled the chapel of Rocheshoe, in the parish of Flitwich, and being shortly afterwards struck with leprosy, acknowledged the justice of his punishment, made confession of his having by pressure and bribery obtained the original charters of the chapel from the resident priest, and with an additional donation of his own, restored all to its former state.

Bishop Hugh Wells of Lincoln, by his will, 1211,<sup>2</sup> left 100 marks to be distributed among the *leper hospitals of his diocese*, besides three marks each to *three other* similar hospitals in *Somerset*—in which county were *three others*. In the grant of Henry III. in 1236 to that of *S. Margaret* at Taunton, mention is made of a *master and brethren* of the hospital. As an evidence of the decrease of the disease in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it

<sup>1</sup> Hearne's *Chartulary of Dunstable Priory*.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Beaulieu Priory*.

is remarked that whereas even up to 1418 it is still styled a "leper hospital," in 1472 the inmates are called "*the poor, infirm, and leprous people*" of the hospital, and in 1548 the entry is, "Ther be w<sup>th</sup>in that same hospital vi *poore lazar people*," it being spared in the reign of Edward VI. as not being really a hospital, but an almshouse.

In 1223<sup>1</sup> a complaint was made by the poor lepers of the House of S. Mary de Prato to Pope Honorius III., against the Abbot of S. Alban's for harsh treatment, and a mandate issued accordingly.

## APPENDIX AC. (Chap. V, p. 76.)

### FARLEY HOSPITAL.

*Grant of Farley to Santingfield by Henry II. (January, 1156).*

"HENRICUS, Rex Angliæ & Dux Normanorum et Aquitaniæ & Comes Andegaviæ (Anjou), Episcopo Lincolnensi & justiciariis & vicecomitibus & baronibus & ministris & omnibus fidelibus suis de Bedefordshire & Buckinghamscyre, Salutem—Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse in perpetuam elemosinam Hospitali de Santingefelde juxta Wytsand, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, terram de Ferleya juxta Lectonam, usque ad terram ecclesiæ de Lectona; & usque ad terram Richardi, filii Wulwardi; & usque ad terram Gaufridi, mercatoris. Et totam terram de Wyperleya usque ad viam de Presteleya & sicut via dividit usque ad Harpendenam. Et in manerio de Luttegershala tres hidas terræ, & decem acras forestæ, ad ædificia sua facienda. Et volo & firmiter præcipio quod hæc omnia prædicta habeant & teneant in pace & libere & quiete, in bosco & in plano, in pratis & pascuis, & in omnibus locis, cum omnibus libertatibus & consuetudinibus suis.

"T(estibus), Thoma (à Becket), Cancellario, & Willielmo<sup>2</sup> fratri regis, & Ricardo de Hum(et), Constabulario, & War(ino),

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i. 90.

<sup>2</sup> William of Anjou, the king's brother. It was for his sake that at the previous Christmas (1155) Henry proposed in the council the conquest of Ireland, in order to make William king. Not meeting with the approval of Queen Eleanor, the suggestion fell to the ground. William died January 30th, 1164 (*Ancient Charters prior to 1200*, Pipe Roll Soc.).

filio Geroldi, camerario, & Manassero Byset, dapifero, Apud S. Audomarum (S. Omer).”—Dug., *Mon.*, vi., part 2, p. 639.

*No date* is attached to this grant, but there is internal evidence, even in the names of the first witness and of the place where it was signed, sufficient to show that it was made in the month of *January*, 1156. Thomas à Becket was only chancellor from 1154 to 1162. It was on the 10th of January in 1156 that Henry first visited the Continent after his accession, and *on that occasion alone* he crossed from Dover to *Witsand, along with Becket*, necessarily passing through S. Omer on his way to Rouen, where he is found on *February 4th*. As S. Omer is but a short distance from Witsand, it is evident that having arrived there, and having probably been entertained at the Hospital of Santingfield (close to Witsand), he desired to make some compensation or thank-offering to the hospital, expecting also, and intending, no doubt, to make frequent use of it.

Witsand,<sup>1</sup> being so nearly opposite Dover, and the passage between them being so short, was a more favourite place for landing, even for those going to Normandy, than any port in that country itself. Henry II., his son Henry, and his whole court frequently landed at or sailed from Witsand in later years. Once, however (in 1187), when he had just entered the harbour from Dover, so violent a gale came on that he was driven back the whole way, and had to remain three days at Dover before he could put to sea again.

The above date of the grant seems further established by the following :

The Great Roll of the Exchequer (or “Pipe Roll”), which contains the accounts of the revenues of the crown year by year, enumerates all deductions made from those revenues by *grants*, *etc.* It commences with the second year of Henry II.,<sup>2</sup> *December*

<sup>1</sup> It was while at Witsand in 1087, hastily embarking for England to seize the crown, that W. Rufus heard of the death of his father (*N. K.*, p. 80). In 1095 he spent four days at Christmastide there, and thence set sail for Dover (*A. S. Chron.*). Stephen also started from Witsand for Dover on the death of Henry I., 1135, in his race for the throne. After Calais came into the possession of the English (1347), it is to be presumed that they made that their ordinary place for embarking and disembarking. The Duke of Somerset, however, when sent to supersede Warwick in the governorship of Calais (1459), being refused admittance into that town, had to content himself with landing at Witsand Bay (Grafton, i. 662).

<sup>2</sup> There is indeed a MS. which contains extracts from the *Pipe Roll* of the

19th, 1155, and in this roll, which is only brought down, however, to Michaelmas<sup>1</sup> (September 29th), 1156, there is a clear reference to this grant. "Bucks and Beds. Henry of Essex, the constable, renders account of the farm of B. and B. . . . And in *land given to the Brethren of the Hospital of Witsand*. In Bruhulla (Luggershall, Bucks), 60s., and in Luitun, 40s." The membrane of the roll containing Beds of the following year is missing, but the rolls of the fourth<sup>2</sup> and many succeeding years (to the fifteenth inclusive—as many as have yet been published) are a repetition of the second year, and the same account recurs again in 1 Rich. I. and 3 John.

As, then, the grant was signed by Henry at S. Omer—he did not go to France until January 10th, 1156, and only within a short time after his arrival there could have been at S. Omer, spending the rest of his time on the Continent in Anjou and Normandy, and returning April 7th, 1157—and as the above notice of the grant occurs in the roll which closes on September 29th, 1156, before which day the hospital had evidently received part at least of its year's income, it may safely be inferred that it was in the early part of the year 1156 that the land of Farley was granted<sup>3</sup> out of the royal manor of Luton and the boundary of it, as "up to the land of the Church of Luton" recorded. It was some eighteen months after this (July, 1158) that Henry confirmed that "land of the church" to the Abbot of S. Alban's.

At the same time that the king made the above grants he issued

first as well as the second year of Hen. II., "Excerpta è rott. Pipæ, 1 & 2 Hen. II." (Vit. E. V. Brit. Mus.), and this does *not* make any allusion to Witsand, an omission which tallies with the above inference.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 454.

<sup>2</sup> In this and many succeeding *Pipe Rolls* (ten at least) occurs also the entry, under the head of alms, of "*contr'cto de Loituna, 30s. 5d.*" This is generally understood to mean "alms paid to a *maimed* man"—perhaps one of the king's disabled soldiers at Luton. It is singular that in the *Pipe Roll*, 1 Rich. I. (p. 31), 1199, and in *Rot. Cancell.* (p. 341), 3 John, 1201-2, this same sum of 30s. 5d. is entered in the *Bedfordshire* accounts as granted in alms to the brethren of the hospital of Witsand. It was, therefore, in all probability, given to Farley. It looks as if it were a grant from these kings for some special patient in Farley Hospital.

<sup>3</sup> This act on the part of Henry shows both that the Manor of Luton was still retained in his own hands, and also that, notwithstanding the king's professed, but hollow, objection to the alienation of royal manors, he himself did not hesitate when it suited him to grant away a part of one of them—his son Richard bestowing the rest of it upon one of his friends.

letters patent, signed by Becket as Chancellor, notifying the same to the hallmoters (tenants and attendants at the Court Baron) of Luton and Breholla, and forbidding injury or insult to the representatives of the hospital.

"H. Rex Angl̃ et Dux Norw̃ & Aquit̃ & Comes Andeg̃ toti Hallimoto de Lectona & Hallimota de Breholla Salim. Precipio qđ f̃res de hospitali de Sanctingefeld iuxta Witsandam teneant t̃ram suam totam quam eis dedi in elemosinam. Ita bene & in pace & iuste & lib̃e sicut carta mea eis testat̃ & phibeo nec quis eis inde iniuriam vel contumeliam faciat. T. Thoma Cañ apud S̃cm Audomař."

### *The History of Farley Hospital.*

The lands of Farley<sup>1</sup> and Whyperley, afterwards formed into distinct manors, together with three hides of land in the manor of Luttershall, Bucks, and ten acres of forest there for the erection of buildings thereon, were granted, as has been stated, by Henry II., January, 1156, to the Hospital of Holy Trinity, Santingfield, an institution under a master, administrator, or rector, of the Augustinian Order. "These lands" in Beds and Bucks, says Dugdale, "were afterwards colonized, and had subordinate hospitals with a master or masters and brethren settled in them. Upon the 'Terra de Ferleya' was erected the Hospital of Farle or Farley"; but at what exact date is not known, though probably soon after the conveyance of the land to Santingfield. The earliest ascertained direct mention of the hospital is in the year 1201-2 (3 John), when we have the name of one of its "masters," evidently a foreigner appointed by the rector of the Santingfield Hospital. In *Fines Pedum*, p. 30,<sup>2</sup> one Adam Niger claims against Mauger, *Master of Farleye*, the right of common pasture at Ketenho<sup>3</sup> (called also, *Fines*, 10 Rich.,

<sup>1</sup> Farley is called a manor as early at least as the *Pipe Roll*, 3 John, 1201-2, and again in *Cal. I. p. m.*, 1 Rich. II., 1377-78. Both Farley and Ludgershall are always spoken of as manors in the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> This same volume contains mention (10 Rich., 1198-99) of Richard of the *Brache* and (9 Rich.) of Reginald of the *Haie*, whilst "Excerpta e rot. fin. Hen. III." 1225, gives us the name of Fulco de *Hyde*. In *Fines Ped.* occurs also the name of another hamlet of the parish, Stopsley, though misspelt "Toppesley."

<sup>3</sup> This place, wherever situated, retained its name till at least 1772, *vide* Crawley Papers, No. 38, where it is styled Cotternho and Cothernhoe (upper and lower) closes.

"Cutheno," and, 1 John, "Cutenho"). Mauger, acknowledging the claim, grants to Adam in exchange three acres of land which lay between the ditch of the fraternity and the land of Adam, to be held of the hospital, rendering yearly eightpence for all services, etc. (Hunter's *Fines*, p. 30).

On January 28th, 1204, King John confirms the grant by Baldwin de Bethune of forty-five acres in Luton to the brethren of Santingfield.<sup>1</sup> Lipscomb (*Hist. of Bucks*, i. 305), under the head of Ludgershall, mentions a fine being exacted in 1238 of messuages and lands there, between Friar William, Master of the Hospital of *S. John Baptist*, of Farley, and William FitzRomari, of Ludgershall, the rights of the master and brethren of the hospital.

In *Rot. Hund.*, i., p. 4, 1272-1307, Farley is said to have been formerly of the lordship of Luton, and to have been given to Santingfield in free alms, to which is the strange addition, "but not known by what king, and the master of Santingfield now holds it of the king." In 1291 the master of Farley had "in Farle and in Lowton, in lands, rent, mill, and woods, £4 12s., and in Wardon, Beds, in rents, 6s."<sup>2</sup>

Upon the three hides at Luttergershall another hospital was erected, but though Prynn (iii. 591) mentions, without date, a brother J. Rokele as being master of both the hospitals, it is by no means certain that the same person was always master of both.

In 1347<sup>3</sup> a William Lachebury, "English chaplain," who had been custos of Farley Hospital (having been appointed by the King of England during the war with France), but who had been dispossessed on account of reports conveyed to the king by John de Felmersham, clerk, of the waste of woods, diminishing the chantries, etc., and the said John being then appointed in his place, was restored December 18th, in lieu of J. de Felmersham. According to *Inq. p. m.*, 49 Edw. III., 1375 (No. 74, p. 346), Sir Edw. de Kendall "held the hospital of Farley" ("ten' vocat Le Breyche, Luton, Farley hospit'"), but this probably only implies that he rented and farmed its property.

William de Wenlok,<sup>4</sup> priest, held the mastership from 1377 till his death in 1392.

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 118. Here, as in the case of Domesday, Morcar is called the priest of Liuton; the name Luiton has been misread Liuton, an easy mistake where the letter "i" is not dotted.

<sup>2</sup> *Tax. P. Nick. IV.*

<sup>3</sup> *Pat.*, 21 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat.*, 1 Rich. II., p. 5, *vide Family of Wenlock*.

In the *Taxatio P. Nic.*, 1291, a difference is made, as to the ownership of property in Bucks, between the master and brethren of Santingfield and the master of Farley, thus :

In the deanery of Wottesdon<sup>1</sup> it is "the *master and brethren of Santingfield* have in Lutegarshall in lands and rents, £2 19s. 8d.," but in the deanery of Buckingham it is "*the master of Farley* has in Caversfeld in rents 14s." It would almost seem from this as if there were at this period no separate master of Lutegarshall, but that any overplus of income derived from Lutegarshall went direct to Santingfield. Also in *Rot. Hund.*, p. 24, 4 Ed. I., it is the *brethren of "Sontingesfeld,"* and not any *master at Lutegarshall*, who are said to hold three hydes in the vill of Lutegarshall of the gift of the king, the value being 8 lb. per ann.—their soc being at the court of Brehull, where they have view of francpledge, etc.<sup>2</sup>

It does not seem improbable, however, that in later times the two institutions were under one head, just as the properties, before their confiscation, were farmed by one and the same person (George Rotheram, *e.g.*, in 1531) and were eventually sold together, 1554.

The following writ of *certiorari*, issued apparently at the time of W. Wenlok's appointment as master of Farley, seems to point to such an union: "Breve de Certiorari ad inquirendo de Ludegarsall parcell' cujusdam priorati alieniq' ad maner' de Farlee in com. Bedford et que pertinet ad hospital de Sandingfeld juxta Calesicum" (*Cal. I. p. m.*, vol. iii., 1 Ric. II., 1377-78).

On the other hand, neither W. Lachebury in 1347, nor W. de Wenlock in 1377, seem to be spoken of as master of Ludgershall.

In 1431<sup>3</sup> the hermitage or chapel of Farley, S. John the Baptist, was robbed of the relics of S. Luke, which, however, were speedily recovered.

Being attached to an alien institution, it was probably more or less affected by the laws of Hen. V. and Hen. VI.,<sup>4</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai IV.*, p. 46: "Magr̄ & fr̄es de Stuntyngefeld (*note* Sontinfeld) h'nt in Lutegarshall in t̄ris & redd' £2 19s. 8d."; p. 47: "Magr̄ de Farleye h't in ibidm (*i.e.*, Cauesfeld) de redd' 14s."

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Hund.*, p. 24, 4 Ed. I. (1329-30): "Lotegershall, Bucks. Fratres de Sontingesfeld tenēt tres hyd̄ p̄re i ead villa d' dono R. & valet p̄ ann. octo libras & facient sectā in curia d' Brehull & h'nt visum f'anc pleg p̄ visum ballioꝝ in Brehull."

<sup>3</sup> J. Amundesham's *Chron.*, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> In 1414 Henry V. was empowered to use the income of all *priories* of foreign orders in the kingdom to the number of 122, but hospitals do not



income forbidden to be given to Santingfield while war with France was being carried on. On February 24, 1448, however, it was transferred from the mother hospital, and with other lands was granted by Hen. VI. to his new foundation of King's College, Cambridge. In the *Patent*, 26 Hen. VI. (p. i., m. 7), besides Farley, Luton, and Wyperly, there are mentioned as connected with the hospital, lands in Priestley and Harpenden, but as we do not hear anything of the acquisition of these lands, it may only have been an expression arising from the wording of the original grant.

A question arose with regard to the tithes, referred to in *Reg. Abb. Mon. S. Alb.*, ii. 289. Among the matters which the Archdeacon of S. Alban's was sent in 1487 by the convent to Rome to "expedite," occurs, "ut interpretetur Rescriptum Apostolicum pro decimis terrarum domini de Farely in parochia de Lutone, in manibus laicorum existentibus." There seems to be nothing to show what the contents or meaning of the rescript were, but it probably had some reference to the agreement, three times alluded to in the mutilated volume formerly belonging to the abbey (Otho, D., iii., pp. 110, 111, Brit. Mus.), but the dates of which, except in one case, are not to be made out. They are as follows :

1. Agreement between S. Alban's Abbey and Whitsand Priory as to tithes of Farlaie belonging to Leuton Church.

Whitsand to receive the tithes and to pay a certain yearly sum (amount illegible, but mentioned in two succeeding deeds as 5s.) to S. Alban's.

2. Translacio litis sopite inter Abb. de S. Alb. and Mag., etc., etc., de Suntyngfeld as to tithes of fifty acres of land in Hoke Mairrugge in Farleie, under the seal of "E." (Eustace), Bishop of Ely (1195-1215).

3. Agreement between the same as to the same.

It is not easy to reconcile this claim of tithes even upon fifty acres out of the whole Farley estate, with the fact that King Henry's gift having been made before the second Lateran Council (1179), the tithes went with the lands to Whitsand Hospital. It would seem rather as if there had been some special deed of assignment of the tithes of these fifty acres previously, either to the rector of Luton or to S. Alban's Abbey, and if the rescript refers to the same, that they were the *demesne* of Farley. The fact that only fifty

seem to have been included in this grant, nor is either Santingfield or Farley named among the above number.

acres are spoken of as titheable, is corroborative evidence that at this time the rest was exempt, as it is known to have been long before the Reformation and ever since. If they were not spoken of as being "in Farley," it might have been conjectured with much probability that they were the same as the "forty-five acres" (with a slight addition made afterwards by somebody), given by Baldwin de Bethune and confirmed by King John, November 6th, 1203 (*Rot. Chart.*, pp. 112, 113). It is still quite possible that they were so, as Henry did not say that he gave the whole land of Farley, and Baldwin's gift may have been situated in Farley.

The later history of the hospital until its suppression is in still greater obscurity. As, however, it is found at the period of the Reformation among the newly-dissolved religious houses, and as "the chapel of Farley" is also then mentioned, it may be inferred without hesitation that it was continued to the end as a hospital.<sup>1</sup>

In Speed's *Chronicle* it is thus entered under *Bedfordshire*, with its valuation: "*The Hospitall of Sanctingfield nere Whitsand, £61 5s. 8½d.*"

In 1554 Queen Mary granted it away from the crown.

"George Rotheram and Roger Barbor, June 24th, 1 Mary (1554). Request to purchase (1) farm of the chapel of Farley in the parish of Luton, with the manors of Farley and Wyperly, and the manor of Ludgershall, Bucks, being parcel of the lands and possessions of the late hospital of Santingfelde, near the town of Cales in the co. of Guisnes."

There are a few other allusions to Farley Hospital.

1330. Placita apud Bedford 4 Ed. III. Quo war. rot. 39 dorso, "pro libertatis hospitalis de Santingfield in Farley," &c.

1331. Cart. 5 Ed. III., No. 84.

1413-4. Pat. 1 H. V., p. 1, m. 10, 11 vel, 12.

1429-30. Pat. 8 H. VI., p. 2, m.

1461. Pat. 1 Ed. IV., p. 6.

It is perhaps from confusing the two parts of George Rotheram's purchase in 1554 that the idea became prevalent that Farley and Whypersly had belonged to S. Alban's, whereas it was only certain lands mentioned in the second part of the purchase which had be-

<sup>1</sup> It is said by Lysons, who is quoted both by Nichols (*Progresses of Jas. I.*, i. 519) and by Davis, to have passed by exchange from King's College to S. Alban's, but besides there being no evidence whatever of this, it seems contradicted by the total omission of any reference to the fact in the documents of the abbey or in writings relating to it (*Newcome, Computus Ministrorum*, etc.).

longed to them. The request to purchase (June 24th) and the grant (June 30th) both draw the distinction clearly.

1. Farm of the chapel of Farley in the parish of Luton, with the manors of Farley and Wyperly, and the manor of Ludgershall, Bucks, 'being *parcel of the lands and possessions of the late Hospital of Santingfelde* near the town of Cales in the co. of Guines.

2. *A meadow in the parish of Luton*, now in the tenure of the vicar of the church of Luton, *late belonging to the monastery of S. Albans*.<sup>1</sup>

George Rotheram, the original purchaser from the crown of Farley, was the illegitimate son of George, the second son of Sir J. Rotheram, of Someries, and Alice Beckett, who was appointed apparitor at York by his uncle, Archbishop Rotheram, 1497. His purchase is described in the letters patent (1 Queen Mary, 1553) as embracing two distinct properties: (1) the farm of the chapel of Farley, in the parish of Luton, with the manors of Farley and Wyperly, and the manor of Ludgershall, Bucks, being parcel of the lands and possessions of the late Hospital of Santingfelde, near the town of Cales, in the co. of Guines; and (2) a chapel in the parish of Hawnes ("Farm of S. Machutus," valued at £5 per annum.—*Computus Ministrorum*) belonging to said monastery, and lands in the parish of Eyton (Eaton Bray), Studham, Tottenhoe, Billington, and Pulloxhill, given for maintenance of lights in sundry churches. It is difficult to decide whether the following references apply to him or to his son George. In 16 Eliz. (1573-4) a George Rotheram was called upon to show cause why the manors of Farley, Whippersly, and Luggershall should not be seized into the hands of the queen by reason of alienation.

Next he was licensed to alienate. In 22 Eliz., 1579, he is mentioned as possessing Litgrave, Stoppesly, etc. In 1587, a G. Rotheram of Farley owned Bury Hill. In 32 Eliz., 1589-90, a G. Rotheram of Farley is mentioned.

G. Rotheram died November 5th, 1593; brass 1593; will dated November 9th, 1590, proved May 2nd, 1594. Died seized of manor of Farley and Wiperly. Lands entailed on G. Rotheram, his eldest son, twenty-eight years old and upwards (*i.e.*, born c. 1566).

<sup>1</sup> If this was the same land held by J. Gwynneth (as it seems must have been the case), which is referred to as having been valued at too high a price, it would appear that it was sold separate from the manor of Dollowe, and along with lands confiscated as having been devoted to superstitious uses.

Some time after his death, but before 1603, his widow Ann (who married, secondly, Edw. Hugeford), brought a suit in Chancery against her stepson, George, the eldest son of her husband by his first wife, Eliz. Bardolf, for her marriage settlement on manors of Farley and Wiperly (*Proceedings in Chanc., Eliz.*, vol. iii., p. 72).

A little later (*Ibid.*, p. 409), *George Rotheram* of Farley brought a suit (claim by descent) against his stepmother *Ann (widow)* and her son, *Isaac Rotheram*, concerning "*Lands in Luton, late part of the possession of the dissolved monastery of S. Albans, and a chapel in the parish of Hawnes, lately belonging to said monastery, and lands in parish of Eyton, etc., given for maintenance of lights, all which premises were granted by Q. Mary, in Luton parish, in the first year of her reign, to George Rotherham, plaintiff's grandfather.*"

Later, again (*Ibid.*, p. 428), *Thomas Rotherham*, the second son of Ann, instituted a suit against his half-brother *George*, under two deeds of gift, for an annuity of £10, issuing out of the manor of Farley, and a lease of land in Luton, both of them given to the plaintiff by G. Rotheram, deceased, his father.

Later, again (p. 430), *Isaac Rotheram*, Ann's eldest son, instituted a suit against his mother, *Ann Rotheram*, widow of G. Rotheram, deceased, under a deed of gift, the premises being "the manors of Farley and Wiperly, and divers lands in Farley and Wiperly, and in Luton and Caddington, late the estate of said Geo. Rotheram, plaintiff's father, who devised the same to plaintiff for a term of years for his maintenance."

Another suit (p. 381) was brought by *George Rotheram* against *Ann Rotheram*, Ralph Sheldon, *Isaac Rotherham*, and Wm. Chyld, being a claim under settlement, and the premises the manors of Farley and Wiperly and manor of Luggershall, and divers lands and tenements in parish, hamlet, fields of Farley, Wiperly, Luton, and Caddington, late estate of Geo. Rotheram, deceased, plaintiff's father, part of which he settled to the use of plaintiff.

Another suit (p. 384) was brought by *Ann Rotherham, widow*, against *Isaac Rotheram* and J. Claydon, being a claim under settlement, the premises being the manors of Farley and Wiperly, land in Beds, late estate of G. Rotheram, Esq., plaintiff's late husband, and by him settled as stated in will.

## APPENDIX AD. (Chap. V., p. 79.)

CONFIRMATIONS TO S. ALBAN'S OF THE CHURCHES  
OF LUTON, HOUGHTON, AND POTTESGROVE.

*Cott. Otho, D. III.; Dug., Mon., ii. 228; Clutterbuck, Hist. of  
Herts, I. App. pp. 5 and 6.*

*Henry II, 1176.*

CONSEDO insuper & confirmo Abbati & Monachis S. Albani, ad sustentationem Coquinæ Hospitum ecclesias di Lintona (*sic*, Luitona?) et de Hoctuna et de Potesgrava, cum omnibus terris & homagiis & decimis omni modis, tam de sartis si fiant, quam de terris quocumque tempore cultis, . . . et terram de Luctuna in Bedfordshire . . . consedo et confirmo.

*Testibus*, Rothero Abp. Rothomagi, Ric<sup>o</sup>. Wint, Ric<sup>o</sup> Cov<sup>trie</sup> Ric<sup>o</sup> Naumer, Ep<sup>s</sup>; W<sup>o</sup> fil Aldæ, dapifero, Ric de Camulla (Camvilla), Gilberto Malet, dapifero, Aluredo de S. Martino, W<sup>o</sup> de Albereio, Ric<sup>o</sup> de Anfai, Giraldo de Camulla. *Apud Wyn-toriam.*

The date of this charter, though none is attached to it, can be approximately arrived at, with considerable confidence, by the signature of the witnesses, and the place where it was signed. As Richard (Toclive) was not consecrated Bishop of Winchester till October 6th, 1174, and Richard (Peché), Bishop of Coventry, died October 6th, 1182, the charter must have been granted between those dates. Also, it was signed when both the king and Rotron, Archbishop of Rouen, were at Winchester. Henry was there for a few days (for the first time) on October 31st, 1175, when, *possibly*, the archbishop was with him, though it is not so stated, but the king returned again at Easter (April 4th) in the following year, remaining there till May 25th; and he was subsequently present at the Winchester Council, August 15th, when it is expressly recorded that the Archbishop of Rouen,<sup>1</sup> as well as other French bishops, were present. (R. de Hovedon, ii. 99.) After the council the archbishop was sent on an embassy to Sicily, and seems never to have returned to England again.

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Rouen and the French bishops were requested to examine into and arbitrate between the claims to precedence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Perry, i. 271).

The title assigned to the last bishop who witnessed the deed, written variously "Naumer" (Dug., *Mon.*), and "Natmer" (Clutterbuck), is evidently a misreading of the original, as there was no foreign bishopric in existence at that date of any title akin to either name. It was meant, apparently, to indicate some Norman see, two only of which were then held by a Richard, viz., those of Avranches and Coutances. The presence of either of these on that occasion adds to the probability that the document was signed during the summer months of A.D. 1176. There were no other Richards, bishops of English sees at the time, besides those of Winchester and Coventry.

*Richard I., 1198.*

Concedimus insuper et confirmamus Abbati et Monachis S. Albani, ad sustentationem Coquinæ hospitum, Ecclesias de Liuton (*sic*, Luiton ?) et de Hochtuna et de Potesgrave, cum omnibus terris et homagiis et decimis omni modo, tam de sartis (si) fiant, quam de terris quocumque tempore cultis. Et terram de Sutton (*sic*, Lutton, Luton ?) in Bedfordschire.

Testibus, Huberto Cantuarie Arch.

Apud Rupen Audel 13 Nov. anno regni nostri decimo.

*John, A.D. 1199.*

Concedimus . . . ad sustentationem Coquinæ Hospitum Ecclesias de Leuton (Dug., *Mon.*) (Luiton, *Clutterbuck*) de Hochtun (*Dm.*, Houton, C.) et de Podesgrave cum terra (cum omnibus terris,—et terram, C.) in Sutton (*sic*, Luton ?) in Bedfordsyra.

Testibus, Huberto Cant. Arch. W<sup>o</sup>. London, Hugh Lincoln, Herbert Sarum, Ep<sup>s</sup>, W. Marshall Comes de Pembroke.

11 June, 1 John, apud Westm.

Carta 2 Edw. IV. (1462) m. 24 Inspeximus, containing an Inspeximus of Henry III.

## APPENDIX AE. (Chap. V., p. 85.)

### MARRIAGE CONTRACT BETWEEN ALICE DE BETHUNE AND WILLIAM MARSHALL

*Rotuli Chartarum, November 6th, 5 John, 1203 (pp. 112, 113).*

Joh's Dī grā ꝑc. Noŷitis nos fecisse maritagiū de Witto filio  
Witlmi Marescaŷ com̄ de Penbroc ꝑ Alicia filia B. de Bettuñ

comitis de Alburna, f q id B. Coñ dedit ei cū ea p̄dies suos totam terrā suā Angt in maritag, sciit in Kantia, Braborñ ꝑc? in Bedfordesir Luyton, in Norfolk Solesham, in Berksir Wancting, in Worcestir Sauernestok, in Northamp. Norton, hñda el tēn &c. salva dote H. Comitisse uxoris p̄di B. Coñ. Et si c̄tigit Adeliçiā p̄dčam decedē p̄dčs W. fili p̄dči W. Com. attam filiā p̄dči B. Comitiss, si Ds eam ei dedit, hēbit ī uxore cū p̄dčō maritagio; si v° de p̄dčō W. filio p̄dči W. Coñ humanit̄ c̄tigit, Rič Junior fili suus hēbit p̄dčam filiam cū p̄dčō maritagio; et si p̄dčs B. Coñ obierit, p̄dčs W. Com Maresc hēbit om̄s p̄dčas īras ī custodia ad op̄ filii sui f filie p̄dči B. Com, licz īpa infra etatī sit. Si aut̄ dcs Coñ aliq° adg° sicdēm fuit ī Angt, īpa tota remanebit p̄dčō W. filio p̄dči W. Coñ vl R. filio suo p̄dči Alicie vl sorori sue, sic p̄dčm est. Hoc itaq maritagiū c̄cedim̄ f hac carta n̄ra confirmam̄, īpi W. filio p̄dči W. Coñ habendū f tenendū jure h̄reditario s' f h̄redibz suis in om̄ibz p̄dčis terris, cū om̄ibz p̄tinentiis suis &c. sic p̄dčs B. Coñ. ea unq° meli f libi tenuit.

T. J. Norwic Ep̄o, W. Coñ Arundell, W. Coñ Safr, R. Com Cesti, Hug le Bigot, Gilb. de Clara, G. filfeř, Thom. Basset, Pet de Stok.

## APPENDIX AF. (Chap. V., p. 85.)

### KING JOHN'S CONFIRMATION OF THE GRANT BY EARL BALDWIN OF LAND IN LUTON TO SANTINGFIELD.

*Rotuli Chartarum, p. 118, 5 John, 1204.*

CONF'RM de { J. de g. R. &c. Sciatis (nos) īntuitu Dī f p salute  
Suttingsfeld. } añcessor̄z f successor̄z n̄ro3 concessisse, f presenti  
cartū n̄ra c̄masse, frat'bz hospital de Suntingfeld q'draginē q'ug acf ī  
Liutoñ (Luiton) q's h̄nt de dono Baldewin de Bettoñ Coñ Albemar  
ī purā f ppetuā elemosina. Q're volum̄ f f'mei p̄cipim̄ q p̄dči fr̄s  
hospital de Suntingfeld h̄ant f teneant XLV acf bñ f ī pace, libe  
f qu'ete integ, plenarie f honorifice ī om̄ibz locis f rebz cū om̄ibz  
libtatibz f libis c'suetudinibz ad illas XLV acf p̄tinentz sic carta  
p̄fat Baldewin q h̄nt rōabiřr testat.

T. J. Norwic f W. W. Lond. Ep̄is. G. fil Pet coñ Es̄ Gunf de Seay, ꝑc p mañ Sim̄ppositi Beo'l ꝑc.

Apud Lambeth xxviiij die Jan ann regn̄ n̄ri qu'to.

## APPENDIX AG. (Chap. V., p. 87.)

## PEDES FINIUM.

*Vol. i., p. 10 (Fines, 7 Ric. I.-16 John).*

FEB. 24, 9 Ric. I., 1198. "Hec est finat concord fca in cū dñ Reḡ aḡd Bedeford in die S̄r Mathi anno Regni Reḡ Riē ix, corā G. fit Pet', Steph de Tornehā, Siñ de Pateshiff, Joh de Gestliges, Jacobo de Poſne Justiā ꝑ aliis baronibz dñi Reḡ ꝑc ibi ꝑsentibz. Inꝑ Joh de Sandoñ petentē et Reginald de la Haie tenente de quatuor v'gat t're cū ꝑtin i Luitone. Uñ placit fuit inꝑ eos i ꝑfat cur scit qđ ꝑdc̄s Reginald rečgnōv totā ꝑdcām ꝑrā cū ꝑtin ēē jus ꝑ hēditatē ꝑdc̄i Joh. Et ꝑ hoc fine ꝑ cōcord ꝑ rečgniē, ꝑdc̄s Joh ccessit ꝑdcō Reginald ꝑ hēredibz suis totā ꝑdcām ꝑrā cū ꝑtin tenendā de se ꝑ de hēdibz suis ippetuū ꝑ ōiē v soꝝ ꝑ ann ꝑ ōi ōiē qđ ad eū ꝑtinet, salvo ōiē qđ *ad dominū Regi ꝑtinet ꝑ ad dñm feod.* Et idē Joh recipiet v soꝝ scit de feodo qđ *Magist Roḡ de Luttoñ* tenz xii. deñ de vj ac's ꝑre ꝑ de t'bz rodīs ꝑre ꝑ de uno ꝑ'to de eodē feod scit ad festū s̄ci Mich vj deñ ꝑ ad Pasch vj deñ iꝑe Roḡ ꝑdcō Joh homagiū suū fecit et de Fulcoñ de la Hide iiij soꝝ de diñ molen-dino de eodē feod uñ iꝑe Fulco ꝑdcō Joh homagiū suū fecit scit ad festū s̄ci Mich ij sol ꝑ ad Pasch ij sol. Et ꝑ hoc fine ꝑ cōcord ꝑ ccesione ꝑdc̄s Reginald dedit ꝑdcō Joh v marē argent."

Amongst the earliest existing records of the suits which took place in the king's courts are the *Fines* or *Pedes Finium*, a volume of which, extending from 7 Ric. I., 1175-76 to 16 John, 1214-15, was published by the Record Commission. These supply us with some of the earliest names of the small landowners of Luton, the extent of their holdings, and the enfeoffments which went on continually amongst them, and also with many local place-names.

Thus, in 1198 John de Sandon assigns to Reginald de la Haie and his heirs the fourth part of a virgate of land in Luton at five shillings per annum. Of this, one shilling was to be paid by Magister Roger de Luiton, and four shillings, from his holding of half a mill, by Fulke de la Hide,<sup>1</sup> both of them sub-tenants of

<sup>1</sup> Fulke died 9 H. III., 1225, holding from the king 3 virgates, 50 acres, 2 messuages and half of a mill, paying for services 37s. (and 4), John, his son, to



Richard. When they did homage to John, Reginald paid John five marks for the concession.

The following year Adam Niger and his wife Sarah have a suit with Richard de la Brache, the tenant of half a croft in Cutheno in Luton, and a little later on, Adam petitions against the same Richard concerning twelve acres, of which ten lie within the cultivated land of Cutenho and two without; whilst Richard, son of Philip, petitions against Adam Niger, who held the whole cultivated land of Cutenho. Two years later, again, there was a suit between the said Adam Niger and brother Mauger, the master of Farley and the brethren there, concerning common pasturage in Ketenho (Cutenho), which the former claimed against the latter. Mauger gives in exchange for it three acres which lie below the ditch of the brethren, facing the land of Adam, to be held by Adam and his heirs of the said brethren and their successors for ever, rendering eight pence a year for all services and exactions. If through the action of said brethren Adam loses the three acres, then the said common right is to return to him.

In 1204 there was a suit between Adam Lewar and William, son of Thurgive, concerning half a virgate of land in Luton; and another between Alice, the daughter of Ralph Harding, and Alex. d'Asserege, tenants of a virgate in Topesleye (Stopesley).

In 1206-7 John de Stoppesley sued Richard, son of William, the tenant of twenty acres in Stoppesey. John concedes to Richard sixteen of the said twenty acres, viz., eight acres in Stockiz (Stockings, 9 acres, 1 rood, 19 perches, belonging to the Ashton Charity, 1844), and eight in Pretescroft (Priestscroft), to be held for ever of John and his heirs at 2s. per annum.

A few deeds relating to Luton of the time of Henry III. are still extant, which supply us with the names and a transaction or two of certain landowners of the parish. There is, *e.g.*, 46 Hen. III., 1261-62, a release from Roger de Brayahal to Robert de Ho, son of Robert de Ho, of forty-four acres of land, etc., in Stoppillee, concerning which he had a suit against the said Robert at Bedford (the witnesses being Roger de la Hyde, Rob. de Bradefelt, Laurence de Offinton, clericus, and Alan de Bramwilhangil); and of the same date, an exchange by Thos. (de Brayahal), Ric. (de Brayahal), and Henry de Brayahal, with Rob. de Ho of fifty acres of land, etc., in Brayahal (in Stopsley), without the houses, pay relief. Winchester, 13th March.—Roberts, *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, i. 126.

woods, etc., for fifty acres, with the houses, woods, etc., of the value of twenty marks, in East Hide (*Add. Chart.*, Brit. Mus., Nos. 28,682 and 12,697).

### APPENDIX AH. (Chap. V., p. 88.)

#### TEXT OF EARL BALDWIN'S CONFIRMATION OF PRIVILEGES TO S. ALBAN'S.

*Chron. and M.*, No. 28. *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, vol. i., p. 421: "*Nota de Feira tenta apud Luton.*"  
*Marg. note*: "*Grant by Baldwin de Betune, Earl of Albemarle, of a Fair at Luton, to J. de Celle, Abbot of S. Alban's.*"

"BALDUWYNUS DE BETUNE, Comes de Aubemarle, omnibus fidelibus, tum presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Notum sit vobis, controversiam fuisse inter me et Johannem, Abbatem Sancti Albani de Feira de Lutuna, quæ est in Assumptione Beate Mariæ, et de stallis quæ homines Abbatis habebant, et de cultura de Wngeheard, et de terra de Waltuna, et de terra de Craulea, et de bosco usque viam bosci de Curegge, et de stagno molendini Abbatis, et de piscaria a molendino usque ad pontem del nort. Ego autem inquisivi per meos homines, et per vicinos, quod prædicta Feira debet esse Abbatis, quacunque die Festum Assumptionis e venerit, præter venditionem auri, et equorum, et corii tannati et hominum qui antiquitus vendebantur, et quodcunque (quotcunque, *Hearne*) stalla, et duas arcas (archas in MS.) et unam Shoppam debet in Mercato; et quod homines Abbatis debent habere libertates quas habuerunt tempore quo Manerium fuit Regis. Ideo hæc, et omnia prædicta, concedo Abbati et suis hominibus, possidenda libere et quiete, cum pascuis et exitibus, et liberis consuetudinibus et cum omnibus suis libertatibus, sicut unquam melius, et liberius, et quietius, tenuerent. Et si Mercatum forte remotum fuerit ad alium locum, vel aliquo modo mutatum, ego eis assignabo totidem stalla in locis opportunis. Hiis testibus, Waltero de Haseltuna, Rudulfo de Ho, Waltero de Lutuna, Fulcone de Hyde, Willelmo de Sisserverna, Laurentio de Thebrigge, Magistro Albano, Magistro Rogero de Lutuna, Magistro Rogero de Eleswurde, Nicolao Dispensatore, Johanne de Wilcestria, Philippo de Sisserverna, Johanne filio Gileberti de la Hide, Waltero Bacun, Willelmo de Walmunt, cum multis aliis."

## APPENDIX AI. (Chap. V., p. 93.)

## BISCOT.

A MISTAKE, doubly unfortunate, inasmuch as it has been adopted in part by the Ordnance Survey, has been made by Davis (p. 99), who states that a considerable house for nuns, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was founded here by *Roger*, abbot of S. Alban's (1260-1291). He was misled in part by Speed (*vide Vis. of Beds*, 1582, p. 58), who, in his *Chronicle*, enumerating the religious houses in Beds, with their value at the date of their suppression, places under this county, instead of in Herts, in which shire it is now reckoned, and also misprinting the name "*Bisco*" for "*Bosco*," a nunnery founded by Abbot Geoffrey about 1145, properly called that of "Holy Trinity de *Bosco*" (*i.e.*, "*in the wood*")—or popularly from its proximity to Merkgate, "Market-cell"), in the parish of Caddington. Speed's words are, "Nunnery of *Bisco* nere Merkgate, £143 18s. 3d.,"<sup>1</sup> which name Davis has transformed into "*Biscot*," at Luton, describing the existence still of many interesting remains of it there.<sup>2</sup> However interesting these ancient buildings may be, they certainly did not form part of the nunnery to which they are ascribed; nor from their character were they ever likely to have belonged to any religious house, especially one

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale (*Mon. i.*, p. 117) gives it correctly, as taken from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library, with the *net* income, and not the gross, as given by Davis, "*De Bosco*, Ab. Bened. £114 16s. 1d."

<sup>2</sup> "There are some portions of this building still remaining, which form part of the farmhouse now in the occupation of Mr. Kidman. It must have been a place of great strength and extent, as the walls now standing are very thick. At one end of the house are two strong buttresses of Totternhoe stone, evidently part of the original building. Some of the chimney-pieces, in their original completeness, still remain; they are massive, and built of the same stone. The timbers in various parts of the building are of oak, and of great strength. In the roof, which undoubtedly formed part of the chapel, the timbers are richly moulded; across the centre—forming one of the tie beams—is a curved beam of oak, of an immense depth and thickness, well wrought, and with the appearance of having been polished. There are many other remains of the original structure interesting to the antiquarian. In all parts of the garden adjoining are remains of strong foundations. A deep moat surrounds the site, and a portion of the drawbridge may still be seen. The house and garden form a quadrangle" (Davis, p. 99).

for women. The moat<sup>1</sup> and drawbridge, and the thickness of the walls, seem to point rather to some moated house or castle, such as Robert Fitzwalter might have erected.

### APPENDIX AJ. (Chap. V., p. 95.)

#### ENFEOFFMENT OF REINALDUS DE BISSOPESCOTE.

ABBOT ROBERT'S deed of enfeoffment, as well for its own intrinsic interest, as from its being the only example we have of any such enfeoffment of land in the parish in connection with S. Alban's, is here given.

*Enfeoffment by Robert, Abbot, of Reginald de Bisshupescote, with the half hide of land which Alan de Winchester and Christina his wife had given to S. Alban's in free alms, at the rent of 20s. per annum for all services.*

"Chirographum in<sup>o</sup> Rob' Abbem ꝑ convn<sup>o</sup> Sti Albani & Reinaldū de Bisshupescote de dimidia hida ꝑre in eadem villa.

"Notum sit tam ꝑsentibus qm̄ futuris, qđ Ego Robertus, Abbas & Conventus Sti Albani concessimus Reinaldo de Bisshupescote & heredibus suis tenendam de nobis in feudo firma dimidiā hidam ꝑre in Bissupescote quam Alan de Wintonia & Christina ux' ejus dederunt in elemosinam ecclesie Sti Albani, de qua reddetur cellaraꝝ monachoꝝ singulis annis viginti solidos pro om̄i servicio quod ad nos ꝑtinet; Cum qua terra recepit a cellaraꝝ monachoꝝ sexaginta oves, singlas sex denar' appreciatas. Cum vero Reinaldus decesserit sui heredes succedentes pro liberatione ejusdem ꝑre dabunt cellarario monachoꝝ viginti solidos annū censuꝝ quem ex inde solvi debent.

"Test<sup>o</sup> Walt<sup>o</sup> fil Reinald' Alfstearo de Naegria Osmund Scriptorum (Li)gatore Radulfo."

<sup>1</sup> In a map of Biscot (*pene*s J. S. Crawley), 1734 A.D., the moat is called "Oakley's Moat."

## APPENDIX AK. (Chap. V., p. 96.)

## ROBERT FITZWALTER.

THE following is Burke's account (*Extinct Peerage*) of this feudal lord :

"In 1198 he succeeded his father, Walter Fitzrobert, in the barony of Dunmow in Essex, and the honour of Baynard's Castle and other large possessions. Upon the assessment of the scutage of Scotland, 13 John (1211), he had the king's especial writ of acquittal for sixty-three knights' fees and a half, which were of his own proper inheritance, and for thirty knights' fees and a third part, which he had acquired by marriage (with Gunnora, daughter and heiress of Robert de Valonies). But the next year he was forced to fly with his family into France in order to avoid being arrested, upon the first disposition of the barons to revolt ; and was soon afterwards charged with treason and rebellion, when his house, called Baynard's Castle, in the city of London, was demolished by order of the king. [*His lands* (and that of others) were also *confiscated* in 1212 (M. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Madden), ii. 131).] He subsequently made his peace with King John, by the great prowess and valour he displayed at a tournament held in Normandy before the kings of France and England, the latter restoring him his barony and giving him liberty to rebuild his castle of Baynard. In the 17 of John (1215-16) he had so far regained the confidence of the crown, that he was appointed governor of the castle at Hertford, but soon after, arraying himself under the baronial banner, *his lands were all seized*, and those in Cornwall committed to Prince Henry, the king's son : a course of proceeding that had the immediate effect of riveting the haughty baron to the cause which he had espoused, while his high rank, tried courage, and acknowledged abilities, soon gave him a lead among his compeers. We find him, therefore, amongst the first commissioners nominated to treat with the king ; when it was agreed, that the city of London should be delivered up to the barons, and twenty-five of those powerful feudal chiefs chosen to govern the realm. The insurrectionary lords subsequently assembled at S. Edmundsbury, and there pledged themselves, by solemn oath at the high altar, that if the king refused to confirm

the laws and liberties granted by Edward the Confessor, they would withdraw their allegiance from him and seize upon his fortresses. After which, forming themselves into a regular army, they appointed this Robert Fitzwalter their general, with the title of 'Marshal of the Army of God and the Church,' and, under his command, they eventually extorted the Great Charter of Freedom from John on the plains of Runnymede (15th June, 1215), when Fitzwalter was elected one of the celebrated twenty-five appointed to see the faithful observance of those laws. He continued, during the remainder of John's reign, equally firm to his purpose; and after the accession of Henry III. (28th October, 1216), until the battle of Lincoln, 1217, when the baronial army sustained a signal defeat under his command, and he became a prisoner himself, after displaying a more than ordinary degree of valour. He does not appear, however, to have remained long under restraint, for we find him the very next year in the Holy Land, and assisting at the great siege of Damietta. He married twice, and died in 1234, being succeeded by his son, Walter Fitzwalter."

## APPENDIX AL. (Chap. VI., p. 100.)

### TURVEY.

THE decree, which Harvey saw only in MS., and mistook for an ordination of a vicarage at Turvey, has since been published in the *Liber Antiquus* of Bishop Wells (p. 84), which, though consisting chiefly of the ordination of vicars, contains towards its close (pp. 72-106) numerous other deeds, such as appropriations, pensions, ratifications, confirmations, etc. It is amongst these latter that the above decree, dated 1218, is found, and its title at once discloses its nature. "Appropriation of a moiety of the church of Torneya, and its ordination." The word vicarage does not occur in it. The bishop therein first grants to S. Neots (with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln), a moiety of the church, the advowson of which belongs to them, as a perpetual benefice—particularizing from whom they were to receive their portion of tithes, etc. The other moiety of the church, Richard de Wiestun, clerk—whom, on their presentation, he had admitted to the said moiety, and instituted him as parson (rector) thereof—

and his successors, duly presented and instituted, were to possess fully and in perpetuity. This moiety is to consist of all the other half of the sheaves of the parish, and the whole altarge and the tenement of William the Monk, and Turbunt, and Hugh the cobbler, and their services. A messuage also, with a garden, which Magister Waren held of the demesne of the prior, was granted by the prior to Richard and his successors. The tithes of mills in the parish, or of any other titheable things, now or hereafter rightly belonging to the church, were to be equally divided between the two parties, as were also the episcopal and archidiaconal "burdens." All the succeeding incumbents are consequently called rectors, or rectors of one moiety of the church; and, according to the above arrangement, in the taxation of 1291, it is implied, though the share of S. Neots is called a portion, that, as in the instances of Elstow and Houghton Conquest, there were two rectors, each rectory being valued at the same amount, viz., £8 13s. 4d.

## APPENDIX AM. (Chap. VI., p. 100.)

### LIBER ANTIQUUS HUGONIS WELLS.

THIS book is of so much ecclesiastical interest, containing, amongst other matters, a copy of the original endowments of some three hundred vicarages within the old diocese of Lincoln, and of more than half of those, of pre-Reformation ordination, in the county of Bedford, and yet is so little known, that it is thought well to give here not merely some short account of it, but also, with a view of arriving, as near as may be, at the dates of the several ordinations in the archdeaconry of Bedford, the results of a comparison of its contents with the entries in the Lincoln Register of Institutions. In no single case in that part of the book, exclusively assigned to the ordination of vicarages, is the date of an ordination definitely given, nor, it may be added, is there in the other part, which also contains sundry establishments of vicarages, any reference to a Bedfordshire vicarage. The book is divided into two parts:

*The first part* consists (in the published edition) of seventy-one

pages, containing about three hundred ordinations of vicarages, and these alone.

*The second part* consists of about thirty-four pages, containing about eighty entries, being appropriations, or confirmations of appropriations, or of grants of patronage of various churches, confirmation of pensions to monasteries from churches, and the ordination of 1,418 vicarages, rendered necessary by the above appropriations.

The first part of the book contains a roll of ordinations of vicarages<sup>1</sup> in the seven archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, and Stowe, with the singular omission, however, of that of Leicester—the more remarkable as five or six ordinations in that archdeaconry are recorded to have taken place before Bishop Wells commenced his book.

As affording some little note of time, or at least a clue to the date of the different ordinations, it may be observed that there is a considerable variety of expressions used in connection with the several ordinations, such as “ordained *by the authority of the Council*” (the most frequent of all), “ordained *before the Lateran Council*” (occurring, however, only once, in the case of Spalding p. 65), “ordained *after the Council*” (occurring also only once, S. Frideswithe, Oxon, p. 1), “ordained *after the Council of Oxford*,” 1222 (also only once met with, Wolseston, Bucks), ordained *from ancient times*” (twice, “*ab antiquo sic extraordinata*,” Alkmundbury, Hunts, p. 27, “*antiquitus est ordinata*,” Cadeney, p. 51), or by the lord bishop, or by the official of the bishop (p. 66), vice the bishop, or by the archdeacon at the mandate of the Dean of Lincoln (p. 16), or, more indefinitely, “ordained *some time ago*” (*dudum*), or “*very long ago*” (*ex dudum*), whilst in most cases the phrase is “the vicarage is ordained in this manner,” as if now first ordained (“*sic*” or “*in hunc modum*”), (“by the authority of the Council” being generally added), or still more simply, “the vicarage consists of such and such.”

On one occasion the names of two churches occur (p. 64), to which the note is appended, “the vicarages in these churches (which belong to the prior and convent of Bridlington), are *not yet ordained*” (*nondum sunt ordinate*”).

Another vicarage (Burford, Ox., p. 4), is merely said to be *confirmed* by the bishop, with consent of the Chapter of Lincoln.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently called “*Rotulus Vicariarum*” by Bishop Grosseteste (*Linc. Reg.*, 1235 and 1237), “*Vicaria consistet ut in Rotulo Vicariarum.*”



Some peculiarities may be noted also in the entries under the different archdeaconries with regard to these several expressions. Thus in not a single instance amongst those in the *archdeaconry of Lincoln* is there mention of any vicarage being ordained "*by the authority of the Council.*" The cause of this omission is difficult even to conjecture. It can hardly be that whilst so few in the other archdeaconries or elsewhere were ordained before the "Council" referred to, whichever that was, these *one hundred and thirty* or so of vicarages in this one archdeaconry had been ordained.

Nor does the phrase "*ex dudum ordinata*" ever occur therein, though the phrase is to be found no less than *twenty-nine times* in *five* of the other archdeaconries, viz., in Bucks twelve times, in Hunts and Northants six times each, in Beds four times, and in Stowe once. It does not occur either, it may be added, in the *Oxford archdeaconry*. Its absence from that of Lincoln seems to militate against any supposition that the ordinations in that archdeaconry were earlier than those of the others, or could claim, indeed, any special antiquity.

The term, however, "*dudum ordinata*," does occur, though only *twice* in the *Lincoln archdeaconry* (p. 66), and but *three* times in that of *Oxford* (pp. 3, 4, 11), though it is not met with in either of the others.

In the Lincoln instances this term is joined with the name of an official of the bishop, Reginald of Chester, whose date of office being known, some light is thrown upon the scope of the expression. In the second part of the *Liber Antiquus* (pp. 86, 87), we find that this Reginald was the bishop's official, whilst the latter was "*beyond the seas*," *i.e.*, during the time he had to flee and remain away, in parts of the years 1216 and 1217,<sup>1</sup> the bishop confirming his acts of ordination and institution, 15th February and 4th March, 1218. Reginald became sub-dean of the cathedral in 1217, but seems to have died or resigned in the summer of 1219, the last mention of him in the *Liber* being on 5th July in that year, whilst another is found to be sub-dean, 23rd September.

In the two cases referred to above, it is clear that the bishop had commenced proceedings, entering their names in their proper places on pages 56 and 57, but leaving it to his official to com-

<sup>1</sup> There is a hiatus in the entries of almost exactly two years, viz., from August 31st, 1215, to August 24th, 1217.

plete their ordination. Some time after this latter had been effected—seemingly some years—the terms of their ordination were entered, not where the blanks were left for them, which perhaps, however, were too limited in space, but, as is related on those pages, “at the end of the archdeaconry,” p. 66. The very indefinite term, “dudum,” which here probably means “some time ago,” being inserted as if accounting for their being entered out of their chronological order. As the book closes at the latest in 1235—and probably a good while earlier—the term “dudum,” as used on these occasions, seems to be applied to a retrospective period of about fifteen or a few more years.

Presumably much the same limit must be given to the term when used with reference to the vicarages in *Oxford*, though perhaps in these cases, the date from which the fifteen or more years are to be counted, is somewhat earlier.

As two other of the *Lincoln* vicarages are stated to have been ordained (though the expression “dudum” is not added, the entries being in their regular place and order), by Mag. Reginald . . . “tunc officalem” (p. 55), these must be considered to have been constituted also about the same period.

The first entry in the book, under the *Oxford archdeaconry*, the vicarage of the conventual Church of S. Frideswithe, is described as “auctoritate domini Episcopi ordinata *post concilium*, talis est.” The Council here alluded to would seem to be the same as that mentioned (p. 12), where the vicarage of Wolseston, in *Bucks*, is said to be “*post consilium Oxon’ ordinata*” (1222). If this be so, then S. Frideswithe being the first entry, all that follows in that archdeaconry, save those especially excepted by other considerations and notes of time, must be considered to have been ordained after 1222.

The second entry is also of interest. It is entitled “*Ordinatio generalis super vicariis de Osen’*,” and is to the following effect :

“In all the churches which the abbot and canons of Oseney hold to their own use, both in the archdeaconry of Oxford as in the other archdeacons of the diocese of Lincoln, where vicarages have not previously been ordained by “the bishop, with their consent, the following provision is made to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh II., by the authority of the Council” (*ubi vicarie non fuerint prius ordinate per episcopum de consensu ipsorum, per dominum Linc’ Episcopum Hugonem secundum, auctoritate concilii, provisum est in hunc modum*”). It is not clear

whether the expression "per episcopum" refers to Bishop Hugh himself ("through the bishop"), or generally to any bishop. It would rather seem to refer to the latter.

This brings us to the time of chief interest to ourselves, the episcopate of Bishop Wells. Though consecrated in 1209 (December 10th), owing to a variety of causes he did not settle down in his diocese until 1213—the fourth year of his episcopate—and three years later, after seeing the treasury of his cathedral robbed of 11,000 silver marks, he was himself obliged to fly, and not allowed to return until he had paid a very heavy fine to the pope and his legate, on the ground that he was a partisan of the barons. His diocesan work was consequently often interrupted.<sup>1</sup> How soon he actively commenced his great work of ordaining vicarages—of which he was one of the earliest as well as most strenuous advocates, taking a part it seems, also, in the Lateran Council of 1215, which pressed their establishment—does not appear from any record which has yet been published. The earliest entries in the Lincoln registers or books of *Institution*, which contain many references to his ordination of vicarages, do not commence until 1220, his eleventh year, whilst the earliest in the *Liber Antiquus*, or Roll of Ordinations of Vicarages ("Rotulus Vicariarum"), with any precise date are of the year 1217.

For the next two years the bishop was abroad, but his official, Reginald of Chester, ordained four vicarages in his absence, which the bishop confirmed on his return, ordaining two more before the close of 1218, and again two others in 1219. Three more entries occur the following year, 1220, with which year that part of the book comes to a close, the total number of ordinations in this part being *fourteen*, all of them, be it observed, being in churches newly appropriated by him to various monasteries. Comparing this part of the book with that portion of the first part which contains the ordinations of the Bedford archdeaconry—of the dates of which alone any direct proofs are at hand—it seems clear that this second part, containing a variety of episcopal documents, was written first, but that finding at this period that the ordination of vicarages was now likely to increase to a very

<sup>1</sup> Though the actual treaty providing an amnesty for those who had supported the barons against the king and the pope was not made until September 11th, 1217, Bishop Wells evidently returned home a little earlier, as he signs a deed at Banbury August 24th, 1217 (*Lib. Antiq.*, p. 81).

great extent, *i.e.*, in hundreds of the earlier appropriated churches, the bishop thought it desirable to devote a special part of the book to the record of them, dividing this part of it according to archdeaconries, and entering the vicarages under the several rural deaneries.

In the year 1219 he had been one of the itinerant justices, but in 1220 he visited Dunstable priory, and in this year, as has been said, he commenced his *Register of Institutions*, and to all appearance the first part of his *Liber Antiquus*. Archdeacon Perry, indeed, seems to have been of opinion that this latter was "written for the most part, as it appears, in 1218" (p. x., preface to *Lib. Antig.*), but certainly as far as Bedfordshire was concerned, and the same would seem to be the case in the other archdeaconries also, it appears almost certain that the bishop waited until the conclusion of "the long and expensive suit" in reference to Luton vicarage and the decision of the Papal Commission thereon in 1219, before he began to bring any great pressure upon the religious houses in general, at least upon those of the county of Bedford.

In certain cases, no doubt, the monasteries themselves were fairly willing to carry out the decrees of the various councils and establish vicarages, and many of these were probably ordained by Bishop Wells early in his episcopate, but it is very questionable whether he commenced his *Liber* or "*Rotulus Vicariarum*" before 1220.

Such a case seems to be referred to, p. 1, where reference is made to churches *already* ordained *with the consent* of the abbot and lord of Oseney.

Immediately after that decision he seems to have taken in hand, along probably with other special parts of his diocese, the three adjoining rural deaneries in Bedfordshire of *Dunstable* (in which Luton was situated), *Flete*, and *Shefford*, and to have forced the communities of S. Alban's, Dunstable, and other religious houses who had appropriate churches within those deaneries, to convert them into ordained vicarages, some twelve of them being ordained by him during the following year, 1220.

Before, however, entering these in his book, the earliest roll of its kind in existence, he seems to have collected, as far as he was able, the names together with the terms of their ordination of any vicarages ordained by either of his predecessors, within these three deaneries, including, possibly, some not episcopally, though per-

haps legally, or at least sufficiently established. These he has arranged, though without giving any nearer date to their ordination than what the term, used on a few occasions, "*ex dudum*," or "very long ago," implies, under each separate deanery, at the head of those now ordained by himself, and, as far as may be, he has grouped together those belonging to the same community. This will account for the position of the first three or four names upon the roll, Haynes, Flitton, Pulloxhill, and Salford, in the deanery of Fleete, and the places occupied by those described as ordained "*ex dudum*" in the deaneries of Dunstable and Shefford. The first three of these deaneries seem to have contained the earliest established vicarages in the archdeaconry, as well as all those ordained by Bishop Wells within the county in the year 1220. With two exceptions it would seem (in 1221 and 1227), prior to his next great ordination of vicarages, and two subsequent to it (in 1231), he succeeded, in the year 1229, in ordaining all the rest upon his roll, viz., nine more, in the other three deaneries, making a total of thirty-three completed and recorded in his *Liber* before his death, February 7, 1235.

There are also six other parishes whose names, but not the terms of their ordination, are entered therein, besides three which it would seem most likely he either found to have been ordained previously or else succeeded in ordaining himself, though in that case the above omission is singular; the others, for reasons which can be assigned, he must have failed to establish; they are *Westoning*, *Sundon* and *Tilsworth*, *Eaton Bray*, *Bromham*, and *S. John Baptist, Bedford*.

These are, in the deanery of Fleete, *Westoning*, where, as a vicar was instituted in 1245, without any mention of an ordination, it may be presumed that the ordination had taken place some time before, and as its place is third upon the Roll, following immediately that of Flitton (the two churches being in the possession of the same patron, the Abbess and Convent of Elstow), and as Flitton seems to have been, as has been suggested, a very early vicarage, it may perhaps be inferred that *Westoning* also was found by Bishop Wells to have been ordained before his time, though he failed to obtain a copy of the ordination, or at least to enter it in his book. *Sundon*, also (as may be inferred from its place on the Roll, it being the first in the deanery of Dunstable, and from a vicar having been instituted by Bishop Wells himself in 1226, without any notice of an ordination at the time), may have been

found to be an early ordination, at least prior to Bishop Wells commencing his book.

The history of *Tilsworth* is probably very similar. A vicar was instituted to it by Bishop Grosseteste in 1237, without any mention of an ordination, but with the statement that its terms are entered on the *Roll of Vicarages*,<sup>1</sup> and its place on Bishop Wells' Roll is almost immediately after that of Sundon. It therefore was also probably an early ordination.

It does not seem likely, however, that in the case of the others, Bishop Wells succeeded in doing anything besides initiating proceedings.

The priory of Merton did not receive licence from the crown to appropriate the great tithes of *Eaton Bray* until 27 Henry III. (1243), consequently we have the institution of rectors of the parish up to that date, and of vicars henceforth. *Bromeham* is expressly stated to have been ordained by Bishop Grosseteste a few months after the death of Bishop Wells, 1235.

The entry of the church of *S. John, Bedford*, and the mention of its being possessed by the brethren of the hospital of that town, are curious and interesting. According to Lysons, the institution known there in later times as "the Hospital of S. John," was not founded until 1280 by Robert de Parys. It then had no connection with the church of that parish, though there seems to have been such a church in existence at that period (*Tax. P. N. IV.*, 1291), though apparently of too trifling a value to be taxed. Nor does there appear to have been any institution to the rectory on the appointment, by the Bishop of Lincoln, of the first master of the hospital, Brother Baldewyn, in 1285 (*Linc. Reg. of Instit.*, etc.). Nor, indeed, does there seem to have been any institution whatever to the rectory recorded in the *Register of Institutions* until 14 Eliz. (1569). "It appears, however," says Lysons, "by the surveys made of chantries and hospitals in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., that the *hospital and parish church* of S. John had long been consolidated, and that there was no minister in that parish with the cure of souls but the master of the said hospital."

The above mention of a hospital in Bishop Wells's Roll is only

<sup>1</sup> If this refers to the *Liber Antiquus*, it is strange that those terms are not found there. This same expression is used in 1235 with reference to Stodham, the terms of whose ordination are entered in the *Liber Antiquus*, "*Consistet ipsa vicaria ut in Rotulo Vicariorum.*"

accountable on the supposition that, prior to 1280, there had been such an institution in the parish (of which, however, no tradition seems to have survived, though that there was such is proved by *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii., p. 17, where, in 1225, it is stated that the master of S. John's Hospital in Bedford, held a mill there of the prior of Bermondsey) and that this hospital possessed the advowson of the church. If Lyson is correct in his date, this early hospital either collapsed, like many others, through poverty within the next fifty years, and its name and place were taken by the new foundation of Robert de Parys, or more probably that he was its second founder, adding considerably to its possessions. The church has remained a rectory to this day.

As to the particular dates of the various ordinations in the archdeaconry of Bedford: these are not definitely recorded in a single instance in this book. In many cases a date is assigned to them in the *Book of Institutions*, but these dates have themselves at times to be discounted, the entry there being often, though not so stated, merely a re-entry or confirmation<sup>1</sup> of an earlier ordination. In other cases the date has to be inferred, either from the position of the name of the parish upon the Roll, or from other circumstances. Yet the approximate, if not the actual date, can, it is conceived, be fixed in almost every, if not in every case, with very considerable certainty.

Subject to the arrangements already alluded to, the entries seem to have been made, with perhaps one or two slight exceptions, in their chronological order.

The greater number of the vicarages are there said to be ordained "by the authority of the Council." Of three of the remainder, viz., Keysoe, ordained 1229, Harrold, 1231, and Poddington, 1231, all of them towards the close of the Roll, the authority for their ordination is not stated, though this may possibly have happened through mere inadvertence; the last of all on the Roll, Stevington (1227), is said to be ordained by the "lord bishop."

Four of them, however, *Houghton* (Regis), *Henlow*, *Arlesley*, and *Dunton*, are stated to have been ordained, not "by the authority of the Council," but as if in contrast to that, "*ex dudum*," very long ago. And yet the ordination of one of these, *Dunton*,

<sup>1</sup> Such confirmations and re-confirmations are frequently referred to both in the *Lib. Antiq.* as e.g., p. 65, "*ordinacio ultimo facta*," etc., and in the *Liber Institutionum*.

is entered in the *Register of Institutions* so late as the year 1222. It is quite probable, nevertheless, that all four churches had been converted into settled vicarages even before the year 1179, the date of the earliest council to which the term could refer, and that the entry of the terms of the ordination of Dunton in the *Register of Institutions* in 1222, when a vicar was first instituted by Bishop Wells, may only have been a confirmation<sup>1</sup> of an arrangement made long before—possibly now a little modified—perhaps even now for the first time made a strictly legal document.

In the case of *Houghton* there is also something peculiar in the earliest entry of an institution by Bishop Wells in 1227, viz., that whilst there is no mention, as in the case of Dunton, of an ordination of the vicarage and of its terms, yet the value of the vicarage is recorded—"the vicarage is worth a hundred shillings and more." It is as if the bishop reviewed the old deed of ordination, and being satisfied with it did not alter it.

There is no entry whatever of an institution to *Henlow* in Bishop Wells's register, the earliest being in the year 1242, and yet, if an ordination of the vicarage took place during his episcopate, an institution to it could hardly fail to have been made at the same time. The ordination, therefore, may be inferred to have taken place before his day.

One vicar was instituted by Bishop Wells to *Arlesley*, in 1232, on which occasion he is especially designated "a *perpetual vicar*," as if emphasizing the fact—possibly with reference to some indefiniteness in the terms of the original ordination, or to some attempt on the part of the patron monastery to treat their vicars as removable—whilst yet there is no entry in his *Register of Institutions* of any *ordination* of the vicarage.

There is, therefore, nothing to militate against the assertion that these four churches were ordained "very long ago." *Houghton* had been in the possession of S. Alban's since about 1154, and

<sup>1</sup> This is rendered the more probable from the fact that it is just what has happened in at least four instances, viz., in that of *Pullaxhill*, which, though the date of its ordination is recorded elsewhere as being about the year 1204, is twice over entered in the *Register of Institutions* as being ordained, i.e., in 1220 and 1232; in that of *Studham*, which certainly was ordained in 1220 (*Chron. Duns.*), but is again entered as being ordained by Bishop Grosseteste in 1236; of *Keysoe*, ordained in 1229 by Bishop Wells, and again in 1247 by Bishop Grosseteste; and of *Kempston*, ordained in 1220 by Bishop Wells, and again described as being ordained in 1247—a vicar being instituted on this last occasion "on the resignation of Matthew, last vicar."



Arlesley in that of Waltham Abbey from the time of the Conqueror ; the exact dates of the gift of Henlow to Lanthony and of Dunton to Holywell are not at hand.

Of two vicarages, *Haynes* and *Flitton*,<sup>1</sup> it may be inferred with much confidence that they were ordained before 1220, if not even before 1204. They are the first two names upon the bishop's list, occurring even before that of Pulloxhill, ordained about that latter year, and as in neither case did Bishop Wells at any time institute a vicar (the earliest occasions being respectively in 1274, "on the death of *previous vicar*," and in 1235—both by Bishop Grosseteste), it would seem that in commencing his *Liber Antiquus* Bishop Wells entered these amongst the few other ordinations which he found had taken place during his predecessors' times, and of the terms of whose endowment he had good evidence.

There are a few obscurities still to be cleared, such as the insertion before the recorded ordinations of 1220 of *Salford*, whose ordination is marked in the *Liber Instit.* as taking place in the year 1229. It seems not improbable from its position in the *Liber Antiquus* that Salford was also either an earlier ordination than 1220, but that, as there were no books either of institutions or of ordinations prior to that date, and so perchance no recorded entry of the fact of the ordination in any book of authority, though the original deed might be in the keeping of the priory at Newenham, the bishop may have deemed it well on his first institution of a vicar, in 1229, to record the fact of its ordination, and thus give his confirmation to it, just as he evidently did in the case just entered before it, that of Pulloxhill ; or else, which is perhaps the more probable, that though no new vicar was instituted in 1220, yet that in that year the ordination was exhibited to him, and that he consequently entered it then in his *Liber*.

The cases of *Millbrook*, *Ampthill*, *Clophill*, and *Pottesgrove* are also peculiar and not without interest, especially the latter, in connection with the commission which ordered the ordination of Luton vicarage. The patronage of the above four is stated here to belong to the priory of Beaulieu, in Clophill, which was a cell of S. Alban's. Whether it was by mistake that Pottesgrove is ascribed to Beaulieu, and not to S. Alban's, to whom it had been given half a century previously and confirmed again and again, or whether S. Alban's, from some cause, made it over for a time to

<sup>1</sup> The advowson of *Haynes* was given to Chicksands at least before 1207. The date of the grant of *Flitton* is not known.

Beaulieu, cannot be determined. But that both the advowson and the rectory returned shortly, if ever dissociated from it, to S. Alban's is certain, for the earliest recorded institution to the vicarage, *i.e.*, in 1260, "on the death of *the late vicar*" (showing that it had been established at some previous time), the patron is said to be the abbot and convent of S. Alban's, and the rectory of Pottesgrove constantly appears among the sources of their income. Of the three others there is no recorded ordination or institution to the vicarages in Bishop Wells's register (nor of Pottesgrove even in Bishop Grosseteste's institutions), these taking place respectively in 1238, 1238, and 1235. As the ordinations, however, are entered on the bishop's roll, and in the midst of those ordained in 1220, it would seem that they also, if not established previously, were ordained and registered in that year—in this case as a result of the decision of the commission on Luton.

It would seem almost certain also, from its position among the eleven or twelve vicarages which are recorded as being established in 1220, that *Stotfold* was ordained in the same year, and that, although it could not be described, like those on either side of it on the roll, as having been ordained "*ex dudum*," yet that, like Salford in the other deanery, it had been ordained previously to 1220, or else, perhaps more probably, was ordained in that year—the vicar, however, not being changed or re-instituted. The absence of all mention of an ordination on the occasion of the bishop's first recorded institution to it, in 1231, implies that it had been ordained prior to that date.

It will be seen from the preceding that after the above group of ordinations in 1220, concluding with that of *Kempston* in the following year (1221), there was a lull, as far as Bedfordshire was concerned, in the matter of establishing vicarages, for about six years, when *Stevington* was ordained (1227); and that two years later (1229) another group, probably of *nine churches*, was ordained. These consisted of those in the possession of the two monasteries of Newenham and Chicksands, all of them, with one exception (*Stagsden*, in the deanery of Clapham), being in the deaneries of Bedford and Eaton. In seven of these cases, new vicars, or possibly those who had previously acted as such, but without endowment or fixity of tenure, were instituted on the occasion of the ordination; in the case of the other two, *Cople* and *Ravensden*, it may reasonably be inferred, from their being entered amongst the others, that they were ordained at the same time—the absence of

any notice of their ordination in the *Register of Institutions* being easily accounted for, as no institution of a vicar took place until, in the one case, in 1237, and in the other, in 1239; both of them during the succeeding episcopate. Only two other ordinations are recorded in the *Liber Antiquus*, those of *Harrold* and of *Poddington*, both, according to the *Register of Institutions*, being effected in 1231, when an institution to each of them took place. Yet, as it is recorded that, in the case of *Harrold*, a vicar had been instituted in 1227 (where no mention, however, is made of any ordination), it does not seem improbable that there may have been here a still earlier ordination, cancelled, enlarged, or confirmed by that of 1231.

*Dates of Ordination of Vicarages. Hugo Wells, 1209-1235.*

No.	Parish.	R. Deanery.	Rel. House.	Ordination.	Confirmation.	1st recorded Inst.	By whom.	Notes.
1	Hawnes	Fleete	Chicksands	<i>ante</i> 1204?		1274, on d. of H. (late vic.)	Gravesend	Advow. granted <i>ante</i> 1207.
2	Flitton	"	Elstow	<i>ante</i> 1204?		1235	Grosseteste Wells	Grant of advow. conf. by H. II. 1173-1185.
3	Fulloxhill	"	Dunstable	c. 1204	1220 and 1232	1220	"	
4	Salford	"	Newenham	<i>ante</i> 1220?	1229	1229	"	
5	Husborn Crawley	"	Dunstable	1220		1220	"	
6	Segenhoe	"	"			1220	"	
7	Milbrook	"	Beaulieu			1238	Grosseteste	
8	"	"	"	1220?		1238	"	
9	Amphill	"	"			1235	"	
10	Pottesgrove	Dunstable	"			1260, on d.	Gravesend Wells	
11	Houghton (R.)	"	S. Alban's	<i>ex studium</i>		1227, value	"	
12	Chalgrave	"	Dunstable			1220	"	
13	Totternhoe	"	"	1220		1220	"	
14	Studham	"	"		1236	1220	"	
15	Luton	"	S. Alban's	1220		1226	"	
16	Henlow	Shefford	Lanlithony	<i>ex studium</i>		1242	Grosseteste Wells	
17	Arlesley	"	Waltham	<i>ex studium</i>		1233	"	
18	Stotfold	"	Chicksands	1220?		1231	"	
19	Dunton	"	Holywell L.	<i>ex studium</i>	1222	1222	"	
20	Langford	"	Kts. Templars	1220		1220	"	
21	Kempston	"	Elstow	1221		1221	"	
22	Goldington	"	Newenham			1229	"	
23	Cardington	"	"	1229		1229	"	
24	Willington	"	"			1229	"	

*Dates of Ordination of Vicarages—continued.*

No.	Parish.	R. Deanery.	Rel. House.	Ordination.	Confirmation.	1st recorded Inst.	By whom.	Notes.
25	Cople	Bedford	Chicksands	1229?		1237	Grosseteste	Grant of advow. <i>ante</i> 1207.
26	Roxton	Eaton " " " Clapham " " "	Cauldwell	<i>ex dudum</i>		1229	Wells	
27	Great Barford		Newenham	1229		1229	"	
28	Renhold		"			1235	Grosseteste	
29	Ravensden		"			1229	Wells	
30	Keysoe		Chicksands	1229		1229	"	
31	Stagsden		Newenham	1229	and 1247	1227	"	
32	Harrold		Harrold	1231		1231	"	
33	Poddington		C. Ashby	1231		1231	"	
34	Stevington		Harrold	1227		1227	"	

*Vicarages the terms of whose Ordination are not mentioned in Lib. Antiq.*

Parish.	R. Deanery.	Rel. House.	Ordination.	Confirmation.	1st recorded Inst.	By whom.	Notes.
Westoning Sandon Tilsworth	Fleete Dunstable	Elstow	a. 1220		1245 1226 1237	Grosseteste Wells Grosseteste	"Ent. on Rol. Vic."



LIBER ANTIQVVS. PART II.  
*Ordination of Vicarages.*

Date.	Where.	Church.	Archdy.		Part II.	Part I.
					pp.	pp.
1215	Bannebir'	All St. Stamford	Linc.	Salva vicaria quam constituimus in eadem, etc.	76	46
"	Old Temple	Marsworth	Bucks	Salvo vicario qui in eadem ecc <sup>a</sup> . institutus fuerit.	78	75, 93
"	Cant.	Burford Berton	Oxon Oxon		80	4
1218	Linc.	Sandford Chap. Godeshalle	Oxon		82	2
1218-19?	Lafford	Billingborough Aithorp? Thorp?	Linc. Stowe	Salva vicaria in eadem medietate per nos assignata. Conf. of Maj. Reg.	84	2
"	Linc.	Caneringham			86, 87	55
"	"	Alford	Stowe Linc.	Conf. of Maj. Reg.	90	
"	"	Wylingham			92	56
"	"	Marston	North	Salva vicaria qui eadem ecc <sup>a</sup> . per nos assignata que constitui.	93	86
"	"			Salva competenti vicaria per nos in eadem ordinanda.	94, 95	36
"	"	Wrokestan	Oxon	Salva perpetua vicaria quam ordinavimus in eadem.	95	
1220	"	West Ravendale	Linc.	Tres perpetue erunt vicarie. Salva perpetua vicaria quam auctoritate concilii ordinavimus in eadem.	99, 90, 98	7
"	"	Bampton Stanton	Oxon Bucks		100	66
"	"				102	4
"	"				103	13

## APPENDIX AN. (Chap. VI., p. 101.)

THE HISTORY OF THE ORDINATION OF VICAR-  
AGES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE  
IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF BEDFORD.

"OUR parochial churches," says Dr. Pegge, a famous antiquary of the last century, in the preface to his *Life of Bishop Grosseteste*, "were at first all *rectories*, possessed of the tithes, glebes, and offerings. The *vicarage* originated from *appropriation*, i.e., the giving or assigning rectories or churches to religious houses."

This is the popular view of the present day, and, if the English Church began at the Norman Conquest, might be allowed to pass as sufficiently near the truth. For there can be little doubt that in by far the greater number of cases each of our parish churches were at that period endowed with all the predial tithes arising from the lands within that parish, and therefore were strictly "*rectories*." But before condemning the monasteries for their appropriations, it is well to call to mind what was the original state of affairs when parishes were first formed in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

England, it must be remembered, was not converted to Christianity, north, south, east, or west, or here in its central parts, by secular bishops and secular clergy; but by monastic institutions, of which the bishops themselves, for more than a century, were almost universally members.

This being so, and the greater number of the fabrics of the churches having been erected by them, and the ministrations therein performed by members of their community, or by secular priests acting for them, the tithes of the district—of the "*shrift-shire*," as it was called—were naturally brought, in many cases for centuries, to the monastery or minster which cared for their souls, as the mother or central church.

This clearly appears from a law passed during the reign of King Edgar, in 970, a law looked upon by Selden, Blackstone and Lord Selborne (*A. F. and F.*, pp. 173, 220), as the real foundation of our parochial system. It was to the effect that anyone who had a church upon his "*boc-land*," or private property, with a burial-place, *might give one-third* of his own *tithe* to that church, the



remaining two-thirds to go, as hitherto, to the old minster or conventual church to which the district belonged.

The permission then granted to one class of patrons of churches soon was extended to, or more probably assumed by all, and after a very short time the *whole* of the tithes were, as a rule, until the Norman Conquest, given to the parish priest, thus virtually constituting him a rector. "The priest, it seems," says Lord Selborne, speaking of the times a little later than the passing of the above law, "had not yet a freehold tenure of his office, and with regard to his emoluments probably stood very much in the position of the later vicars appointed by monasteries, who generally received a third of the tithes." So that the granting of the tithes of a parish, or even the appropriation of the church itself, injurious as it was in very many respects, and subversive, for a time, of the parochial system, was in many cases but an exaggerated instance of a return, in some measure, to an earlier and more imperfect system, one from which the Church had only lately escaped. It was to counteract this injury, and to restore the parochial system, that the establishment of endowed vicarages was devised.<sup>1</sup>

We little realize, probably, what the state of our country parishes must have been throughout the latter part at least of the twelfth century, by which time a large and increasing proportion of the churches were in the possession of monasteries. These had been given to them, they knew, not so much for the benefit of the parishes themselves, as for their own support, though they were supposed to employ the surplus in deeds of piety and charity, especially in the plundered districts. They acted accordingly, as was to be expected.

Being patrons of the benefices, to those of little value, yet at too great distance from the monastery to be served by one of themselves, they in general continued, from the first to the last, to appoint a clerk, who from receiving the greater part, if not the whole, of the income of the benefice, and from his position with regard to the flock, still went as heretofore by the title of "*persona*," "*parson*," or "*rector*," or else, seemingly from holding the temporalities for the monastery, by that of "*custos*."

Where the church was in any way richly endowed—although that extra endowment was meant for the special benefit of the particular parish—yet it was there that the people in most cases fared

<sup>1</sup> Soames, *A. S. Ch.*, p. 167; Selborne, *A. F. and F.*, p. 220.

the worst. The monks having the complete control of the revenue of the benefice, in innumerable cases hired the cheapest clerk they could obtain, for special occasions, by the year or for a term of years, or, less frequently, for life.

This was much the state of things, though sundry canons had recently been passed to improve it, when Bishop Wells came to this diocese in 1210. The special work which he seems to have assigned to himself, and with which his name will ever be associated, was that of the establishment of endowed vicarages, or rather the re-endowment of the parish churches with a part of their original endowments, hitherto appropriated to their own uses by the various monasteries.

The origin and progress of this evil state of things, and the remedies applied from time to time to improve it, were much as follows :

Until the decree of the Lateran Council tithe-payers considered themselves at liberty (there being no law against so doing) to give their *tithes*, in part or in whole, annually or in perpetuity, to any church, or to any religious house whatever, in England or on the continent.

This practice, continued as it had been for more than a century, was of itself gradually undermining the parochial system, and reducing the income of many parish churches.

"Until the council held in A.D. 1200 the principle was summarily stated that the parochial clergy have the first claim on the tithe arising from their several parishes, even of newly-cultivated lands. Even after that time, by the connivance of bishops and popes, the appropriation system worked widely and banefully" (Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 227, quoted by Cutts, article "Tithes").

In numberless instances, also, the Norman lords of manors, most of whom, either by inheritance from their Saxon predecessors or from having erected or restored their parish churches, had become the possessors of the advowsons, did not content themselves with giving merely the *tithes* of their estates, but granted the *churches* themselves—their advowsons, lands, tithes, and other emoluments—to some religious community, either of their own or of other's foundation, and this at first without the consent of the bishop or of anyone else.

These churches thus became donatives, the same community being both patron and rector; the monks, until restrained by law, collating themselves to the cures without any institution. And

even when, by the National Synod of Westminster in 1124, it was required that all institutions to benefices should be made by the bishop of the diocese, the monks, in order to avoid the multiplication of institutions and inductions, often obtained licence from the king, or, failing this, from the pope, to be themselves "*perpetual incumbents*" of their appropriate churches, *without these forms*. The effect of this and other somewhat similar evasions of the law was not merely to take a considerable number of churches out of the control of the bishop, leaving him in ignorance even as to who was responsible for the care of the parish, but greatly to increase and perpetuate non-residence, and the consequent absence of all hospitality and alms on such cures; and as occasional visits were all that were paid by the monks, when the parish church was at any distance from the monastery, the cures became neglected and the fabrics of the churches dilapidated.

In some cases, since monasteries, as a body, could not perform the functions of a rector, and since no individual member was obliged in particular to do so, the king gave them licence to appoint a deputy or *vicar*, by the common seal, to officiate for them. *Rectors* also, we find, as early as 1108, appointing and *instituting* in their place "*vicars*"—a practice sanctioned by Anselm's canons in 1127. From these precedents *abbesses*, and other heads of nunneries likewise, obtained licences to officiate by "*vicars*."

In most of these latter cases, and especially where the monasteries, in consequence of the distance of the cure, were compelled by the bishop to appoint a secular priest or chaplain to reside, the vicar or substitute was usually engaged either only by the year, as "*an annual vicar*," or at least only for so long as suited the will and convenience of the patron.

Even *lay patrons*, imitating the monasteries, instead of presenting priests to the bishop to be instituted to the perpetual cure of the parish, adopted the custom of hiring them by the year to officiate in the parish church—"annual vicars"—a practice forbidden by the constitutions of Archbishop Richard in 1173.

It need hardly be added that in most of such cases the remuneration to the officiating priest was likely to be totally inadequate for his proper support and for the exercise of hospitality—a duty in those days considered to be especially incumbent upon the resident at the parsonage house. The bishop, moreover, in

these cases, as well as in those before mentioned, had scarcely any hold upon so temporary an official.

The decree of the Council of Westminster, held by Anselm as early as 1102, "that no monks accept of churches without the bishop's consent, nor so rob those that are given them of their revenues that the priests who serve them be in want of necessities," had been designed to check this state of things in its earlier stage. The bishop was thus declared to be the judge of all future appropriations, with some power of limiting their number; and if not yet endowed with the power of assigning a definite stipend, or other regular means of support, to the acting substitutes of monastic rectors, was at least now authorized and called upon to see that some provision not totally insufficient for the necessities of life was made for them.

But no canon could check the greed of monasteries or their continued acquisition of churches. Patrons, who were in general warriors rather than theologians, were easily led to believe that the heads of religious communities were better able than themselves to provide or select fit incumbents for their parish churches, and that it was for the welfare of their own souls, as well as for those of their dependents, to make over the advowsons to such bodies. If the monks failed in obtaining the bishop's consent to the grant, they rarely failed to get the pope's dispensation in contempt of the bishop. Many hundreds, probably the larger proportion, of appropriations consequently took place after this period—the number, eventually, of parish churches possessed by monasteries amounting to more than one-third<sup>1</sup> of all the livings in England. Out of the total of 9,284 churches, 3,845 were in the hands of monasteries.

As all these various vicars for very many years had no settled endowment, or even at times no fixed salary, and were removable by their employer almost at his will, "it became necessary to force religious houses to devote a portion of the tithe or land of parishes to endow permanently a priest, who should in all respects, except his pay, stand in the place of the rector," and in the case

<sup>1</sup> "Within three centuries from the Conquest near one-third of the parochial benefices of England, and they the richest of them, had been thus appropriated" (Cutts, *Dict. of Ch. of Engl.*, p. 28). In 1259 the laity threatened to resume all appropriated churches (Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, App. 7, 322), being frightened, it seems, at the neglected state of so many parishes, and indignant at the resistance of the monasteries to the endowment of vicarages.

of rectors employing vicars, to require an agreement for so many marks to be given annually, or that the retiring rector<sup>1</sup> should merely have a pension out of the rectory.

This was more or less effected by the Lateran Council held under Alexander III. in 1179, which enjoined that *all religious houses should establish vicarages*, "ordaining that the *bishops* were to require the monastery to assign to the vicar a sum sufficient for paying the episcopal dues, and enjoying an honest maintenance, and that vicars were not to be removable, or their stipends alterable at the will of the appropriator or rector."

"The canon," however, was steadily resisted by the English monasteries, which constantly refused any perpetual alienation of the tithes and dues to a vicar, but preferred to treat him simply as their curate removable at their will."

The following are early instances of rectors nominating and obtaining institution for their vicars and that of temporary vicarages being ordained in the archdeaconry of Bedford :

1232. *Wrestlingworth* was ordained as a vicarage by the prior of Newenham, but is found as a rectory in 1235 and the succeeding year.

Whether Wrestlingworth is to be considered as an attempt on the part of the monasteries to convert it permanently into a vicarage, which was frustrated by the bishop, or meant to be only temporary, cannot be determined.

1233. *Tilbrook*, vicarage ordained. Ralph de Tilebroc, cap., presented by Ralph de Stafford, parson of the church of Tilebroc, with consent of the noble Lady Maud de Mandeville, Countess of Essex, the patron of the church.

1235-36. *Wymington*, vicarage ordained. W. de Wymington, cap., by W. de Superina, rector there, with consent of Robert de Bruer', the patron.

1238. *Middleton (Ernest)* to vicarage, Walter Persevil, cap., by W. de Leg, rector there, with consent of Robert fil' Erneš de Middleton, the patron.

<sup>1</sup> A former "perpetual vicar" at Godalming, in Surrey, was in 1189 adjudged the whole value of the rectory, paying the rector a pension of twenty shillings. There is an instance in the institution of a rector to Meppershall in 1232 of the *claimant* to a rectory receiving a pension, "saving to Laurence, who claimed to be rector, 5 marks per ann. as long as he lived in the secular habit."

<sup>2</sup> Perry, *Lib. Antiq.*, ix.

1239. *Winnington (Wymington)* to vicarage, W. de Winnington by William rectoris ejusd. e consensu Rob' de Bruere, patron' ejus (this being a second institution to the above vicarage, ordained in 1235-36).

1247. *Cranfield*, vicarage ordained, by R. Berti, clerk, procurator of Dom. Pontius de Pontibus, rector there.

There is rather an unique case in an institution of a vicar to *Kempston* in 1242, on the presentation of the abbess and convent of Elstow, *with consent of the vicar, Matthew*, who, however, did not resign till 1247.

It would seem that, though on the death or resignation of a rector a successor to the benefice was shortly instituted, as in the case of *Wymington*, 1242 ("letters being received from the Bishop of Sees (Sagieñ) as to the death of W. de Servia, late rector"), yet, as in the instance of *Sutton*, 1228, the vicar continued to receive whatever the ordination of the vicarage had awarded him: "saving to Robert, cap., *the vicarage which he has in the same church.*"

It was only, it would seem, on the understanding that they might nominate to the cure some secular priest or chaplain who was a member of their brotherhood, that the reluctance of most religious houses to alienate definitely and for ever any portion of their tithes and lands, was overcome.

Yet, notwithstanding the opposition of the monasteries, the bishops gradually succeeded in carrying out the decree of the Lateran Council. This, too, was enforced by an English council in 1195, which declared that "vicars in churches appropriate were to have proper maintenance" (Spelman, ii. 101, 122, 128); and which, by ordering also that "*monks should not be resident in parish churches,*" forced the monasteries to appoint *secular vicars*; and again, by forbidding any religious order to receive *church tithes* from a layman without the bishop's authority, put one of the first checks to the alienation of tithes from the parish church.

"The first traces of the *establishment* of perpetual vicarages in England occur," says Dr. Pegge, "soon after the Lateran Council of 1179," but according to Dr. Cutts a little earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the few recorded early instances of episcopally-ordained vicarages are the following:

<sup>1</sup> "Vicarages are usually supposed to have begun in the eighth year of Hen. II. (1162), but some rare instances occur even earlier" (Cutts, p. 615, "Vicarage").

In 1181-82 Bishop Pudsey of Durham founded several in his diocese, allotting to them *tithes* and *dues*.

Four vicarages were founded in *Oxfordshire*, in the diocese of Lincoln, before the beginning of King John's reign, 1199.

No vicarage is, however, recorded to have been founded in Leicester archdeaconry, of the same diocese, by S. Hugh; and only four or five before 1214.

Only two had been ordained in Canterbury diocese before 1220. But that this hardly represents the true state of the case may be inferred from the *Liber Antiquus* of Bishop Wells.

So few institutions of vicarages, however, seem to have taken place before the close of the twelfth century, that at the council held by Archbishop Hubert at Westminster in 1200, a further effort for their establishment was made. This consisted in a regulation taken from the decree of the Lateran Council of 1179, giving legal force to it in England, that all "religious orders should *within six months* present priests to the bishops for the churches which they hold, who shall be answerable to the bishops for the care of the people and accountable to the religious house for the temporals, and who should not be removable at the will of the monastery." If they failed to do so, the bishops were empowered to take steps to carry out this intention. The amount secured for a vicar by Archbishop Hubert was five marks, *i.e.*, £3 6s. 8d., equal at that time, probably, to about £50 at present.

The establishment of vicarages was again greatly furthered by the decrees of another *Lateran Council*,<sup>1</sup> that of 1215, and more especially by the canons of the Council of *Oxford*, held under Archbishop Langton in 1222. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth canons of this council lay down rules for the settlement of vicarages. The sum specified here, also, as a fitting maintenance for a vicar, supposed to be an unmarried man, was five marks (Introd., *Lib. Antig.*, x.).

<sup>1</sup> Besides any religious motives which may have influenced any of the popes individually, there were a great many inducements to lead them to encourage the movement for establishing vicarages, although apparently against the interests, as it was against the wishes, of their great supporters, the monasteries. "They gained a considerable increase of power thereby, in an increased number of clergy and an increased number of petitions and of appeals from vicars and monasteries, which meant a more frequent occasion for getting money, gratifying friends or humbling enemies, and the opportunities of filling vacant vicarages. The diocesan also gained by the increased residence of the clergy on their cures."

The work of ordaining vicarages does not seem to have advanced very rapidly, as far as Bedfordshire was concerned, during the episcopate of *Robert Grosseteste*. *Wilshamstede*, belonging to Elstow, ordained in 1235, and *Riseley*, to the knights of S. John of Jerusalem, in 1248, are the only two recorded ordinations. But in 1249 a vicar was instituted to *Streatley*, belonging, like Sundon, to the prioress and convent of S. Trinity de Bosco, and it is "on the ingress of John the *preceding vicar* into religion." This seems to point to its early ordination, and to suggest that, like Sundon, it was ordained previous to Bishop Wells's time, though he has omitted to enroll it along with Sundon, of the terms of whose ordination also he seems to have been ignorant.

Nor during the twenty-two years of the episcopate of *Richard Gravesend*, the special befriender of vicars, were there more than three vicarages ordained by any monastery—these being *Southill* in 1264, *Wootton* in 1273, both belonging to Newenham, and *Milton Ernest* in 1276. The two prebendaries, however, of *Biggleswade* and *Leighton Buzzard*, in the cathedral of Lincoln, ceased ministering in their parish churches as rectors, and, assuming the rectorial endowments, had vicars instituted in their place, both in the same year, 1276.

The ordination of only one vicarage, *Oakley*, in 1297, is recorded in the *Register of Institutions* of *Bishop Sutton*, and none apparently are henceforth recorded in the Lincoln registers.

It was not until "acts of parliament had been passed in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., which insisted upon the regular endowments of vicarages" (Cutts, p. 615), that some were ordained. "Occasional new appropriations and consequent formation of vicarages continued till the Reformation" (*ibid.*).

The last of the churches of the county, probably the last in England, converted into a vicarage, was that of *S. Paul's, Bedford*, with the exception of *Luton* the oldest and most interesting foundation in the archdeaconry. Like the church of *Dunstable*, belonging to the Austin Canons—all the members of which had been admitted to the priesthood—S. Paul's continued into the sixteenth century a rectory, served by the prior and canons, who, though they had their priory at Newenham, some three miles distant, yet had their stalls, remaining in part to the present day, within their church of S. Paul. It was not until 1529, just ten years before their own suppression, that they elected to appoint a vicar to act for them. Accordingly, on February 15th in that



year, the vicarage was ordained, and on the 19th the first vicar was instituted.

The order of proceedings in "the *ordination*" of a vicarage (as it was called), presumably after the Lateran Council of 1179, or the English Council of 1195, was somewhat as follows, according to Dr. Pegge :

"On application to the bishop by the patron, or on the initiation of the bishop himself, an inquisition was made in the chapters of the rural deans into the value of the rectories and the competent portion to be assigned to the vicarages, regard being had to the nature and size of the cure. A return was then made to the bishop, who had to approve and confirm the acts of the chapters, or to alter them as he thought fit ; then the allotment was entered in the bishop's register—the bishop in effect having the management of the whole. The amount usually assigned to the vicar was about one-third of the profits of the benefice derived from the altar-dues and tithes, as well as a house and some glebe. He had to bear some part of the *onera* incident to ecclesiastical benefices. His salary very commonly amounted to five or six marks. In smaller livings his profits were proportionally greater.

As the emoluments assigned to a vicarage at its ordination could always be altered by the bishop, and had frequently to be augmented, we meet every now and then in the *Book of Institutions* such entries as the following :

1259. *Renhold*. Vicarage augmented by Rob. (Grosseteste), Bishop of Lincoln, with tithes of hay and lambs.

1265. *Millbrook*. Gilb. de Cotes instituted on presentation of prioress and convent de Bello Loco. Power reserved to the bishop of augmenting the vicarage (R. Gravesend).

1266. *Dunton*. W. de Sutton instituted. Power of augmenting vicarage reserved to bishop (R. Gravesend).

The good intentions, however, of the bishop were not always permanently successful. Thus, Bishop Wells<sup>1</sup> having sanctioned a certain arrangement in the eight churches belonging to Newenham, Bishop Grosseteste augmented all of them. The Pope, however, Alexander IV., in his anger against the latter, now just deceased, confirmed what had been done by Bishop Wells, and annulled what had been attempted contrary to it (March 7th, 1255).

Amongst the augmentations made by Bishop Robert Grosseteste are the following :

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of Papal Registers*, i. 316.

March 2nd (17th year of episcopate), 1252. The vicarage of *Langetoft*, Lincoln, increased by relieving the vicar from the half mark which his predecessors were accustomed to pay to the abbot and convent of Croyland by way of a pension, and from providing hospitality for the archdeacon, decreeing at the same time by apostolic authority that the burden of the procuration shall lie upon the abbot and convent, and that the reception of the half mark should cease for ever. It is added that it is not known where the original (prima) ordination is written (*Lib. Antiq.*, p. 66, being a later addition).

To the vicarage of *Thorp*, in the same archdeaconry, he added the tithe of the hay of the parish, "vicarie ecclesie additur, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 67).

To the vicarage of *Aby*, Lincoln, he also added the tithe of the hay, estimated at 10s., but the vicar is to pay the synodals. The whole of this entry is of interest. Bishop Wells had entered the name of the vicarage, but without the terms of the ordination. A later hand has added, It is unknown where the ordination is, because perhaps it was ordained *ab antiquo*, "Ubi ordinatio ejusdem vicarie sic nescitur quia forte ab antiquo fuit ordinata"; the rest being the augmentation by Bishop Robert (*ibid.*, p. 51).

To the entry of the vicarage of *Gainsburgh*, in the archdeaconry of Stowe, is added in the margin, in a later hand, "Afterwards ordained in this manner: to the vicarage of Gaynesburgh is added 3 marks which the vicar has been accustomed to pay to the Templars, and this augmentation was made in the time of Beati Robert (Grosseteste), as is contained in the roll" (*ibid.*, p. 70).

*Other experiments and arrangements*, besides that of so-called rectors and vicars, were tried with the view of dividing the income of the appropriated parish churches between the religious house and the officiating priest.

Thus at *Elstow* we find, for a time, a succession of *prebendaries* presumably receiving a good share of the emoluments of the church. In 1223 Mag. Roger de Weseham<sup>1</sup> is instituted to the prebend of Elstow "in succession to Henry, chaplain," and again, in 1235, Hamon de Weseham is instituted "in succession to Roger de Weseham." For how long this arrangement had continued there is no means of knowing, possibly even from the grant of the

<sup>1</sup> Successively Archdeacon of Rochester, 1225, and of Oxford, 1236; Dean of Lincoln, 1239, and Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1245.

advowson, along with the manor, by Countess Judith in 1178, to the nuns of S. Mary. The convent apparently grew dissatisfied with this arrangement, and in the very next year (1236) we find it dividing the emoluments equally with the priest, each party calling themselves rectors—the convent retaining one moiety for its own use, the priest being instituted to the other moiety—and again in 1247. Accordingly, in the taxation of 1291 we find Elstow “has two rectors,” each receiving the same amount (£4 13s. 4d.). Nor did this satisfy those who saw other religious communities getting a larger share out of their rectories. It was not, however, until after many ineffectual efforts that they were able in 1343 to obtain from Bishop Beck of Lincoln and his cathedral chapter licence to appropriate the other moiety on the next vacancy. This was confirmed by letters patent 19 Edward III., 1355, “in aid of their sustentation,” when Elstow became a vicarage.

*Caddington* is another instance of a rectory in the possession of a religious community being divided into *moieties*. Thus, in 1221 and for a few years subsequently, the last being in 1230, we find institutions to the different moieties of the church of Caddington,<sup>1</sup> on the presentation of the dean and chapter of S. Paul's, but in 1248 this division has come to an end, and John, a chaplain, is instituted into the vicarage of Caddington on ingress of the late *vicar* into religion. Accordingly, in 1291, the *rectory* is valued at £16 and the *vicarage* at £4 6s. 8d.

At *Wootton*, a moiety of the church was allowed to Newenham Priory by Bishop Robert Grosseteste in 1250, and five years later Pope Alexander IV. granted to it the other moiety, when, on a avoidance, a vicar was appointed, “a vicar's portion being reserved” (*Cal. of Papal Registers*, i. 316).

The case of *Turvey*<sup>2</sup> is in some respects similar. In 1218 Bishop Wells granted a moiety of the church to the prior and convent of S. Neots. This appears in 1291 under the name of a portion, and though the church in this case has continued a rectory, the revenues only of a moiety of the original endowment has ever since been received by the acting rector.

The case of *Houghton Conquest*, where also from at least the middle of the thirteenth century until 1637 there were two rectors, stands on quite different grounds. The advowson of the moieties in each case here was in lay hands, and neither rectory

<sup>1</sup> One of these moieties was subject to a pension, 1221.

<sup>2</sup> See App. AL, *Turvey*.

was ever appropriated. The actual origin of the division into two "portionable parsonages" is not known, but it would appear to have arisen from the unwillingness of either of the two patrons, who were lords also of separate manors, to give up their right of patronage, or to join in appointing the same rector,<sup>1</sup> or to adopt some system of presenting alternately. Consequently, though there was, it seems, but one church, there were two rectors to officiate therein, and two parsonage houses (Lysons). The endowment was seventy acres, oblations, mortuaries, tithes of mill and small tithes. This being divided gave to each rector only seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.). Out of this sum, one had to render a pension to Newenham of 6s. 8d. This led to the distinguishing names of Houghton *Gildable* (subject to geld or pension), and Houghton *Franchise*, or the free, or, as it was more generally called, Houghton *Conquest*, from the family name of the lords of its manor, a title now given to the united rectories.

There was another anomaly at *Toddington*. In the year 1222 the abbot of a foreign monastery presented to the rectory. In 1274 the patronage was in the hands of the Countess of Richmond, who, on the death of the last *custos*, presented to it, all succeeding presentations being also to the rectory. But along with this is found a succession of persons presented to a portion of the rectory, e.g., in 1249, John de Theford was instituted, on resignation of W. de Riston, to *that portion of the tithes which the said Wm. held by assignment of the bishop*; and in 1288, W. de Cadingdon, "to a portion of the rectory, on death of Nicholas." Again we meet in 1336 with the entry, "*Ratificatio status Rici le Mareschall quem habuit in porcione eccl. de Todington.*" To all appearance this portion eventually became the endowment of one or more chantries in the church. For in 1438 a priest is presented to a "*portion of the chantry,*" and in 1473, 1478, and 1479, others, to a portion of *the altar of S. James* in the church; and in 1522 John Fysshe, chaplain, is instituted to the chantry in the church of Toddington, whilst the institution of his successor in 1562 is thus described: "Rob. Johnson, clerk, to *perpetual portion of tithes* called the *portion* formerly of J. Ffishe."

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Eyworth in 1225, where the prioress and convent of S. Helen's, London, the patrons of one moiety of the church, and Thos. Gravel and Johan his wife, the patrons of the other moiety, appointed the same clerk to the rectory.

Another form of despoiling parish churches appears in the *pensions* exacted by the religious houses from those rectories which were either too poor to permit of the greater tithes and the lands to be taken by the monastery, and for a vicarage to be reserved out of the rest, or for whose further impoverishment they could not at first obtain the licence of the bishop or of the crown.

Thus, *Merton Priory*, in Surrey, claimed a pension from the rectories of Milton Bryant, valued in 1291 at seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.) of half a mark (6s. 8d.), and of Stondon ("indeci-malis"), of 8s.

*The Priory of Beaulieu*, in Clophill, drew from Campton, valued at £4 6s. 8d., no less than £2 annually; so recorded in 1291, and as late as 1545.

*The Prioress of Merkgate* claimed from Higham Gobion, valued at £4 13s. 4d., £3 6s. 8d., nearly three-fourths of the whole, leaving but £1 6s. 8d. to the rector.

*Ramsey Abbey* was more generous, as no doubt it was better able to be, and claimed from Barton, valued at £12, only £1, but from Shillington, valued at £40, £6 13s. 4d.<sup>1</sup>

*S. Paul's, London*, exacted a pension—the amount not stated—from one at least of the two moieties into which the rectory of Caddington was at first divided, e.g., in 1221, "salva dic. capellæ de ipsa medietate debita & antiqua pension" (*Linc. Reg. of Instit.*).

These pensions having fallen to the crown along with the monasteries, and having been either sold or given, in large batches, to favourites, male and female (abundantly to the latter in the reign of Charles II.), appear in modern times as a charge still upon many benefices under the name of fee farm rents.

The church of *Flitwick* occupied a rather peculiar position. Along with the grant of it by William, son of Fulke and Osmunda his wife—a grant confirmed by Henry II.—Dunstable Priory was given a chapel at Rokeshac (Ruxox), within the parish. Here they founded a cell—or retreat—for certain members of the fraternity, and, as all were clergy, they no doubt at first served the church promiscuously among themselves. But the priory, after a time, it would seem, obtaining "the privi-

<sup>1</sup> "The church is held of the sacrist of Ramsey in ten silver marks in the name of an annual pension" (Chartulary of Ramsey Abbey, *Chron. and Mem.*, i., p. 458).

lege from the Apostolic see of serving the church by their own canons, of whom one shall answer to the bishop for the care of the people, and to the Prior and Convent for the temporalities" (*Linc. Reg.*), appointed, and got the bishop to institute, *one* of the brethren from 1260 onwards, "*to the cure of souls*," until, in 1334, for some cause not explained, perhaps the removal of the cell, they had their nominee—always a canon of their foundation—instituted to the vicarage of Flitwick.

To show how large a proportion of the churches in our immediate neighbourhood were in the possession of the religious orders, I have drawn up a list of those within the two old rural deaneries of Dunstable and Fleete. They are but examples, we may be sure, of the state of affairs elsewhere.

Thus, in the *Rural Deanery of Dunstable* alone :

*Caddington* was given by William the Conqueror to S. Paul's Cathedral, London.

*Chalgrave*, by Roger Loring, with consent of Simon de Beauchamp, his feudal lord, *circa* 1200, to Dunstable.

*Studham*, by Alex. de Stodham, to Dunstable, also very early.

*Totternhoe*, by Simon de Wahul, *ante* 1196, to Dunstable Priory. Beside the newly-constituted parish of Dunstable itself, by Henry I., the founder of the priory.

*Eaton Bray*, and probably also *Whipsnade* as part of the manor, by Stephen, Earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, before he became King of England in 1135, to Merton Priory, in Surrey.

*Milton Bryant*, also by Rob. Fitzbrien, *temp.* Henry II., to Merton.

*Luton* and *Houghton Regis*, by William, Earl of Gloucester, *c.* 1154 (though for some compensation).

*Pottesgrove*, by Walter Blancfront, *t.* Henry II., all to S. Alban's.

*Streatley* and *Sundon* were given to Markgate, the donor unknown.

*Tilsworth* to S. Giles de Bosco.

*Higham Gobion* to the prioress of S. Trinity de Bosco.

*Hockliffe* to S. John the Baptist's Hospital in the parish.

*Barton le Cley* had been given to Ramsey Abbey long before the Conquest, *ante* 1034, by Eadnothus, their first abbot, afterwards Bishop of Dorchester (1034-50).

*Leighton Buzzard* at the time of the Conquest formed part of the endowment of the bishopric of Dorchester (in Oxford), and was early converted into a prebendal stall in Lincoln Cathedral,

the presentation to the church being in the hands of the prebendary.

Thus, out of the twenty churches of the deanery, eighteen were early appropriated to ecclesiastical corporations, which, if they did not take for their own use the whole of the rectorial lands and tithes, and convert the church into a vicarage—as they did in half the number of cases, the income of the others being too meagre to allow of a division—almost invariably exacted a considerable pension from the rector.

The only two churches left in lay hands were *Battlesden* and *Toddington*, and even the patronage of this last was for some time (1221, etc.) in the possession of a foreign monastery.

Thus, also, in the old *Rural Deanery of Flete* :

The churches of *Ampthill* and *Millbrook* were given *temp.* William the Conqueror and William Rufus, by Nigel de Wast, with the consent of his feudal lords, Nigel d'Albini and Henry d'Albini, of Cainhoe in Clophill, to S. Alban's, the latter church, Millbrook, to be a cell to the abbey, *i.e.*, with a staff of resident monks instead of a rector. By Robert d'Albini, the son of Henry, they were both transferred to his newly-founded priory of Beaulieu (Beadlow), in Clophill, which henceforth was made a cell of the abbey instead.

*Aspley* was given, *ante* 1207, by Roger de Salford, with consent of Simon de Beauchamp, to Newenham.

*Clophill* was given by Nigel d'Albini and his son Henry (1097-1119) to S. Alban's, being afterwards transferred by Robert d'Albini to Beaulieu.

*Cranfield* was the gift of Ailwyn Niger, who died 998, to Ramsey Abbey.

*Eversholt* was granted, apparently by Simon de Beauchamp, who died 1207, to the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem.

*Flitton* was early in the possession of Elstow Abbey ; they presented to it in 1235, but neither the name of the donor nor the date of the gift is known.

*Flitwick* and *Husborn Crawley* were given by William, son of Fulke, and Osmunda his wife, to Dunstable Priory, their grant being confirmed by Henry II. (1173-85).

*Lower Gravenhurst* was in the possession of Newenham Priory in 1247, who then presented to it.

*Harlington* was granted to Dunstable by Ralph Pyrot, with consent of Robert d'Albini, who died 1192.

*Hawnes* was given by Simon de Beauchamp, who died 1207, to Chicksands Priory.

*Maulden* was given, along with the manor, by the Conqueror's niece, the Countess Judith, to the nuns of her foundation at Elstow—part, probably, of the very earliest gift conveying a church to a monastery after the Conquest.

*Pulloxhill* was granted by J. Pyrot, with consent of his lord, Robert d'Albini, who died 1192, to Dunstable Priory.

*Salford* was in the possession of Newenham in 1229, when its vicarage was ordained.

*Segehoe* (Ridgmont) was given by Simon de Wahul, who died 1196, to Dunstable.

*Steppingley* was also granted to Dunstable by Richard de Steppingley, *ante* 1220.

*Westoning* was originally granted by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who died 1229, to the Knights Templars, but it must have passed soon to Elstow, who presented to it in 1245.

One other church also, that of *Lidlington*, belonged to a religious community, to the abbess of Barking, Essex. But the conveyance of this to the abbey stands on a different ground from that of all, probably, of the preceding, with the exception of Cranfield in this Fleete deanery, and Barton in that of Dunstable, the advowson having passed as a matter of course along with the manor of the parish to the abbey, which owned it at the date of the Survey, and had probably done so, even then, for many hundred years, the abbey having been founded about 680 A.D.

This leaves but three churches in the deanery the advowsons of which were in the hands of the lords of the manors at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, viz., Hulcote, Marston, and Tingrith.

Not one church in either this deanery or in that of Dunstable was in the gift of the bishop of the diocese.



## APPENDIX AO. (Chap. VI., p. 101.)

## HOUGHTON AND POTTESGROVE CHURCHES.

*Houghton.*

ALTHOUGH the first *extant* presentation to *Houghton vicarage* is dated 1227, the vicarage itself was ordained, as described even in 1220, "*ex dudum*," very long ago, the above presentation being made merely on the occurrence of a vacancy. The value of the *vicarage* in that year is said to be "a hundred shillings and more," yet the return given in *Inquis. Nonarum*, 1340, amounts only to £3 6s. 8d. (viz., tithe of hay, 16s. 8d., of mill, 3s. 4d., small tithes, £2 6s. 8d.), the value of the "obventions" or offerings (£1 13s. 4d.) being here evidently omitted. In the earlier *Taxatio*<sup>1</sup> (1291), the "*church*" is returned at £16 13s. 4d. The term "*church*," in this return, was meant to include the whole value of both rectory and vicarage, where both were in existence, but that this was the value of the rectory alone (*i.e.*, of the chief tithes and glebe) seems apparent from the entry in 1363 (*Dug., Mon.*, ii. 241). "The rector" (of the abbey, to whom the *rectory*<sup>2</sup> had been assigned) "has the church of Howton, which is valued at £16 13s. 4d.," exactly the same sum. In 1535 the rectory was re-valued at £41; and was still in the king's hands in 1543, being returned as "the farm of the rectory, £41." "Rectory of Dunstable Houghton, George Cavendish, Farmer" (*Newcome*, p. 489).

As there is no separate mention here of the tithes, as in the case of Luton and others, it is evident that these are included in the £41, being farmed, as was generally the case, by the same person.

<sup>1</sup> The historian of the abbey makes merry over the fact that during a vacancy in the abbacy this year, caused by the death of Abbot Roger de Norton, the vicarage of Hocton (Houghton) also becoming void at the same time, the prior and convent presented to it, and the archbishop approved and instituted their nominee, without interference from, and, as it was also presumably to be concluded, without the knowledge of the king (*Ed. I.*).

<sup>2</sup> Abbot J. Moote (1396-1401) built at the rectory of Houghton a good grange on a foundation of stone, of timber and earth, well tiled, and covered with slate or stone, and inclosed the same with a strong wall (*Newcome*). The rectory land was rated at half a hide, and consisted of half a carucate, *i.e.*, about sixty acres arable.

The *vicarage* in 1535 was re-valued at £12 13s. 4d.

We are told by M. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* (Luard), v. 669) that Abbot J. de Hertford in 1258 assigned the church, *i.e.*, the rectory of Hochtona (Houghton), together with six marks annually from the vicarage of Pottesgrave, for the victuals ("bread and cheese") of the abbey.

The following are the terms of the ordination of Houghton as a vicarage, as recorded in *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells* (p. 21):

"Hochton. Vicaria in ecclesia de Hochton que est Abbatis et conventus S. Albani *ex dudum ordinata* consistet in omnibus obventionibus altaris et minutis decimis. Et sustinebit vicarius omnia onera preter hospicium archidiaconi quod dicti Abbas et conventus procurabunt."

*Pottesgrave*, or Pottesgrove, was evidently converted into a vicarage at the same time as Luton, and its parsonage, unless the entry in *Liber Antiquus* is a mistake, was apparently given for a while to the priory of Beaulieu in Clophill, a cell of S. Alban's. The earliest recorded presentation, however, was in 1260, when it was in the hands of the abbey. In 1291 "the church" was valued only at £3 14s. 4d. The source of this income is omitted in *Inq. Non.*, 1340, but in the original ordination of the vicarage the *vicar* was assigned the "whole altarage (offerings, fees, etc.) and the tithes both great and small of the tenants of the abbey in the parish," which, as the land scarcely exceeded a hide and a half (less than two hundred acres), the tithe could not have been very valuable. In 1363 the rectory itself was valued at £10 13s. 4d.

Some time before 1464 the church was reconstituted a rectory, and has continued to be such till the present time. Yet in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535, it is still styled a vicarage, being valued at £11 6s. 8d. But that this is a mistake is plain, not merely from the presentations being distinctly stated, as in the years from 1463 onwards, to be to the rectory, but from there being no mention in the minister's accounts of S. Alban's, 1543-44, of the abbey receiving anything, as in the case of Houghton, from the farm of Pottesgrave rectory. The church having become disappropriated, it did not, like that other church, contribute any longer to the support of the abbey.

In 1258 Abbot J. de Hertford seems to have exacted a pension of six marks (£4) from the vicar of Pottesgrave for the victuals of the abbey (M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, v. 669).

There is no means, it seems, of ascertaining from any published

documents whether either the rectorial tithes or the profits of any of the rectorial lands of Luton (whether they be identical with the manor of Dolowe or not), or indeed of any of the other lands or tithes, such as those of Houghton or Pottesgrave, or of the lands late of William the Chamberlain in Luton, Houghton, Pottesgrave, Battlesden, and Hertswell, originally assigned to the coquinarius, were latterly given to him or to any other special official. It would rather appear that after 1363, at least, none of these profits were continued to any officer bearing the title of coquinarius. We are told that there was an extensive rearrangement made at that period by the Abbot Thos. de la Mare of the offices and estates of the abbey. In that year we find the revenues of Houghton and Pottesgrave churches, at least, in the hands, not of the coquinarius, but of the rector, though possibly still used for the same purpose, that of hospitality to guests and pilgrims. It would seem that henceforth, at all events, none of the other revenues were so employed. And when Pottesgrave became a rectory again (*c.* 1460) this source of income was lost to the rectorarius. How far the profits even of Houghton Church were affected—and still more probably those from the other properties—by Abbot Wheathamstead's *Nova Ordinatio* does not clearly appear, though they would certainly seem to fall under its provisions.<sup>1</sup> In 1432 he instituted a new officer called the master of the works, and it was ordained that all the *rents of the abbey in Bedfordshire* should be applied to this office. It is expressly mentioned that the "rents to be applied were from Beaulieu, in Clophill, and from *other farms* in the same county, valued at £24 6s. 8d." This, if it excluded the churches and their tithes, would seem to comprise all their lands, as well as all other of the above-mentioned lands. So that the revenue of the manor of Dolowe at least (*c.* £10), which according to its court roll included the abbey's land in Luton, Biscot, Pottesgrave, and Hertswell, and presumably in Houghton and Battlesden also (for the deed professes to be but extracts from three or four years of the roll), must have gone to the master of the works for the repair of the abbey, etc.

The terms of the ordination are as follows :

"Pottesgrave. Vicaria in ecclesia de Potesgrave que est prioris

<sup>1</sup> Newcome, p. 379 *et seq.*, from MS. written by Blakeney, secretary to Abbot Ramridge, "de terris adquisitis per Joan Whet. et Tho. Ramridge," and now in the library of the Royal Society, London.

et conventus de Bello Loco, auctoritate concilii ordinata, consistet in toto altaragio et in decimis omnimodis tenencium abbatis in Potesgrave."

It is not clear what lands the abbey possessed in Beds just at this time, but in the *Computus Min.*, 1543-44, the following are mentioned :

	£	s.	d.
Manor of Dellowe . . . . .	10	0	0
Rents from Free Tenants in Luton . . .	3	19	3
„ Customary Tenants in Luton . . .	4	2	9½
Manor of Beaulieu, Clophill . . . . .	9	13	4
Hawnes, rents from Free Tenants . . .	0	6	8
Wylkennsted (Wilstead), rents . . . .	0	6	8
Pottesgrave, rents from Free Tenants . .	1	0	0
Battlesden, „ „ . . . . .	0	2	8
Houghton, „ „ . . . . .	0	2	0
Hartewell, „ „ . . . . .	0	6	8
Wroxehylle (Marston Mortayne) . . . .	1	0	0
<hr/>			
Campton, Firm of Rectory . . . . .	31	0	0½
Chapel of S. Machutus, Farm of Chapel .	2	0	0
Luton, rent of Meadow . . . . .	5	0	0
Middleton Keymes (Ernest?), Tenant . .	0	10	0
	0	2	0
<hr/>			
	£38	12	0½
<hr/>			

## APPENDIX AP. (Chap. VI., p. 102.)

### PAROCHIAL (OR HAMLET) CHAPELS.

It was only, of course, the offerings and lands of those chapels in the parish which belonged to the church, and not to private chapels therein, which were then apportioned—those where the services had to be supplied by priests more or less connected with the parish church. It is difficult to identify the sites of either kind of chapels, even when their existence can be proved. It is probable that there had been at Luton, as elsewhere, from

the earliest times, "wayside" and other chapels in most of the hamlets of the parish, and these having at times some profitable land attached to them.

In later times, in connection with the parish church, there seems to have been at least three, viz., one in Limbury, and two in Stoppesley.

(1) In 1 Queen Mary (May 2nd, 1533) a farm in Lymbery in Luton, late of the *Chapel of Lymbery*, Beds, was rated preparatory to sale, the *land*, according to the above composition, having belonged to S. Alban's, and therefore confiscated to the crown (*Cal. and Inventory*, etc.), and in 1734 there was a "Limbury Chappell Field" (*Map of Biscot*).

(2) "In Stoppesley, near Falconer's Hall, originally stood a house and small *chapel*, the foundation of which may still be seen, the whole surrounded with a moat. The place is still called 'Chapel Field'" (or Little Chapel Close, 5 acres, 0 roods, 15 perches, *Tithe Book*), "and the land next to it, Chapel Common" (14 acres, 3 roods, 11 perches) (Davis, p. 96). There was also in these parts in 1543 a "chappell coppice" of three acres.

(3) Leland (*Itinerary*), quoting from Camden, speaks of the abbots of S. Alban's having a summer residence with a chapel dedicated to S. Ann, on S. Ann's hill. This is "the free chapel in Luton called *S. Ann's Chapel*, mentioned in *Particulars of Leases, Eliz. and James*" (Record Office). The date of the erection of this chapel is unknown. All the surrounding land (43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches) belonged to the abbey—S. Ann's field itself containing in 1848 9 acres, 1 rood, 16 perches, free, like the rest, from impropriate tithe.

Land was often given for chantries in these hamlet chapels, as well as in parish churches, which helped towards their maintenance. At times it seems the priest was not supplied, though the endowment was. Thus, Dunstable Priory in 1235 granted to James de Caus, to be erected at his own expense, a chantry in the chapel of Sharpenhoe, "and thus," the historian continues, "we retained seven acres given to us *ab antiquo* for a chantry."

S. Alban's owned such a chapel on the borders of Haynes and Wilshamstead, dedicated to S. Machutus (S. Malo), given to Beaulieu Priory in Clophill by Richard d'Albini of Cainhoe.

In *A Glance at Biscott*, 1734, it is stated that "in old times both Legrave and Lymbery had churches, though Luton was the parish one." This seems to have been the tradition in the last

century, and may possibly have been the case, but there is no evidence of there having been any chapel at Leagrave at any period, nor, in later times, at Biscot.<sup>1</sup> That at Limbury was probably considered as sufficient for the three hamlets, as the church at Biscot is in the present day, whilst Limbury was even more central.

Of private chapels we find mention of

(1) A *chapel at Farley Hospital*, called in 1431 a "hermitage," and erected no doubt shortly after the foundation of the hospital in 1156. The offerings here were not likely to go to the vicar, any more than the lands could come into the possession of the abbey (*Cal. and Invent. of Particulars*, Public Record Office).

(2) Attached also to the hospital of SS. Mary and Mary Magdalene in Stopsley (1162-70) there must have been a chapel.

(3) There was probably also one at the Lepers' Hospital.

(4) In 1240 Alan de Hyde and his wife obtained a priest from Dunstable Priory to minister to them in their *own chapel at Hyde* (Hearne's *Excerpt. Chron. Dun.*, ii., p. 691).

(5) At Someries there are still the remains of a *chapel*, which was not, however, erected until the fifteenth century.

## APPENDIX AQ. (Chap. VI., p. 108.)

### THE SITE OF FALKES' CASTLE.

ACCORDING to Davis (p. 32) there were both a mound and a ditch surrounding the supposed site of a castle on Castle Hill. But no known part of the property of the abbey was anywhere near that hill so as to be injured by an overflow from a moat there. That a "stagnus" or moat surrounded *Falkes' Castle*, wherever it was situated, may be taken for granted, but "the pool" alluded to need not necessarily have been connected with his castle or have been a moat at all. The castle may possibly have been on the hill, and the pool elsewhere, and the situation of the latter at least seems determined by the words of the historian, and by what is known of the situation of the church's land. The above trans-

<sup>1</sup> Newcome (p. 273) states that Abbot Thos. de la Mare (1349-1396) received "from the church of Biscot 6s. 8d. per ann.," but the record from which he quotes (Cott. MS., Claud. E. IV., Brit. Mus.) merely says "from Biscot."

action was affected by the nearness of the pool, and not that of the castle, whose situation has only an indirect bearing upon the subject. The known existence, however, of the mound and surrounding moat, close to the churchyard and vicarage, point to the strong probability of there having been a castle there; and when to this is added the fact of the Blackwater ditches, up almost to the present day, "fending" the vicarage land, there seems to be little room to doubt as to where both Falkes' pool and castle were, or that it was the flooding of the moat surrounding the latter—the letting out all the water suddenly from it, while the corn was still upon the land—that did the damage. Nor, it is also to be observed, was any other part either of Dolowe or of any other property of the abbey, so far as its locality is known, so situated as to have been capable of being overflowed *from any other spot*, nor even near to any other pool, moat, or ditch, with the exception, of course, of the abbey's own milldam. The very name "Blackwater," though afterwards extended to neighbouring parts, seems to recall the condition of what must have been the frequent state of the water in the moat, and to represent accurately the "stagnus" of the historian. It must not be overlooked, either, that it is not improbable that *Waudari*, like the rest of Stephen's favourites, built himself a castle, and would naturally choose for its site such an eminence as that of Castle Hill. No doubt most of such castles were demolished, according to the treaty of 1153, in the succeeding reign, if not in that of Stephen himself. *Falkes* may have had other reasons for his choice of a site, and the name of "Court Close," attached to the site near the church, seems to connect it directly with the residence of a lord of the manor.

## APPENDIX AR. (Chap. VI., p. 122.)

### RURAL DEANERIES.<sup>1</sup>

THE office of "rural *dean*," under the more ancient title of "archipresbyter" or "archpriest," seems to have arisen in the Western Church about the middle of the sixth century, when that of "chorepiscopus," or "rural *bishop*," was allowed to drop. The

<sup>1</sup> See Dausey, *Hora Decanica Rurales*.

earliest mention of the office and title is in A.D. 567. The archpriest appears to have acted as the vicarious church officer of the bishop over any allotted portion of the diocese, large or small. When about the year A.D. 800, the civil dioceses on the continent were divided into decennaries, the ecclesiastical dioceses were also divided into deaneries, and the change of title took place from archpriest to rural dean, or rather the latter became an additional and more frequent title; his jurisdiction being conterminous with the already prescribed deanery, and his title often derived from it. The parochial system, which took two or three centuries at least in developing, must have become pretty generally established in England before there could have been any need or scope for such an officer as a rural dean, especially as each bishop was bound to visit every part of his diocese once a year,<sup>1</sup> and that not merely before the division into parishes, but long afterwards. It was not until about the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) that the ecclesiastical bounds of parishes seem to have been generally fixed, as they have since obtained throughout England. And it is probably about this same time that "a certain number of contiguous cures, in classes of *ten* or more (the ecclesiastical in this matter copying the civil state),<sup>2</sup> were . . . modelled into deaneries, . . . and placed under 'deans rural,' who still preserved the title of 'archpriests.'" "It is certain that in the year 1052 this then important personage appears for the first time, in the tomes of the councils of Great Britain and Ireland, under the style and title of '*Decanus* Episcopi,' in which capacity he takes cognizance of the violation of the peace *within his deanery*, and with the earl and king receives a share of the fine awarded upon it." From the above phrase, "*Decanatus in cujus decanatu*," it would seem to follow that in some parts of the country, at least at this time, the dean had his particular deanery, and was not, as was perhaps the case earlier, like the archdeacon of that day, a non-resident delegate sent for a special purpose to different parts of the diocese. It does not, however, follow that the office was generally established throughout the kingdom during Saxon times, "terri-

<sup>1</sup> Council of Cloveshoe (*C. of Calcyth*, 785; *Constitutions of Abp. Odo*, 943).

<sup>2</sup> "The first division of this kingdom into *hundreds* and *tithings* was ordained by King Alfred" (871-901). But this division cannot have taken place in Mercia until at least late in Edward the Elder's reign (after 919).



torial deans as well as territorial archdeacons are later than the Conquest.”<sup>1</sup>

It was not, it seems, until Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, in 1078, appointed an archdeacon over each of the counties within his extensive diocese<sup>2</sup> that in this country any permanent division either of sees into archdeaconries, or of archdeaconries into definite rural deaneries, took place—an example soon followed in other dioceses both as to archdeaconries and deaneries. And when the Conqueror, a few years later, separated the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdiction, not merely bishops’ and archdeacons’ courts, but also ruri-decanal courts or chapters, all alike termed “courts of Christianity,” became necessary, both for the carrying out the sentences of superior courts and for other local matters, and seem to have sprung speedily into existence. “The better,” says Dr. Inett (*Origines Anglicanae*, II., chap. ii., p. 64), “to suit the conduct of church affairs to those of the state, and make this new establishment to answer the ancient division of the kingdom into counties and hundreds, the bishops of England did, about the year 1085, divide their dioceses into archdeaconries and deaneries, and to fit theirs to the branches of the civil authority, took the archdeacons and rural deans into a share of their jurisdiction, and fitted their titles to, or rather borrowed them from, the district they assigned them; and that hence it came to pass that the archdeacons, whose courts were to answer those of the county, had usually the county for their district, and their titles from the district in which they acted; and the names of rural deaneries seem to be taken from the hundreds, and were, and generally are, the same to this day.” In the neighbouring county of Hertfordshire this latter was the case, the rural deaneries having not merely the same names as the hundreds, but being also conterminous with them. In Bedfordshire the only deaneries which can have taken their titles from the hundred are those of Bedford and of Flitte, but these deaneries and hundreds have never been, as far as is known, strictly conterminous—and the names of these two have probably been derived, not from those of

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 233. “The first person who is called archdeacon is Wulfred, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in A.D. 805, and who is so named in a charter of his predecessor” (note 4). The archdeacon is only once mentioned in the laws: “If a priest disobey the order of the archdeacon he has to pay twelve ores” (*Northumbrian Priest’s Law*, § 6, note 5).

<sup>2</sup> Hen. Hunt. de Episc. sui temp. (*Angl. Sacr.*, pars ii., pp. 695 et seq.).

the hundreds, but, like the other original deaneries of the county,<sup>1</sup> from the chief towns and villages within them which bear the same name—Flitte being the ancient name of Flitton.

That allusions to, or the signatures of, individual rural deans should be scanty in the few extant documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even later, is not to be wondered at. Yet there is direct mention made of a rural dean in the diocese of Worcester in 1092, with a territorial title; the same as at present in that of York, viz., the Dean of Craven in 1175, and 1136, and again in that of Lincoln in 1172 and 1186, and in Norwich (Thetford), 1175. Early in the succeeding century the same officer appears in several dioceses, as in Lichfield, where he is called "*servus archidiaconi*," in 1200, Lincoln, 1212, Salisbury ("*decanus loci*"), 1219, Durham, 1220, 1255, 1312, Canterbury, where the previous existence of such an office for some time is alluded to ("*de consuetudine*"), 1222, Chichester, 1226, but existing earlier, 1246, 1285, 1289, and Exeter, 1287 ("*locarum ordinarii*").

But that dioceses were divided into deaneries, and that the office of rural dean itself was generally, if not universally, established throughout the kingdom, though not always filled with an incumbent, during these periods, seems clear from the frequent references to it.

<sup>1</sup> At the Domesday Survey the county was divided into *nine* hundreds and three half-hundreds, the town of Bedford being also taken as a half-hundred; whereas, in the earliest extant list of rural deaneries, viz., that of 1291, there were only *six* deaneries in the county: Eton (Eaton), Clopham (Clapham), Bedeford, Dunstable, Flitte, and Schefford.

*The ancient hundreds* were: Bereforde (Barford), Bicheleswade (Biggleswade), Clistone (Clifton), Flictham (Flitt), Manesheve (Manshead), Radbernestoc, Rathborgestocke (Redbornstoke), Stodene (Stodden), Wilge, Wilga (Willey), Wickestneston (Wixamtree). Three half-hundreds: Bochelai, now divided between Barford and Willey; Stanburge (Stanbridge), now merged in Manshead; Weneslai, now merged in Biggleswade. The town of Bedford was also considered a half-hundred.

In neither of the counties of Oxford, Bucks, or Hunts can the names of the deaneries be supposed to have been taken from the hundreds. Where there was a similarity it was evidently only from both being derived from the chief town in the district. In Oxford not one name is the same, there having been originally fourteen hundreds, but only nine rural deaneries; in Bucks, the towns of Buckingham and Newport (Pagnel) have naturally given names to two of the eighteen hundreds and of the eight rural deaneries; in Hunts, the names of Hurstingstone (Huntingdon), Leycheston (Leightonstone), are alone found corresponding in the four hundreds and five rural deaneries.

Geoffrey, lay-bishop elect of *Lincoln*, having raised an immense sum of money through his diocese, determining to refund it, caused it to be distributed *by the rural dean*, c. 1170, among the persons from whom it had been unjustly extorted; same officers, in all probability, had been agents of original levy.

One instance of paying tenths for Henry II.'s Crusade, 1188. The tribute was ordered to be levied in each parish in the presence of the parish priest, and of the *archpriest* and others ("in singulis parochiis, præsente presbytero parochiæ, et *archipresbytero*, et alijs"), "excommunication having been previously pronounced by the archbishop, bishops, and *archpriests* or *deans* against all who paid not the said tenths in the presence of the said collectors."

The rural deanery of the city of Norwich, *instituted* 1216, though not collated to till 1329.

Bishop Bleys of *Worcester*, 1219, ordered that every apparitor attached to a *rural dean* should be, at least, of the order of acolyte.

The privilege of using a seal was confirmed to rural deans *in England* (for it *previously* existed) by the twenty-eighth constitution of Cardinal Otho, 1236.

Extant list of rural deans of Fincham, *Norfolk*, from 1250 to 1518.

As valuers under the Norwich taxation, 1254, when Innocent III. granted to Henry III. (1253) three yearly tenths of all spiritualities in England, the rural deans of England are charged in the *Literæ Executoria* of the papal collector to make just estimations in writing of all ecclesiastical benefices within their respective deaneries, and to seal the same with their official signets; having adjudicated on the same together with three of the chief rectors or vicars of their deanery, upon oath.

Same rural functionaries were *valuators* under *Tax. of P. Nich. IV.*, and *collected* the decimal imposts on the estimation of ecclesiastical benefices commenced in 1288 and completed 1292, returning the amount to the bishop.

List of deans of Hingham, *Norfolk*, from 1307 to 1567.

Authority of seals of rural deans, by which they were invested into office, confirmed by Archbishop Stratford, 1342.

At the first adoption of rural deans in Ireland, 1152, it is expressly stated that they succeeded the chorepiscopi, the church which had previously been the seats of villan bishops and smaller

prelates being made the capitals of deaneries and archpriests instituted in them by bishops in lieu of chorepiscopi.

Though the rural deans were not generally concerned in *Val. Ecc.*, Henry VIII., except as being called in on special occasions for their help, yet the names of persons holding the office are recorded at the head of each deanery in which the office obtained at that time.

That England in general was divided into rural deaneries in the middle of the twelfth century may certainly be inferred from the fact of their introduction into Ireland in 1152.

## APPENDIX AS. (Chap. VII., p. 138.)

### MEMBERS OF THE MANOR OF DOLOWE.

#### *Battlesden, Pottesgrove, and Hertswell.*

THAT these were included in the term "Dolowe and its members," is corroborated by the fact that no mention of either of them as belonging to the abbey occurs in the proper place for their insertion in their own rural deaneries. That the names of the two former do not appear upon the existing fragment of the Dollow Court Roll may be easily accounted for.

The abbey's *Battlesden* property (half a hide) is found (*Rot. Hund.*, Edward I., 1272-1302, p. 7, *i.e.*, at the very time of the Taxation) to be held *of the abbot* by a William Chamberlain "in pure and perpetual alms." So it must have been attached to *one of the abbey's manors*, as it had evidently formed part of the *fief* of the *church of Luton* when that church and its manor were in the hands of the earlier William the Chamberlain, it no doubt continued to be attached to the same when both came into the possession of the abbey. But being held by the later William Chamberlain in *free alms*, *i.e.*, without rent, suit, or service, the name would not appear on the Court Roll amid the fines for non-attendance and such like.

The *free rent* of 2s. 8d. from Battlesden mentioned in *Computus Ministrorum*, 1543, must, it seems, have been derived from some other lands in that parish, of the gift or purchase of which no record has been met with.

The case of *Pottesgrove* is somewhat similar. The same

authority (*Rot. Hund.*, p. 6) states that a hide and a half, and a quarter of a virgate were still held by the abbot in free alms<sup>1</sup> "of the Earl of Gloucester and he of the king." As this also was held in free alms, the connection with the superior lord, the Earl of Gloucester, was merely nominal, and, as was the case with the rest of the land both in Battlesden and Pottesgrove (*vide Rot. Hund.*), it was necessarily held in connection with some inferior manor or fief. This manor, as in the case of Battlesden, was from the first, and doubtless continued to be, that of the church.

The original holding of William the Chamberlain in Pottesgrove (formerly the property of Morcar, the priest of Luton), was rated at but one hide, though containing one carucate (120 acres) of arable land, and one carucate of meadow. At the date of *Rot. Hundredorum* (1272-1302) it had increased, as stated above. The undated gifts of Roland Blanchfront to the abbey of two messuages and half a hide of land with appurtenances, 13½ acres of arable and 1 acre of meadow in the open fields, and of Henry Blanchfront of land and meadow all in Pottesgrove (*Otho, D.*, iii., pp. 120, 121), had no doubt been made in the interval, probably shortly after the gift of the advowson of Pottesgrove by Walter Blanchfront to Abbot Symon (1166-1176).

All was eventually united in a free tenancy—apparently in the fourteenth century, and in the family of the Nortons—under the name of the "manor of Lovels" or "Lovelsbury" (Sheeplane), the tenant in 1543 paying a yearly rent of £1. After passing through the hands of Lord Clinton and Say, and that of Saunders (along with the advowson), William Duncomb in 1603 died seized of it, being "held of the king as of the *monastery of S. Albans*."

When formed into a separate manor its name could hardly be expected in the extract from the Manor Roll of Dollow.

*Hertswell* (Hertwell, Hartwell, Herdwell, Herdewelle). In the original *Taxatio* the words "*et Hakewell*," the latter evidently a clerical mistake for Hertswell, after having been inserted after "membra," has been erased, apparently from being an unnecessary

<sup>1</sup> Though only Pottesgrove is mentioned in *Rot. Hundr.* as being held in free alms, yet all the lands which had been held by William the Chamberlain were granted in free alms, *vide* "Release by William, Earl of Gloucester, and King Stephen's confirmation of Earl William's gift" (*Otho, D.*, iii., pp. 115, 116).

addition as being included in the word "members." This hamlet, two miles from Aylesbury, is distinctly named in each of the four years 1454-1457, of the *Extracts from the Court Roll of Dolew*; on each occasion the tenants paid the usual fine of 2s. and 2s. more for default of attendance at the court. The land consisted of two carucates, and was rated at two hides and valued at 30s. (Domesday). Lipscombe, in his *History of Bucks* (ii. 312), is at a loss to know what became of William the Chamberlain's two hides in Hertwell. The *Gesta Abbatum* would have told him that they passed to S. Alban's abbey, whilst the *Court Roll of Dolew* would have shown that they continued in its possession during the fifteenth century, and the *Commutus Ministrorum* that they remained to it until the Dissolution, when its free tenant or tenants paid 6s. 8d. per annum. It is noticeable that the manor of Hertwell (Lyson's *Bucks*, 574), or perhaps it was only the above manor in Hertwell, was held from the reign of Hen. III. (1216-1272) to the year 1392 or somewhat later by a family of the name of *Luton*. This looks as if some one from the town of Luton had first rented the abbot's property at Hertwell, and then either converted it into a manor or acquired a manor there (*Cal. of Close Rolls*, Edw. II.).

## APPENDIX AT. (Chap. VII., p. 144.)

### MONASTIC COLLEGES AT OXFORD.

It is not possible to ascertain to which university, still less to which college, some of the earlier vicars of Luton belonged, even when the mark of an university degree is attached to their name. But it is not safe to conclude, when this latter is wanting in the very brief description of the person instituted given in the Bishop's Register or elsewhere, that in such cases the vicar was necessarily a member of no university. Even before the erection of special colleges for students, most of those designed for the ministry studied at one of the universities. Before the fourteenth century, indeed, only three colleges had been founded at Oxford and only one at Cambridge; during this century four more, still existing under the same name, and three which have changed their title, were endowed at Oxford, and five at least at Cambridge.

But the attractions of the Dominicans and Franciscans, with their new learning and science, drew so many students to these places that, according to one authority, though the statement is probably somewhat exaggerated, there were even in the time of Henry III. (1216-1272) no less than 30,000 of them at Oxford alone. Many of the early colleges were designed especially for the training of young men for the various offices of the abbeys; but the monasteries, not being able to absorb the great number educated, most of these were transplanted by them to country churches and became secular clergy and newly-endowed vicars (Newcome, p. 232).

In Edward II.'s reign (1307-1326) the Benedictines founded Durham College at Oxford, to train up their youth to be seculars or regulars, and the Gloucester monks of themselves founded Gloucester College for those of their own community with a like purpose, this latter college being afterwards extended to the use of other houses of the Benedictines, among which the abbey of S. Alban's was included. Abbot Moote of S. Albans (1396-1401) himself enlarged the buildings for students whom he wished to maintain there. It is very probable, therefore, that many at least of the pre-Reformation vicars of Luton were members of Gloucester College, sent there perhaps at the expense of the abbey. Special funds were at times allotted by the abbots for this very purpose, as, *e.g.*, in 1435 by Abbot Wheathamstead, who had himself been educated at the college and was at one time its prior, who assigned to it part of the revenue of the dissolved cell of Beaulieu in Cloghill. The earliest list of the *students* at Oxford commences only in 1449, and is very imperfect towards the beginning. No list is extant for Cambridge earlier than 1659, and then only of the *graduates*.

## APPENDIX AU. (Chap. VII., p. 150.)

### NATIVI.

"THE natives (born bondservants, transferable by sale) owed suit to the abbot's court indefinitely at the will of the lord or his bailiff. In addition to the usual requirement to resort to the abbey mills, and pay pannage for their hogs, the tenants had to

purchase from the abbot, at his own price, the power of marrying their daughters out of the manor, and if they themselves went astray carnally, pay their fine. At the death of any 'native,' the abbot became entitled to his pigs and capons, his horses at grass, his domestic horses, his bees, pork, linen and woollen cloth, his money in gold and silver, his brazen vessels; but the widow, by a concession of the abbot, was allowed to keep the metal, the abbot having the option of purchasing the vessels. Corn standing and gathered was to be divided between widow and abbot. The abbot was allowed to purchase a hen or a duck for 2d., and a duckling in Lent for 1½d., and have the first offer of any hay or corn for sale."

In the *Dunstable Chronicle*, anno 1283, is the following entry: "We sold William Pyke our naif, with his suit (*nativum nostrum, cum sequela sua*) for one mark."

And in 1288 Ralph, son of Robert Pyke, came into full court at Segenhoe, acknowledged himself naif of the prior, and taxable at his pleasure, and paid a fine of 20s. for keeping off so long.

## APPENDIX AV. (Chap. VIII., p. 154.)

### BEDFORDSHIRE CHANTRIES, OBITS, AND LIGHTS.

CHANTRY endowments for the *perpetual* maintenance of one or more priests to sing masses daily for the souls of the departed could only be made by a gift of land or tenement, or a charge upon an estate, and for this, according to the Statute of Mortmain, a licence from the crown was required. It was only, therefore, comparatively wealthy persons and fraternities who founded such chantries. For these services a separate chapel, with its altar and adjuncts, was generally erected either within the church, as in the case of Richard Barnard, or as an addition to it, as in that of Sir J. Wenlock. It seems very improbable that, as these handsome structures were evidently meant as burial chapels for those who erected them (one of them was certainly, and the other most probably, built within the founder's lifetime), they should have been intended to remain without a permanent endowment.

The following chantries, in addition to those of guilds, fraternities (hospitals), and colleges, which almost invariably sustained chantries



of their own, are mentioned as existing in 1556, their average value being little less than that of neighbouring parochial benefices. At Bedford (three) Corpus Christi in S. Paul's Church, of the value of £8 per annum, S. Cuthbert's and that of the hospital of S. John the Baptist; at Biddenham (apparently three also) "The Chantry," the chantry of S. William, and that of Biddenham Bridge; at Chalgrave (two), the earliest, £6 13s. 4d., the later, £5 2s. 10d.; Elstow, £4 18s. 10d.; Flitton with Silsoe S. Leonard's, £3 10s.; Houghton Regis, £6; Leighton, £15; Northill, S. Ann's, £4 1s. 2½d.; Sandy; Tempsford, £5 6s. 8d.; Westoning, £4 16s. 8d., and Wyboston (Eaton Socon), £6 3s. 5½d. The names of the founders, or the dates of the foundation of these, seem known only in a few instances. That at Westoning was founded by George Zouche, but the date is not mentioned. That at Tempsford had been only "lately erected" by Thomas Bole and John Mitts, both clerks.

The *Dunstable Chronicle* records that Sir Peter Loringe of Chalgrave founded three chantries in Toddington Church. There is no mention of these under the name of chantries in the *Valor Eccles.*, 1535, yet, as *three* foundations are alluded to there under the title of hospital (al' socius Hospit'), of the value respectively of £15 13s. 4d., £5, and £8 12s. 4d., in addition to the original hospital founded by Sir J. Broughton, *circa* 1450, valued at £8 18s. 2d., it would seem as if these chantries continued in existence, though under a different designation, until that time. It was probably on the excuse of their being chantries that all four were suppressed.

Though but few such chantries, comparatively, could be either erected or endowed, yet during the later mediæval times almost everyone, according to their means, left something either of a temporary or permanent character on their decease for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, once or more, on behalf of themselves, their relatives, living or departed, and all Christian souls. At times the office was to be said only on the day of the burial, or on the Sunday following, or at the end of the month ("the month's mind"), or at the end of the year ("the anniversary"), or on two more of these occasions. At other times the service was to be performed every day for thirty days after the burial ("a trental"), or every day for a year.

Examples of these various endowments and appointments are to be met with in the wills, etc., of persons connected with Luton.

ALICE, WIFE OF W. MARSHALL, as we have seen (chap. vii., c. 1115-16) *charged* a hundred shillings *upon Luton manor* for *two priests* in S. Paul's, London, to sing masses *daily for ever* for her soul; to which her husband added twenty shillings, *charged* upon his *mill* at the Breach, one part for a lamp to be kept burning over her tomb, and the other part to be spent on her *anniversary*.

WILLIAM WENLOCK, the priest (1392), left money for a *hundred masses* for his soul, to be said *on the day of his death*, or as soon after as possible, and the same number on the *day of his burial*. Also for *obits*, etc., at S. Stephen's, Westminster, and S. Paul's.

JOHN PENTHELYN, the vicar, in 1445, appointed a priest in both Luton and Langon to say masses for his soul *daily for a year*.

THOMAS, LORD HOO, in 1455, *left land* to the value of forty marks (£33 6s. 8d.) a year to Battle Abbey to find *two monks* to sing masses *for ever* at a *certain altar there*.

AGNES, the second wife of Lord Wenlock, in 1478, left a sum of money for an honest priest to sing for the souls of three of her husbands "*the trental of S. Gregory*."

JOHN BARBOUR of Luton (1509) bequeathed £6 for a fit priest to celebrate for his soul and the souls of his parents, etc., *for the space of a year*.

EDW. SHEFFIELD, vicar, 1525, left of his goods for keeping his "*month's mind*."

In very many parishes—thirty-six in the county of Bedford—some more permanent provision was made for one or more such services, some few acres of land or one or more tenements being given for "an obit," or anniversary service, for ever, these services being generally performed by the parish priest. In the following parishes there was an endowment for one obit only: Ampthill, Biggleswade, Cople, Cardington, Clophill, Colnworth, Dean, Goldington, Harlington, Houghton Regis, Milton Bryant, Renhold, Roxton, Riseley, Sandy, Sharnbrook, Steppingley, Stoughton Parva, Tempsford, Tingrith, Totternhoe, Old Warden, Wilshamstead, Woburn, Wootton, Wrestlingworth, Wilden; in these others for more than one: Shefford, Husborn Crawley, Elstow, Eyton (Eaton Bray?), Kempston, Luton, Marston, and Shillington.

At the Reformation there were dissolved no less than 2,374 chantries or free chapels, besides 90 colleges and 110 religious hospitals.

All grants made for *obits* (commemoration of the dead) and *lights* upon altars, being also confiscated to the king, a return was made of them. The following is that given for Luton in *Chantry Certificates*, Bedford, No. i., p. 31.

*Obytes and lighte in Luton.*

The rent charge of dyvers fre rentes in Luton, in the tenure of dyvers persons given for *divers obites* and *lightes* as apereth by a particuler rentall thereof made by yere at the feastes of thanuncyacyon of our Lady and Saynt Michell tharchangell by even porcons xvij.s. viiij*d*.

The ferme of *xv acres* of land there in the tenure of *William Dey* gyven to the sustentacyon of an *obite* by yere is above said *xs*.

The ferme of *v acres of land* in the tenure of *John Smyth* gyven to *thuse aforesaid* by yere as is above said *ijs*.

The ferme of *one acre of land* in the tenure of *George Rotheram* gyven to the sustentacyon of a *light* by yere as is above said *iiij*d**.  
xl.s.

Unfortunately the names of neither the donors nor of the persons for whom the obits were endowed are here given, as is often the case. Nor does the total correspond with the sum of the amount mentioned.

Three of these farms were probably sold to W. Smith and Peter Gray (those omnivorous purchasers of small church properties), as their request to purchase them is dated November 24th, 2 Edw. VI., though in the particulars for grants of them there are certain discrepancies with the former account. Rent of 15 acres of land in Luton given for *a light* (v. obit) in the tenure of W. Day, 10*s*. Rent of 5 acres of land there, given for an obit, in the tenure of J. Smith, by the year, 2*s*. Rent of 2 *acres* (v. 1 acre) of land there, given for a light in the tenure of Geo. Rotheram by the year, 4*d*.

*Lamps.*

That this, however, was not the only land given for *lights* appears from the following much later document, dated November 4th, 1571.

"Particulars for leases, Eliz. and Jas. I., Bedford, Roll 3, No. 12., co. of Beds. Parcel of the lands and tenements *concea*led from the Queen's Majesty now accounted.

"Certain lands in Luton and Sharpenhoe. Farm of *five acres* of land and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *acres of meadow* in Luton, now in the tenure of Thomas Kynge, given to maintain a *lamp* burning before the image of the Blessed Mary in the Church of Luton which was maintained within five years before the statute for the dissolution of chantries, 1 Ed. VI., worth by the year 5s.

"Farm of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *acre of land* in Luton now in the tenure of John Daye of Crawley Grene, in Luton, given to find a *lamp* burning before the Image of the Blessed Mary in the Church of Luton, which was maintained within five years before the statute above-said. Worth by the year 12d.

"Farm of *one acre of land* called a 'hedlonde,' lying at Duple Heggess in Luton, now in the tenure of William Preston, given to find a *lamp* at the time of raising the Host (in tempore levationis sacri) burning in the Church of Luton, maintained within 5 years of the statute aforesaid. Worth by the year 8d."

#### *S. Ann's Chapel.*

To these "Particulars for leases" is added another item which throws some light upon an obscure subject, viz., the former existence of a chapel on S. Ann's Hill.

Farm of a certain close of land containing 12 acres of land, lately pertaining to the free chapel in Luton, called *S. Annes Chapel*, now destroyed and wholly devastated, maintained within 5 years of the abovesaid statute, worth by the year 13s. 4d.

All these farms (together with the farm of a certain close of pasture containing  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of land, belonging to the free chapel in Sharpenhoe, in the parish of Streatley, called S. Giles Chapel now wholly destroyed, maintained within 5 years of the statute aforesaid, worth by the year 12d.), were described for a lease for William Thickyns for 21 years at rent of 21s.—(dated November 4th, 1571).

## APPENDIX AW. (Chap. VIII., p. 155.)

## JOHN PLANTAGENET, DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G.

HE was the third son of Henry IV., and born *circa* 1389, and during his father's lifetime was Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed and Warden of the Scottish Marches. On May 16th, 1414, his brother, Henry V., created him in Parliament Duke of Bedford and Earl of Kendal for life, a dignity confirmed to him and his issue male by patent, July 8th, 1433. During his brother's war in France, in which, on October 15th, 1415, the Battle of Agincourt was fought, where (Sir) Thomas Wenlock of Luton distinguished himself,<sup>1</sup> he was left in command of the forces in England. After Henry's death (1422), in accordance with his dying wish, Bedford resigned the affairs in England to his next brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and went to France to look after the interest of the infant Prince, their nephew. The Regency of France he offered to the Duke of Burgundy, who refused it; he then assumed it himself. In 1422 he was also made Protector of the Realm of England, an office which he continued to hold till the coronation of his nephew, November, 1429. By the Treaty of Troyes, 1420, Henry V. had been declared next heir to the French crown after the death of his father-in-law, Charles VI. That event taking place a few months after Henry's own death, Bedford had his nephew proclaimed King of France and England, as Henry VI. In the wars with the Dauphin which followed, Bedford displayed great generalship, and defeated the French in several battles, most disastrously at Verneuil, 1424. In consequence, however, of the parsimonious way in which men and money were doled out to him from England, and the withdrawal of the support and forces of the Duke of Burgundy—always a broken reed in the hand of England—he was unable to take full advantage of his victories. The appearance on the stage of Joan of Arc, and the raising of the siege of Orleans through her patriotic intrepidity, notwithstanding his utmost energy, was followed by disaster to the English arms, and in 1435 a treaty of peace was negotiated at Rouen, between Charles VII. and the Duke of Burgundy, which effectively ruined English interests in France. With the exception of one year (1433), in which he visited

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Part III.

England, the last nine years of his short life were spent in France. He was twice married, first (April, 1423), to Anne, sister of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who died in 1432, and secondly (1433), to Jacquetta of Luxemburg, sister of the Count of S. Pol (afterwards mother of Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV.). His death took place at Paris, September 19th, 1435, fourteen days before the ratification of the above treaty, the prospect of which, mainly, if not altogether, occasioned his fatal anxiety and vexation, on account of the union thus formed. He was buried in Rouen Cathedral. He was a great patron of letters, and purchased and removed to London the Royal Library of Paris, consisting of 900 volumes (*Chambers's Encyclopædia*). He was also Knight of the Garter (*vide Burke's Extinct Peerage*). Dying without issue, his honours became extinct.

## APPENDIX AX. (Chap. VIII., p. 157.)

### WILL OF JOHN PENTHELYN.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. X die Mensis Febr' anno dñi mccccxliiii<sup>to</sup>. Ego Joh<sup>s</sup> Penthlyn, Vicarius de Luyton, compos mentis & sane memorie, Salubri premeditatione die mee peregrinationis extremæ, et quod presentis vite condicio statum habet instabile considerans, & attendens quod breves sunt dies hominis super terram, bona mea adeo collata nolens relinquere inordinata ad laudem & honorem ipsius Domini nostri Jhū Xti, de bonis meis ordino & dispono in hunc modum. In primis, lego animam meam Deo Omnipotenti & Beate Marie, matri ejus, corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesiasticā sepulturā. Item lego ad opus ecclesie de Luytone predict' XL<sup>d</sup>. Item lego ad opus de le Chyme ibidem xiii<sup>d</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>. Item volo quod unus capellanus per unum annum integrum pro anima mea specialiter in dicta ecclesia de Luyton. Item volo quod presbyter celebret per unum annum integrum pro anima mea in ecclesia de Langon in Vallia. Item, volo quod unusquisque presbyter presens in exequiis meis & in missa die sepulture mee habeat xx<sup>d</sup> & diaconus xii<sup>d</sup> & quilibet clericus ibidem x<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego cuilibet filio meo spirituali in baptismo ad sacrum fontem a me suscepto<sup>1</sup> j

<sup>1</sup> That is, for whom he had stood sponsor; alluding to the rite of "lifting up" and receiving the baptized as he came out of the font. "Eumque de

ovem. Item, lego pauperibus distribuend' xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Item, lego domino Johanni Thomas unum meorum portifēriorum & quoscunque alios libros qui sibi placuerint. Item, lego eidem domino Johanni meōs iiij<sup>or</sup> togas optimas. Item lego eidem domino Johanni meam peciam optimam argentatam & unum siphum<sup>1</sup> coopertum de le maser.<sup>2</sup> Item, lego eidem Johanni omnia utensilia aule camere pmptuar<sup>3</sup> & coquine pertinentia. Item, lego Johanne sorori mee per p'car<sup>4</sup> argentaū cum una nosca<sup>5</sup> de le velwyt. Item, lego Johanni Thomas, marito ejus, unum diplarde<sup>6</sup> de le fusteyne blew worsted. Item lego domino Nicholao Thomas, cognato meo, duas togas. Item, Johanni Smyth unum diplorde de fustyen. Item, lego domino Nichō predicto unam tunicam nigram de le worstede. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum ultimo non legatorum do et lego domino Johi Thomas predicto & Johis Hay executoribus meis quatinus ipsi disponāt pro anima mea velint eisdem melius videbitur expediḡ. Hiis testibus Dionisio ffreston, Rectore ecclesie de Lynley Magna, Thoma Davy, Waltero Rothery & Johanne Herbet capellano. Item lego magrō loonaḡ meam copam<sup>7</sup> penulatam.

Proved before W<sup>m</sup> Bp. of Linc. 6 March 1444, in his Palace at the Old Temple, London.

## APPENDIX AY. (Chap. VIII., p. 160.)

### THOMAS, LORD HOO, OF HOO.

LORD HOO died in 1455, the same year as John Hay. He was one of the most distinguished soldiers of his day, maintaining, as his ancestors had done for many generations, the high martial

*lavacro exeuntem suscepisse*," and Bede, iii. 12; iv. 13. "Filio meo . . . quem de lavacro regenerationis *excepi*" (Bright, p. 154, note).

<sup>1</sup> Scyphum, cup.

<sup>2</sup> Wood. Thus, in the inventory of the Fratrie of Winchester (Dug., *Mon.*, ii. 223), "a standing cup, one standing massar with a cover of wood, 3 old masers perus'd."

<sup>3</sup> Promptuari, larder.

<sup>4</sup> = par peciarum, a pair of pieces, *i.e.*, two cups (Skeat).

<sup>5</sup> = a nouche, an ouche; an ornament or sockets for jewels, probably here a case or stand for the cups.

<sup>6</sup> Diploidus, duplicatus, double surtout or overcoat.

<sup>7</sup> Warm cope.

character of the manorial lords of Luton, of which parish he was in all probability a native. He seems to have been the Thomas Hoo, who in 1426 was a witness to the will of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, one of the heroes of Agincourt, and is there described as "of his chamber," and to whom he leaves one of his coursers called "Dunne" (*Test. Vet.*, i. 272). In 1429 he was High Sheriff of Bucks and Beds, and in 1433 is named amongst the gentry of the county. In 1435 he was sent with Lord Scales and Sir Thomas Kiriol (names which will be found associated later with that of Lord Wenlock) to suppress a rebellion which broke out in Normandy on the death of John, Duke of Bedford, and received in 1441-42, being then a knight, £40 a year for his success. In 1445 he was again in the French wars, being made a Knight of the Garter in that year. Two years afterwards, for his great services, he was created Baron Hoo, of Hoo, county of Bedford, and of Hastings, county of Sussex. He was thrice married, having—according to some—by his first wife, a son Thomas, who died unmarried in the lifetime of his father; by his second wife, an only daughter, Ann (married afterwards to Sir Geoffrey Boleyme, sometime Lord Mayor of London, who died in 1463), who gave her name to her great-granddaughter, Ann Boleyme, the second wife of King Henry VIII. and the mother of Queen Elizabeth; and by his third wife, three daughters. As he died without male issue, the barony of Hoo became extinct. He had a brother bearing the same Christian name as himself, a custom not unusual for even more than two brothers in the fifteenth and sixteenth century—instances being on record of as many as seven living brothers bearing the same name. It is this Thomas Hoo whose name is attached to the petition concerning S. Mary Magdalene's Hospital, described in section 12 of this Chapter VIII. It is open to doubt<sup>1</sup> whether the manor of Hoo descended to his brother Thomas as heir-male of the family (he held a court manor as either owner or trustee), or whether it at once passed to the family of Boleyme, of which one member, Sir William (the son of Ann), also held a court in 3 Hen. VII., 1484-85. The manor, however, seems to have been sold by Sir William's son, Sir Thomas (Viscount Rochford), the father of Queen Ann Boleyme, to Richard Fermour, Merchant of the Staple, 18 Hen. VIII., 1526-27 (*Rot. Cur.*). Lord Hoo in his will left land to the value of forty marks

<sup>1</sup> Clutterbuck, *Herts*, iii. 94.



a year (£26 13s. 4d.) to the Abbot and Convent of Battle to find two monks to sing masses for ever at S. Remigius' altar in the said abbey for him and his ancestors. This probably points to his being buried there. He bequeathed £20 to his *brother Thomas*, whom he constitutes his executor, along with his wife Alianora.

He mentions his three manors of Hoo, in Beds, and of Offley and Cokernhoe, in Herts (*Test. Vet.*, i. 272). As either owner or trustee, his brother Thomas seems to have resided at the Hoo, and so to have been styled "of Hoo" in 1465, Ann's husband having died two years previously, and their eldest son William being then a minor, and afterwards settling in Norfolk. In 1468 Thomas is designated as "of Abbot's Walden," when he makes over the above three manors to Lord Wenlock and others, seemingly as trustee for the family (*Close Roll*, 18th Dec., 13 Edw. IV., enrolling deed of 1468).

## APPENDIX AZ. (Chap. IX., p. 168.)

### PAPAL INTRUSIONS AND EXACTIONS.

As early as 1226, as one of the results of King John's base subserviency, Pope Honorius III. made an attempt to get the patronage and revenues of the English Church into his hands, demanding two prebends in each cathedral and two monks' portion in each monastery to be permanently assigned to the Roman Church. Though this demand was rejected, his successor, Gregory IX., both intruded foreign ecclesiastics into English benefices and sent an inhibition to the bishops and other patrons forbidding them to appoint to any preferment until five Romans (their names not even being mentioned) had been provided for at the rate of one hundred marks each (£66 13s. 4d.). This was followed up in 1245 by a demand of the best prebends in the cathedral, and from each abbey and monastery one church (valued at forty marks), which they had not to their own use, for the pope and his successor's patronage (*Chron. Dunstable*). As, however, the Luton *rectory*, though at this period valued at a hundred marks, was now appropriated by the abbey, and the vicarage was worth only about twenty-four marks, no pressure seems to have been put upon the abbey either then or afterwards

to nominate an Italian as vicar of the parish—not one of the names on the list except that of Adrian de Castello being suggestive of an Italian origin; yet one rectory at least in the neighbourhood, of infinitely smaller income, was bestowed upon an Italian, viz., that of Steppingley, given in 1248 by Dunstable Priory to Peter Vitelle, the rectory being farmed at only one hundred shillings per annum (*Chron. Dunstable*, 1255). Among the early Italian intruders into bishoprics, in the reign of Henry III., were: Simon de Apulia, into Exeter, 1214; Pandulf Masca, the pope's legate, into Norwich, 1222 (a diocese which he never visited); and John de Pontissere, into Winchester, 1282. And notwithstanding all the later statutes of provisors, from 1351 onward, and of præmunire, Italians during the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth century continued to be thrust into English sees. Thus, besides Adrian de Castello at Hereford and Bath and Wells, there was at Worcester a succession of four Italians appointed by papal bull or provision, the last of them being a nephew of Leo X., viz., Julian de Medici, afterwards (1523-34) himself Pope Clement VII., from 1497 to 1535, when he was deprived on account of being a foreigner. Another intruder at this same period was Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, 1524, deprived by Act of Parliament in 1534 for non-residence.

Precentor Venables in his paper, *Bishop A. Bek's Register of the Prebendaries of Lincoln*, 1333 and 1343, states (p. 3) that "we find no fewer than eight cardinals intruded into Lincoln prebends, in addition to which seventeen stalls were filled by those who, from their names, were evidently foreigners, chiefly Italians. An examination of the catalogues will show other painfully outlandish names, proving too clearly that Grosseteste's noble protest a century earlier against the iniquitous intrusion of foreigners by the pope into English benefices—a resistance which he declared was 'neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father and veneration for my mother the Church'—had been so far made in vain."

*Papal domination in the Diocese of Lincoln.*

*Bishops.* 20: 13 provided by papal bull,  
1320-1557 = 237 years, either anticipating king's licence to elect,  
or at times overriding; 2 elected

and confirmed by papal bull; 5, *i.e.*, 2 in Edward IV. (Rotherham), transferred without notice of pope's interference, 2 in Edward VI., elected and confirmed by archbishop, 1 in Mary, 1554, elected.

*Deans.* 1 ejected by pope, 4 appointed by papal bull (two of them being cardinals).

*Sub-Dean.* Election of 1 to bishopric of Winchester, voided by pope though approved by king.

*Archdeacon, Hunts.* 1 appointed by papal provision and ejected by another pope.

„ Northampton. 3 cardinals: 2 by pope, 1 by king.

„ Oxford. 1 cardinal by papal provision.

„ Bucks. 3 by papal provision, 1 being a cardinal, and another brother of pope's legate, Ottobonus.

„ Lincoln. Two foreigners (of Lombardy and Bayeux).

*Precentors.* 1 cardinal.

*Prebendaries.* Nearly 70 (67), distinctively foreigners: 30 appointed, of cardinals, one of them being the pope's kinsman, who at least had the profits of the prebends; 17 by papal provision, in two cases their predecessors being deprived by the pope.

There is one instance in the case of the bishops of rejection of the pope's authority, when his promotion of Bishop Flemmyng to the archbishopric of York, 1424, was annulled by the king and council—the bishop, by his acceptance of it, being considered to have vacated his see, and his temporalities accordingly seized into the king's hands; the pope avoided the mortification of the repulse by a bull translating him back to the see of Lincoln by the style of “Richard, Archbishop of York.” There is one instance, also, of effectual resistance to it among the prebendaries, for though

Pope Celestine V. displaced Richard de Plumstock, who had been appointed to Scamlesby in 1293, and by a papal provision had appointed an Italian, yet Plumstock evidently retained the prebend till his death in 1323, as his successor was appointed to it then, it being vacant "*per mortem R. de P. ultimi prebendarii.*"

## APPENDIX BA. (Chap. IX., p. 170.)

### SUIT OF VESTMENTS.

As it was desirable that each of the three officiating clergy should wear a vestment of the same colour and pattern, a complete suit for three was a usual gift to a church; and a chalice, as in this case, was often added. William of Wykeham left in his will to three of his churches "a pair of vestments," together with a chalice, and to five of the churches of his patronage "an entire vestment" (or set of vestments), "*viz.*, for a priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, with a cope also and one chalice," and to five other churches one cope of the copes used in his chapel and also a chalice. "Sir John Cornwail, Lord of Amptehall," a comrade of Lord Wenlock, left to S. Alban's (Newcome, p. 382), a little before this, and while John Wheathamstead was still abbot, "one compleat vestment with three copes and a compleat dress for the altar, worth £40."

He had previously, it seems (Newcome, p. 337; J. Amundesham, ii. 193), given "one chasuble of a gold cloth, with a strong green ground, and having a gold fringe; also two tunicles of the same piece (or suit, *secta*), in which the assistants (*ministri*) used to stand at the altar, by the side of the priest, and three hoods for the singers in the choir"; these donations being mentioned in a deed containing the reasons moving him thereto, *viz.*, "that out of the mammon of plunder which he had taken in the war and by violence, from our enemies, he presented these things for the ornament of our churches"—dating his gift at his manor of Amptehill, September 4th, 1430.

The suits of vestments given at various times to the church, *viz.*, that left by J. Spitele to the high altar in 1413, "of silk, of bright red colour, to wit, a chasuble, albe, with amise, stole, and maniple"; that of Archbishop Rotheram, 1500, "of grey baudekin worked with pheasants, for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon"; and that

bequeathed in 1511 by Thomas Crowley, valued at 40s.—these, and perhaps sundry others of which there is no record, probably remained for the use of Gwynneth and his assistant ministers till Queen Elizabeth's reign. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549, had ordered that the priest celebrating the Holy Communion should wear the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white albe, plain, with a vestment (chasuble) or cope, and that the ministers assisting in the service should have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministering, that is to say, albes with tunicles, although the Second Prayer Book of Edward, 1552, abolished, as far as parish priests were concerned, at all times of their ministering, all vestments except the surplice; yet, on the death of Edward in the following year, and the accession of Mary, all the old vestments which had been only partially laid aside, and were still in the vestries of many of the churches, were resumed or replaced.

As to the pre-Reformation *service books*, many of them gifts of considerable value, these also were probably preserved by Gwynneth's care, although in the proclamation for the use of the New Prayer Book, in June, 1549, the bishops were ordered to "call in all the old service books and to deface and abolish them so that they should never after serve to any such use as they were provided for." Among those known to have belonged to the church at an early period, and probably still existing, were a new antiphoner for matins and the hours, notated by his own hand, bequeathed by J. Spitele in 1413, directed by him especially to be always placed on the north of the choir, and not before the vicar, on the south side, on pain of forfeiture; also a small missal, a manual, and a processional, written with his own hand by J. Spitele.

Amongst other ornaments perhaps still in existence were: a frontal and two riddels of silk for the high altar, left by Thomas Grosse, 1451; a frontal, etc., of linen cloth, and a case of red leather with the corporas cloths inside, left by J. Spitele to the S. Catherine altar; a case of black velvet for keeping the corporas cloths, with the corporas cloths therein contained, of cloth of reynet, to be used for the high altar, by J. Spitele.

## APPENDIX BB. (Chap. IX., p. 171.)

## EDWARD SHEFFIELD'S WILL.

*(Somerset House, 2. Porch.)*

"IN Dei Nomine, Amen. The year of our Lord God M.V.XXV, 17 daye of Dec. I EDWARD SHEFFELDE, prest, beyng hole and of parfite memory, make my testament and last wille in maner and fourme folowing, first, I will my soule to Almighty God to our lady Saint Mary and to all the holy company of hevyn. And my body to be buried in the chaunsell of Luton before our Lady. Item, I will to Cristofer my brother xls. Item, to Dorothy my sister, 26s. and 9 pence. Also I will to Cristofer my brother my scarlet gown furred. And to Dorotheie my sister my crymsyn gown. Item, I will to eche of my ser'ts 6s. 7d. and a brasse potte. The residue of my goodes, not bequest, after my body be brought to earth and my moneth's mynde kept, I wille then to my brother Cristofer and to Master Roger Bawdwyne whom I make my executors, they to receive my detts and to paye my detts and after to disperse my goods amonge my servāts at their discrecion. Witnesses hereof Thomas Parker, Edward Taplyf, Xtofer Pygot and John Hudson."

Probatum sint test superscripti defuncti coram pfet Coñ. 7 day Febr. 1525(6). Jur. Xtofer Sheffield exor.

## APPENDIX BC. (Chap. IX., p. 171.)

THE WILL OF JOHN BARBOUR OF LUTON,  
AUGUST 18, 1509.*(Somerset House, 20. Bennet.)*

AFTER committing his soul to the keeping of the Almighty Father, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints of heaven, he ordains that his body be buried in the church of Luton, close to the grave of his father. He leaves for a mortuary a horse; for the high altar for forgotten tithes, 3s. 4d.; to the cathedral church of Lincoln, 2d.; to the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity of Luton, 6s. 8d.; to be

expended upon the greater needs of the church, 20*d.* ; for a special light in the church, 1*d.* ; to a fit priest to celebrate for his soul and for the souls of his parents and friends and benefactors, for the space of a year, £6 sterling ; for putting a stone upon the grave of his father, £3 6*s.* 8*d.* ; to each of his godchildren, 6*d.* ; to the wife of W. Perot, 1 quarter of malt. The residue of his goods he leaves to his mother Agnes and Thomas the currier, whom he appoints his executors, desiring them to do the best with them for the good of his soul. Witnesses, W. Godfrey, chaplain, Dominus Thomas Jamys, chaplain, J. Chapman, and others. Thomas the currier to receive 20*d.* for his trouble.

There used to be a brass in the nave of the church to John and Agnes Barbar, who were evidently the parents of the above John.

## APPENDIX BD. (Chap. IX., p. 173.)

### THE WILL OF THOMAS HERYTAGE.

(*Somerset House*, 19. *Dyngeley*.)

IN the name of God, Amen . the xxij day of Oct . the year of our Lord and God M<sup>o</sup> fyve hundreth and xxxvij . I Thomas Herytage make my will and testament in the maner folowing . ffirst I beqeth bothe my soule and body to be at the pleasure of the Holy Trinitie, And my goodes to be distributed to suche as I owe money unto and other wages charitable. I wolde also as litill cost as may be doõn honestly on my buriall unto my detts be paid. And ferther I wolde Thomas Herytage and Peter Temple be my executors or mynysters hereing. Witnesse hereof J. Barrowe preest and Thomas Huxley preest.

per me Thomam Herytage. Proved 10 July, 1538.

## APPENDIX BE. (Chap. IX., p. 179.)

## LUTON TITHES.

## (1) THE RECTORIAL TITHES.

THE inappropriate or rectorial tithes of the parish, with the exception of those of Stopsley granted by Queen Mary to Sir Thos. Pope for the endowment of his college at Oxford, were, as related in Chapter IX., purchased from Queen Elizabeth by George Wingate and his son Robert in 1599, and were gradually parted with by various members of that family or their representatives, in most cases, it would seem, to the owners of the land upon which the tithe was charged, being henceforth, for convenience sake, merged by them in the rent.<sup>1</sup>

*Leagrave.*

The rectorial tithes of all the 1,100 acres, 2 roods, 7 perches of this hamlet, with the exception of those arising from the land of Sir Gregory Page Turner, Bart., 38 acres, 3 roods, 22 perches, having been doubtless thus purchased by the several landowners some time previously, were found (in 1844) to have been merged in the rent of the lands. Those of Sir G. Page Turner, amounting to £7 4s., were payable to Sir Edmund Filmer, Bart., who owned also a large portion of the hamlet (805 acres, 3 roods, 33 perches), and are now, together with that estate, the property of J. Cumberland, Esq. None of the lands of this hamlet are described as being *exempt* from inappropriate tithe.

The manor as well as the tithes of this hamlet (together with diverse messuages and tenements therein) seem to have been in the possession of the Wingates for at least a century. "The manor of Litgrave or Leagrave" (says Lysons, p. 110) "was from 1305 to 1455 in the family of Lucy (*Esch. Edw. I.-Edw. IV.*), and is presumed to be the same which in the seventeenth century, being then called Lucy's or Lewseys, was in the family of Wingate." John Wingate (*Esch. 19 Charles I.*, 1642) died seized of the above manor and a messuage called Lewsey Farm, together with the tithes of Litgrave, but seems by his will to have disunited the tithes

<sup>1</sup> This merging probably took place at the enclosure of the separate hamlets, when the property of each of the owners, hitherto in small scattered slips, was, as far as possible, by exchange concentrated into distinct blocks of land.



from the manor. For his second son, George Wingate of Harlington, by his will, dated August 14th, 1669, left his *manor* of Lewsey to Elizabeth his wife, until his son George should be twenty-one years of age (*Geneal. Bedf.*, p. 387). This latter George died seized of it, together with a capital messuage called Lewsey Farm, in 1677, leaving a wife Katharine and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, born at Thurleigh in 1673 and 1674 respectively. The manor and capital messuage (115 acres, 1 rood, 19 perches) were purchased in 1782 from J. Miller, Esq., by the trustees of the Duke of Bedford, and are now the property of Mr. J. H. Anstee. The tithes, however, after the death of J. Wingate, are found in the possession of a Francis Wingate, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> of Harlington, who in 1675 left to his wife Lettice and her heirs his "*tithes and portions of tithes in Lyttgrave* in the parish of Luton" (*Gen. Bedf.*, p. 388).

#### *Stopsley.*

The rectorial tithes of Stopsley, on the other hand, having been given to Trinity College, Oxford, and no part of them having been purchased from it by the landowners, could not be merged, but all arable land in the hamlet, with the exception of 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches, *exempt* from such tithes, has paid them to the college from that period, amounting in 1844 to £820 per annum.<sup>2</sup> The exemption of the above lands, most, if not all, of which can be proved to have formed part of the original manor of Dollow, throws considerable light upon the scattered nature and the situation of some at least of the old manor, and helps to sustain the other proofs of that manor having been rectory land, and on that account free from tithe. The exempt lands are accordingly distinguished in the following table :

<sup>1</sup> There is a difficulty in determining who this Francis Wingate was, and in distinguishing him from another Fr. Wingate, afterwards (1671) Sir Francis, both of whom must have been born at about the same period. From the above Francis possessing the tithes it is natural to suppose that he was the son of John, to whom they had belonged, and who, though only fourteen at the death of his father, had been made his sole executor and residuary legatee. Yet *Sir Francis* is spoken of at times as the eldest surviving son of John. The owner of the tithes died apparently without male issue, as his wife was his sole executor in 1675, whereas Sir Francis did not die till 1691. To complicate the question, both had wives of the name of Lettice.

<sup>2</sup> In 1644 the value of the above tithes—Sir Robert Napier being the lessee, and Thos. How and Thos. Crawley the tenants—had risen from £24 in 1603 to £200 (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5494).

*Lands in Stoppley free from Improprate Tithe.*

Page.	No.	Description.	State of Cultiv.	Quantity.	Vic. Tithe.	Landowner.	Tenant.
26	904a	Homestead, etc. (Crawley Green)	—	A. R. P.	£ s. d.	S. Crawley <sup>1</sup>	Thos. Smith.
"	905	Orchard	Pasture	1 1 14	0 3 8	"	"
"	906	Garden	—	1 2 0	0 8 1	"	"
"	910	Holly Close	Pasture	0 0 12	0 0 5	"	"
"	911	"	Arable	1 3 7	0 7 9	"	"
"	915	S. Ann's Field	"	2 1 8	0 1 10	"	"
"	916	Timpot Close	"	9 1 36	0 5 1	"	"
"	917	Great Close	"	5 1 25	0 5 10	"	"
"	918	Slupe	Pasture	5 1 28	0 7 4	"	"
				0 2 12	0 3 5	"	"
				26 3 22	£2 3 5		
38	903	Lower Orchard	Pasture	1 1 26	0 8 5	Thos. Smith	Himself.
"	904	Homestead	—	0 0 34	0 2 4	"	"
"	907	Orchard	Pasture	0 1 38	0 2 1	"	"
"	909a	Greenway	"	0 0 11	0 0 4	"	"
"	912	Little Field	Arable	1 1 29	0 1 5	"	"
"	913	"	"	1 3 17	0 2 6	"	"
"	914	"	"	1 2 26	0 1 9	"	"
"	919	Top Orchard	Pasture	0 3 23	0 5 3	"	"
"	920	Crawley Green Close	Arable	8 2 26	0 9 4	"	"
				16 2 30	£1 13 5		
				26 3 22	2 3 5		
				43 2 12	£3 16 10		

<sup>1</sup> The above lands of Mr. Crawley are thus described in a deed dated 1722 (No. 38, *Crawley Papers*). "Hacker's Close, Middle Close"

There can be little doubt, from the names and positions of the fields here mentioned, that these 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches comprise, amongst others,<sup>1</sup> the lands concerning which Baldwin de Bethune, the lord of the manor of Luton, said he had had a dispute with the *Abbot of S. Alban's* (1195-1212), and which are described by him—though neither very definitely nor even quite intelligibly under present circumstances — as “the cultivated (enclosed ?) land of Wngeheard, the (arable) land of *Waltun*<sup>2</sup> and of *Crawley*,<sup>3</sup> and the copse, as far as the road of the copse of Currege.” They also, no doubt, included the “15 acres, arable and pasture in *Crawley*,” a lease of which was granted in 1533 (9 June, 25 Henry VIII.) by Thos. Wheathamsted, the bursar of S. Alban's, to Lawrence Ramridge, a relation of the late Abbot Thos. Ramridge (*Crawley Papers*). They doubtless also included (in that part belonging to T. Smith, if indeed these are not in part identical with the above, or at least intermixed with them) the lands alluded to in the “decree for reduction of purchase money,” 1544, referred to in the preceding note, viz., “one tenement at *Crawley Grene* and 3 closes of pasture and wood, and 8 acres of wood and land, parcel of the said manor (of *Dollow*) being in the tenure of Wm. Chylde by copy of court roll of the said manor,” at the rent, estimated at first at £1, but corrected to 10s. These are again evidently returned, with other like holdings elsewhere in the parish, in the minister's accounts of the property of the *abbey* for the same year, under the head of “From customary tenants”; the 8 acres here referred to being doubtless “*Crawley Green Close*”<sup>4</sup> of 8 acres, 2 roods, 26 perches, the total rent being £4 2s. 9½d.

Also they unquestionably include the “Farm of a certain *Close of land*”<sup>5</sup> containing 12 acres of land lately pertaining to the Free

<sup>1</sup> Or lands in close proximity, given in lieu of part of these, on the occasion of some enclosure, which would partake of the same exemption.

<sup>2</sup> On September 14th, 1276, the abbey exchanged seven and a half acres of land in the field called *Walton* for seven and a half next to Broadwater. In 1707 “Broadwater Closes” are found free from tithes (Otho, D. iii.).

<sup>3</sup> *Tithe Award Map*, No. 920.

<sup>4</sup> In the extracts from the manor roll of Dolowe, 1454-57 (*Crawley Papers*), occur the names of no less than sixteen tenants “in *Crawley*,” among which are those of three Crawleys (Robert, Thomas, and William), one of them probably an ancestor of the present family of that name at Stockwood, which is known to have removed thither from *Crawley*.

<sup>5</sup> *Particulars of Leases*, Eliz. and Jas. I., Bedford Roll 3, No. 12, Record Office. The abbot of S. Alban's, according to Leland, had a summer residence

Chapel in Luton called *S. Anne's Chapel*, now destroyed and wholly devastated, worth by the year 13s. 4d.;" this last close being evidently the same that is called in the Terrier of 1707 "*S. Anne's Close*," in the possession (then) of Mr. Roberts, tenant of G. Catherel, rented at £5 yearly, and declared therein *free from vicarial tithe*, and being also the same that in the tithe award is called "*S. Anne's Field*" of 9 acres, 1 rood, 36 perches, this extended number of acres probably including part at least of the present adjoining field called "*Tinpot Close*" of 5 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches.

All these lands, belonging as they did to the manor of the abbey, if that manor was originally rectory land, were naturally exempt from tithe—and the fact that the rest of the 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches, is found to be also exempt and interspersed among the above, is a strong argument in favour of it having also formed part of the *same* rectorial manor, as well as of its being included amongst the holdings of the above customary tenants.<sup>1</sup>

It seems very probable, too, that all these lands, exclusive of S. Ann's Close, which having fallen into other hands is reckoned separately, formed part of what in the Terrier of 1707 is designated as "*the lands in the Dollow Liberty* of Sir John Napier, Bart., tenant J. Prudden, rented at £20 p ann."

### *East Hide.*

Here all the rectorial tithes on the land of the Marquis of Bute (1,160 acres), and on that of Levi Ames, Esq. (301 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches), amounting together to 1,461 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches out of the 1,868 acres, 3 roods, 8 perches of the hamlet, were found to have been merged, leaving only 407 acres, 1 rood, 33 perches liable to such tithe; this being estimated then at £84 8s., and payable to the marquis as impropiator. None of the land of this hamlet was found to be exempted from either rectorial or vicarial tithe.

on S. Ann's Hill; it is but natural to suppose that both this and the chapel would be built upon the abbot's *own land*.

<sup>1</sup> The two farms mentioned above, if both held by customary tenants, would have paid only £1 13s. 4d., or by the corrected estimate, £1 3s. 4d., out of the total rent of £4 2s. 9½d., leaving £2 9s. 5d. or £2 19s. 5d. as the rent of the rest of the 43 acres, 2 roods, 12 perches.

*West Hide.*

Upon all the lands here belonging to the Marquis of Bute, the impropiator of the whole hamlet, amounting to 2,023 acres, 3 roods, 3 perches, the rectorial tithes were found to have been merged, but upon none else of the 2,414 acres, 3 roods, 34 perches of the hamlet, thus leaving 391 acres, 0 roods, 31 perches liable to such tithes. These amounted to £76 2s. 6d. No land here claimed special exemption from either kind of tithe.

It appears, therefore, that the value of these tithes of East and West Hide, which in 1544 only amounted to £20, but which, a hundred years afterwards, in 1644, had increased to £280, had still further increased during the next two centuries, so that, in 1844, although the tithes of 3,485 acres, 0 roods, 18 perches had been merged, yet that the value of the remainder still amounted to £160 10s. 6d.

The remaining hamlets of "Limbury cum Biscot" and the "Luton Township" have much in common in the matter of payment or exemption from tithes. Each was found to have a large manor free immemorially from payment of any kind of tithes, and each also was declared to have land either *exempt* or *freed* from impropriate, though subject to vicarial tithe.

*Limbury cum Biscot.*

Here it was expressly stated that the manor of Dallow, in Limbury, reckoned at the time (omitting the 53 acres, 3 roods, 8 perches belonging to Mr. Macnamara) at 455 acres, 3 roods, 39 perches, was completely exempt<sup>1</sup> from all manner of tithes, and in the evidence before the Assistant Tithe Commissioner (July 12th, 1839), it was satisfactorily proved that even as early as in the reign of Henry VIII. it was then on record "that the manor of Dallowe had never been known to pay tithes of any kind." This same evidence, it will have been seen, had been brought forward in the Court of Exchequer in the suit of the then vicar, Thomas Pomfret

<sup>1</sup> This is the term usually employed in such documents to express the non-liability of certain lands to pay tithes, but, as pointed out by Lord Selborne (*Ancient Facts*, etc., p. 96), it is not correctly applied in such a case as that of rectory land, as this never having been subject to tithes, could not properly be said to be *exempted* or *freed* from them.

v. W. Wayte, the owner of Dallowe, in 1679-80, when the probable reason for its exemption was suggested, if not even asserted, viz., that it had originally been attached to and formed part of the *rectory property*. It was also stated then that it had been sold by the king to Sir Thos. Barnardiston thus free from all tithe.

The *Dallow lands* of Arthur Macnamara, Esq. (53 acres, 3 roods, 8 perches), were also declared "free from impropriate tithes," as they had also been asserted to be in 1679. Of the *Dallow Meads* (3 acres, 2 roods, 18 perches), also in Limbury, by the riverside, and belonging to the Marquis of Bute, as they had been, immemorially in all probability, under pasture, there was no need to assert any exemption from rectorial tithe, and probably no evidence was adduced on either one side or the other.

It was also found at the above tithe award (1844), that the impropriate tithes of the whole estate of S. Crawley, Esq., in this hamlet, being 764 acres, 3 roods, 33 perches, as well as those of Great Bramlingham (including the manor of Woodcroft, 58 acres, 3 roods, 21 perches), viz., 533 acres, 3 roods, 30 perches, and of Little Bramlingham, 264 acres, 3 roods, 34 perches, these two latter belonging to Mr. Cross, the sum total of the acres being 1,563 acres, 3 roods, 17 perches, had been merged in their respective freeholds. The rest of the 2,874 acres, 3 roods, 31 perches, of which the united hamlet consists, amounting to 797 acres, 2 roods, 29 perches, exclusive of the above Dallows (513 acres, 1 rood, 25 perches), was chargeable with rectorial tithe<sup>1</sup> to the amount of £148 14s. 3d., payable to S. Crawley, Esq., as impropriator.

The manor of Biscot (together with "the tithes of Limbery and Biscot, Bramlingham, and Woodcroft, called 'the Biscott tythes'") was in the possession of the Wingates in the reign of Charles I. (*Esch.* 19 *Charles I.*, Lysons, p. 110), and seems to have continued therein into the early part of the succeeding century, as the land upon which the mill stands belonged to Lady A. Wingate, widow of Sir Francis, of Toddington, in 1710 (Davis, p. 101). In 1740, however, it is found, together with the above tithes, as a subject of the marriage settlement of John Crawley, Sen. (No. 38, *Crawley Papers*), which would seem to show that both manor

<sup>1</sup> These tithes, as it will be seen elsewhere, have been given by his son and successor, J. S. Crawley, Esq., as an endowment for the church of "Biscot cum Limbury," which he has also built.

and tithes had been in the family some little time.<sup>1</sup> From there being mention made on that occasion of "the tithe-barn and yard at Limbery," it would appear to follow also that no part of the Limbury and Biscot tithes had yet been merged. The tithes of Bramlingham had evidently not been merged at the period of the *Exchequer Depositions*, 1679.

The following is an account of the tithe free lands of the manor of Dallow, as found in the award of 1844 :

<sup>1</sup> By a map of Biscot, dated 1734, it appears that while Joshua Iremonger owned what is now called the Grange Farm, with about half the land in the common fields of Biscot, J. Crawley possessed the Moat House (designated in 1740 "the capital messuage or *manor house* called Biscott Place") and the larger remaining part (c. 253 acres, 1 rood, 18 perches) in the fields. So he evidently owned the manor then. At that period no Wingate held land in Biscot. J. Crawley or his father, therefore, probably purchased both manor and tithes from the Wingates.

*Tithe Free Lands. Dallow Manor.*

Proprietor.	Tenant.	No.	Description of Holding.	Arable or Pasture.	Extent.	Totals.
					a. r. p.	a. r. p.
<i>Award Book, pp. 60, 61.</i>						
Marquis of Bute . . .	J. Brett . . .	367	Great Barber's Field . .	Arable	44 2 30	
		372	Part of Great Field . .	"	11 3 30	
		373	Part of Garden . . .	"	0 0 26	
		374	Rick Yard . . .	—	0 2 21	
		375	Part of Six-acre Meadow .	Pasture	5 3 34	
		376	Long Mead . . .	"	2 2 0	
		377	Barber's Field . . .	Arable	13 1 38	
						79 1 19
Carte's Charity . . .	Eliz. Gregory . . .	380	Winches Dollars . . .	"	17 0 25	
Chas. Cox . . .	Wm. Clarke . . .	378	Winches Dollar Mead . .	Pasture	3 0 13	
		379	Winches Dollars . . .	Arable	15 1 21	
						18 1 34
W. Hale (J. S. Crawley) .	J. Brett (H. Scarborough) .	350	Thirty acres . . .	"	28 2 21	
		351	Middle Field . . .	"	31 2 29	
		352	Little Penfield . . .	"	12 1 5	
		353	Great Penfield . . .	"	22 2 12	
		354	Gorrell Hill . . .	"	22 1 23	
		363	Dallar Downs . . .	"	27 2 6	
		365	Fourteen acres . . .	"	12 0 32	
		366	Twenty-eight acres . . .	"	31 0 25	
		367 <sup>a</sup>	Lane by Great Barber's .	Pasture	0 1 27	
		368	Wheatcock Close . . .	Arable	7 1 22	
		369	Wellhouse Close . . .	Pasture	6 1 18	
		370	Farm Homestead . . .	—	0 3 39	
		371	Home Close . . .	Pasture	5 0 36	
						208 3 15
Lloyd Rich. Jones (J. S. Crawley) . . .	J. Brett . . .	362	Runley Wood Close . .	Arable	22 1 30	
Rev. R. Lucas . . .	Eliz. Gregory . . .	381	Winches Dollars . . .	"	11 2 20	
		382	" . . .	"	9 0 1	
						22 1 30



Proprietor.	Tenant.	No.	Description of Holding.	Arable or Pasture.	Extent.	Totals.
Rev. R. Lucas	Eliz. Gregory	383 384 385 386	Winches Dollars " " "	Arable " " "	a. r. p. 11 0 39 11 2 8 12 2 6 11 2 22	a. r. p. 67 2 16
Arth. Macnamara	Thos. Bradshaw	357 358 359 359a 360 361	Rumley (sic) Field " Spring " " " Wood " Field " Spring	" Wood " " " Arable " Wood	9 3 29 4 1 10 0 3 20 2 3 3 1 1 7 2 2 23	21 3 12 20 1 8
Wm. Townrow	Himself	364	Toppins Piece	Arable	20 1 8	455 3 39
Totals (Asward, p. 64).						
Marquis of Bute	—	—	—	—	78 2 3	79 1 19
Carte's Charity	—	—	—	—	17 0 29	17 0 25
Cox	—	—	—	—	18 2 4	18 1 34
Hale (Crawley)	—	—	—	—	210 0 0	208 3 15
Jones (J. S. Crawley)	—	—	—	—	22 1 30	22 1 30
Lucas	—	—	—	—	67 2 16	67 2 16
Macnamara	—	—	—	—	21 3 12	21 3 12
Townrow	—	—	—	—	20 1 8	20 1 8
Total . . .					456 1 18 <sup>1</sup>	455 3 39
According to Tithe Comm. Schedule.					78 2 3	79 1 19
					17 0 29	17 0 25
					18 2 4	18 1 34
					210 0 0	208 3 15
					22 1 30	22 1 30
					67 2 16	67 2 16
					21 3 12	21 3 12
					20 1 8	20 1 8

<sup>1</sup> Davis gives totals, 456 acres, 1 rood, 18 perches (*i.e.*, 1 rood, 19 perches, too much), according to Tithe Comm. Schedule.

*Land of Arthur Macnamara, Esq., beyond Dallow, near Chaul End, in the hamlet of Limbury, forming part of the Manor of Dallow, and free from Improprate Tithes, but paying Vicarial Tithes.*

No.		Tenant.		s. r. p.	s. r. p.	Vicarial Tithe.
355	Dallow Lands . .	T. Bradshaw (W. Cripps) . . . .	Arable	46 0 24	53 3 8	£ s. d. 1 9 3
356	Damers . . . .	" . . . .	"	7 2 24		0 6 3
						1 15 6

*Land near the river, in the hamlet of Limbury, presumably in the Manor of Dallow, free from Improprate Tithes, but paying Vicarial Tithes.*

No.		Tenant.		s. r. p.	s. r. p.	Vicarial Tithe.
387	Dallow Mead . .	Marq. of Bute, owner; Sam. Taylor, tenant (J. Sherlock) . . . .	—	1 0 11		£ s. d. 0 9 3
388	" . . . .	Jane Townrow . . . .	—	2 2 7		1 2 0
					3 2 18	1 11 3

*Luton Township.*

The lands here *totally exempt from all manner of tithes* were those of *Farley* and part of *Stockwood* (Whyppersley), originally (1156) granted by Henry II. to the hospital of Santingfield, and afterwards (1448) transferred by Henry VI. to his new foundation of King's College, Cambridge; *Farley* becoming eventually the property and residence of George Rotheram (1553), being possessed by his descendant, Thomas Rotheram, in 1707, and belonging, in 1844, to S. Crawley, Esq.; and *Stockwood* being the property of Richard Crawley, Esq., in 1707, and in the possession of the same family, both in 1844, and together with *Farley*, at the present time.

These lands, amounting together to 542 acres, 3 roods, 30 perches, were declared, it seems, in 1844, by the Assistant Tithe Commissioner, to be exempt on the ground that the manors having been granted to Santingfield *before* the passing of the law of the second Lateran Council, 1179-80, which required that *henceforth* tithes should *only be bestowed upon parish churches*. The hospital of Santingfield was at liberty to consider that the tithes and the right of disposing of them passed to them together with the lands, and so had retained them to their own use, or rather, had probably merged them in their freehold. If this be the true explanation of their exemption from tithes, then, after the grant of the lands (January, 1156), neither the rector nor any vicar would henceforth have had any claim for tithes upon them, and they would consequently have descended exempt from all manner of tithes to the present day.

This is probably the true explanation of their general exemption from tithes. But there are three or four documents which go to show that some part of *Farley* was at one period liable to improper tithes, and that these were claimed by the abbot of S. Alban's. Unfortunately the greater portion of the documents are illegible, the MS. (Otho, D., iii., p. 110) having suffered grievously from fire, and little more than the following headings being legible:

(1) Agreement between S. Alban's Abbey and Whitsand Priory, as to *tithes of Farlaie belonging to Luiton Church*.

Whitsand to receive the tithes and to pay a certain yearly sum (illegible) to S. Alban's.

(2) Translacio<sup>1</sup> litis sopite inter Abb. de S. Albans and Mag., etc., de Suntyngfeld as to *tithes of fifty acres of land in Hoke mairrugge in Farleie* (under the seal of E. (Eustace, 1198-1215), Bishop of Ely).

(3) Agreement between the same as to same.

No dates to these documents are legible, but both from the seal attached to the second and from their position in the MS., they being the first entries concerning Luton Church, and preceding "the ordination of the vicarage" (1219), it is clear that they belong to the latter half of the twelfth century, and were probably drawn up very soon after the grant of Farley and the purchase of the rectory by the abbey.

There is also another document, now printed (*Reg. Abb. S. Alb.*, ii. 289), which establishes the fact that some part of Farley was subject to rectorial tithe. After the lands had passed to King's College, there was evidently a papal rescript to the college for the recovery of these tithes. For in 1487 the abbey sent their archdeacon to Rome to get an explanation of this rescript and to expedite the matter. "Ut interpretetur Rescriptum apostolicum *pro decimis terrarum domini de Faveley (sic) in parochia de Lutone, in manibus laicorum existentibus.*" The visit seems to have been unsuccessful, and the tithes to have been lost to the abbey, for there appears to be no allusion to them in any returns of their property.

In the second of these documents mention is made of a chapel at Farley, "capella de Farleia," and in both that and the third the amount to be paid by Whitsand is distinctly stated at 5s. per annum. In the latter there is also given us the name of the Master of the Brotherhood of Suntingfield (Baldwin), and an agreement made with regard to burials. Apparently it is that those of the brethren of Farley Hospital who were natives of the parish of Luton should be buried in the parish church, but that the others should be allowed to be buried in the graveyard attached to the chapel of Farley.

It may perhaps be conjectured that this liability for any part of Farley Manor to the payment of tithes arose from some exchange of lands, after 1180, between the hospital and some neighbouring owner, the latter's property being then subject to the payment of tithes to the parish church, though henceforth becoming part of

<sup>1</sup> By this contract Santingfield had to pay five shillings yearly to the church of Luton that the brethren of the chapel of Farley might be buried there.

the manor of Farley. Such exchanges we know took place very early, on a small scale, as, *e.g.*, in 1201-2 (*Fines*, 3 John, p. 30). Here a suit took place between one Adam Niger and Brother Mauger, the master of Farley, and the brethren of the house concerning the *common pasture of Ketenho* or Cutenho, which Adam claimed. The master exchanges for it three acres of land which lay within the ditch of the said hospital.

*Lands of S. Crawley, Esq., at Farley, Tithe free.*

Page.	No.	Description.	Tenant.	Cultiv.			
					a.	r.	p.
164	1320	Buxton Field . . .	Himself	Arable	11	1	0
"	1321	Two hill Field . . .	"	"	9	0	17
"	1323	Eleven acres . . .	"	"	11	2	12
"	1324	Further eighteen acres . . .	"	"	18	3	38
"	1325	Lower thirty (13?) acres . . .	"	"	13	2	23
"	1326	Upper " . . .	"	"	13	3	27
"	1341	Further Nape . . .	"	"	10	2	36
"	1342	Middle " . . .	"	"	8	2	34
"	1345	The Slipe . . .	"	"	5	2	6
"	1346	Eight acres . . .	"	"	8	2	19
"	1347	Eleven acres . . .	"	"	10	0	33
"	1348	Dell Nap . . .	"	"	23	1	28
"	1349	Eight acres . . .	"	"	9	2	24
"	1350	Spring in do. . .	"	Wood	0	2	0
"	1351	Hither twenty acres . . .	"	Arable	20	0	32
"	1352	Twenty-six acres . . .	"	"	25	0	34
"	1353	Twenty-two acres . . .	"	"	21	1	6
"	1354	Spring . . .	"	Wood	0	2	24
"	1355	Sixteen acres . . .	"	Arable	16	1	16
"	1356	" . . .	"	Pasture	10	2	14
"	1357	Farley Wood . . .	"	Wood	7	0	19
"	1358	Lucerne Field . . .	"	Pasture	2	2	0
"	1359	Lower Orchard . . .	"	"	2	1	36
"	1360	Homestead Gardens . . .	"	—	4	2	7
"	1361	Dell Close . . .	"	"	1	2	22
"	1362	Bretts Mead . . .	"	"	4	1	17
"	1363	Upper Mead . . .	"	"	2	3	32
"	1364	Drift Way . . .	"	—	0	2	10
"	1365	Farley Grove . . .	"	Pasture	9	1	26
"	1366	Hither twenty-six acres . . .	"	Arable	26	3	38
165	1367	Twenty-four acres . . .	"	"	24	1	29
"	1368	Ten acres . . .	"	"	10	2	11
"	1369	Red rails . . .	"	"	5	3	1
					353	1	31

*Lands of S. Crawley, Esq., at Stockwood (Whyppersley), Tithe free.*

Page.	No.	Description.	Tenant.	Cultiv.			
					a.	r.	p.
165	1857	Plantation . . .	Himself	—	0	0	38
"	1858	Lodge . . .	"	—	0	0	10
"	1859	Plantation by Farley Grove	"	Wood	0	3	2
"	1860	Part of Stockwood Park .	"	Pasture	178	2	28
"	1861	Mansion, garden, etc. .	"	—	7	1	11
"	1862	Plantation . . .	"	Wood	0	0	39
"	1863	Lodge and garden . .	"	—	0	0	14
"	1864	Plantation . . .	"	Wood	0	1	39
"	1865	" . . .	"	"	0	2	38
"	1866	Limekiln . . .	"	—	0	1	30
"	1877	Plantation by Lodge .	"	Wood	0	1	34
					189	1	39
					353	1	31
					542	3	30

Various other pieces of land in the township, though not declared exempt, are yet by the award *not returned as subject to any kind of tithe*. This may have arisen in some cases from the tithe having been redeemed, but the reason of some at least of these exemptions would seem to be the same as that for the exemption of Dollowe Manor (viz., their having formed part of the rectorial property), their very exemption suggesting their having been church lands attached to that manor. There can be little or no doubt, *e.g.*, both from their names and their exemption from all tithes (and there are other evidences besides), that *Dallow Mead* (3 roods, 2 perches) and *Church river-piece* (3 roods, 26 perches), both of them on the west bank of the stream, formed part of the rectorial manor of Dollowe. And though it is *possible* that the Marquis of Bute had redeemed both kinds of tithes upon his meadows and lands in the township, amounting to no less than 65 acres, 0 roods, 20 perches, thus left uncharged, as well as upon the 12 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches, under houses and gardens, similarly treated (though these perhaps were never liable to tithe), yet, as the great bulk of his property in the township, both of lands and houses, was found still to be subject to either rectorial or vicarial, or to both kinds of tithes, and as he was not the impropriator of the tithes of any part of the township, it seems much more probable that the greater portion at least of all the lands thus designated as free, were so from having been originally

exempt as church land. Were not these the very lands declared in the *Terrier* of 1707 to be free from *vicarial tithe* (the incidence of rectorial tithe being of no concern to the vicar, and therefore being omitted in the *Terrier* of the vicarage property and dues), viz., "the land belonging to *Dollow Court*, rented at £16 a year," if not also including part or all of *Broadwater closes*, belonging to Dr. Chanteley, rented at £60. Both these lands, *exempted in the Terrier*, have to be accounted for, and the former is so plainly connected by its name with the manor of Dollow, that, wherever situated, it may be unhesitatingly considered to have been once attached to it. And if the former, then probably also the latter, and that the latter belonged to the abbey is most probable, for in 1276 it had received in exchange for lands in the field called Walton, seven and a half acres *next to Broadwater*. Their having formed part of the rectory land is sufficient, and nothing else seems sufficient, to account for their exemption.

*Land not charged with tithe of any kind, belonging to the M. of Bute.*

Page.	No.	Tenant.	Quantity.	Description.	Cultiv.
105	1121	M. of Bute .	a. r. p. 0 2 10	Plantation on the moor .	Wood.
106	1081	W. Ainsworth .	3 2 30	Breach Meads .	Pasture.
"	1419	Geo. Baldry .	2 0 0	Lower Sandcuts .	"
108	1411	Fro <sup>ts</sup> Butterfield .	1 0 36	Meadow .	"
"	1079	J. Clark .	4 2 4	Beach Mead .	"
				? Breach Mead .	"
109	1407	W. Clark .	2 1 32	Hoglane Close .	"
"	1449	Eliz. Crawley .	5 3 20	Gravel pit piece .	"
110	1410	W. Dancer .	1 1 3	Meadow .	"
"	1114	Rob. Dimock .	0 3 2	<i>Dallow Mead</i> .	"
"	1119	Jas. Everett .	0 2 6	Part of the moor .	"
111	1408	Thos. Foster .	2 3 12	Hoglane Close .	"
112	1123	Mary Gutteridge .	1 3 10	Meadow .	"
"	1418	Eliz. Gregory .	2 3 30	Sandcuts .	"
"	1420	"	5 0 5	New Swear .	"
113	1836	Amos Hawkes .	0 3 35	Meadow .	"
114	1412	J. Jones .	2 2 4	" .	"
"	1409	Jas. Mayes .	1 1 4	" .	"
115	1080	J. Pates .	4 0 20	Breach Mead .	"
"	1392	"	1 0 10	Meadow .	"
116	1391	Sam. Spencer .	0 3 38	" .	"
117	1113	Thos. Farmer .	0 3 26	<i>Church River piece</i> .	"
"	1406	"	3 2 12	Hoglane Close .	"
"	1122	J. Mackerness .	13 3 3	Seven acres .	"
"	1118	Edw. Williamson	0 2 28	Part of the moor .	"
			65 0 20		

*Houses, gardens, etc., not charged with tithes. (M. of Bute.)*

Page.	No.	Tenant.	Quantity.	Description.	Cultiv.
			a. r. p.		
105	1684	Himself . . .	0 1 6	Building ground.	
106	1885	W. Adams, etc. .	3 2 21	Gardens.	
"	1561	W. Ainsworth . .	0 1 26	Rickyard.	
"	1476	Eliz. Austin . .	0 0 24	House offices, etc. Garden in moor.	
110	1120	Jos. Everett . .	0 0 25	Gravel pit piece .	Pasture.
112	1417	Eliz. Gregory . .	0 1 2	Garden.	
"	1423	" . . .	1 0 23	Brick-kiln.	
113	1545	Geo. Hodge . .	0 0 23	Cottages, etc.	
"	1457 <sup>a</sup>	J. Horton . . .	0 0 22	Garden.	
114	1683	J. Jones . . .	0 0 28	"	
"	1533	Moses Leper, etc.	0 0 6	Houses and yard.	
"	1433	Rev. J. Little . .	1 0 2	House, garden, etc.	
115	1816	W. Phillips . .	0 0 34	Garden.	
"	1395	J. Scrivener, etc.	4 3 2	"	
"	1446	J. Smith, etc. . .	0 0 18	Cottages and garden.	
"	1837	J. Smith . . .	0 0 39	Garden.	
116	1579	Thos. Studeman.	0 0 8	Cottage and garden.	
			12 3 29		
			65 0 20		
			78 0 9		

But besides these lands in the township *wholly exempt from tithe*, or from some unknown cause not subject to it, some were found free from payment of *rectorial*, though still subject to *vicarial* tithe.

The chief *farms* of land thus free were those of *Chaul End* (with Inions, 161 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches), and that part of *Stockwood Park* and its surroundings (193 acres, 2 roods, 27 perches) not included, it may be presumed, in the manor of Whyppersley, with about 37 acres, 2 roods, 8 perches, in different localities, the total being 393 acres, 0 roods, 24 perches.

The impropriate tithes of these are said to be "either merged, or the lands free of them." As it is not known when the ancestor of Mr. Crawley became the owner of these various lands (or the impropiator<sup>1</sup> of the tithes, as he probably was also), no definite conclusion can be arrived at with regard to any exemption, but it

<sup>1</sup> "The Luton (town) tythes," together with the tithe-barn and yard, were in the possession of the Crawley family certainly as early as 1740, when they were the subject of the marriage settlement of J. Crawley.



seems reasonable to infer that most of these lands had their tithes merged rather than that they were ever exempt. Evidence of this has been given in the case of Chaul End, which unquestionably was subject to rectorial tithe throughout the sixteenth century, and if then, no doubt for many generations previously.

No other inappropriate tithes in the township besides the above are said to have been merged.

*Lands of S. (now J. S.) Crawley, Esq., at Chaul End. The Improprate Tithes either merged, or the lands free of them, but paying Vicarial Tithe.*

No.	Description of Holding.	Tenant.	State of Cultivation.				Vicarial Tithe.
				a.	r.	p.	℥ s. d.
1328	Part of Great Field	W. Crippe	Arable	24	1	36	0 18 6
1328a	Little Chambers .	"	"	13	0	8	0 10 7
1329	Part of field .	"	"	0	3	30	0 1 6
1330	Bush Wood .	"	Wood	2	0	8	0 3 4
1331	Daniels .	"	Arable	6	0	26	0 10 0
1332	Bugdell or Bugdell Wood .	"	Wood	6	3	0	0 10 11
1333	Chaul End Wood .	"	"	4	2	8	0 11 1
1334	Barnard Wood .	"	—	3	3	24	0 7 4
				61	3	20	
1327	Chambers .	Self, 1844 (now George)	Arable	14	2	30	0 15 11
1327a	Plantation .	"	Wood	1	0	13	—
1335	Upper Blossom Hill	"	Arable	16	1	3	0 17 7
1336	Lower "	"	"	12	1	10	0 13 4
1337	Inion's Hill .	"	"	11	0	10	0 15 0
1338	" Spring .	"	Wood	2	3	30	0 7 2
1339	Inion's Grove .	"	Arable	11	3	26	0 9 8
1340	Chaul End Grove .	"	"	11	0	7	0 11 11
1343	Castle Croft Spring	"	Wood	2	2	17	0 6 4
1344	Castle Croft .	"	Arable	16	0	23	1 1 9
				100	0	9	
				61	3	20	
				161	3	29	

*Lands of S. Crawley, Esq. Improprate Tithes, either merged  
or lands free of them.*

Page.	No.	Description.	Tenant.	State of Cultivation.		Vicarial Tithe.
					a. r. p.	£ s. d.
127	1228	Piece in Stopsley Common	Dan. Davis .	Arable	0 1 8	0 0 6
"	1229	"	"	"	0 2 25	0 1 3
"	1239	Bramingham Shot . .	"	"	0 1 20	0 0 6
"	1270	Part of Marden Field . .	Jas. Kidman .	"	6 3 16	0 11 2
"	1834	Cottage and garden . .	Sam. Mellor, etc. . .	—	0 0 22	0 0 3
128	1849	Common Close	Eliz. Seabrook	Arable	0 3 35	0 1 7
"	1852	"	"	"	0 2 18	0 0 6
"	1047	Piece in Common . .	Thos. Smith .	"	1 1 27	0 2 4
"	1048	Slip . .	"	"	0 3 0	0 0 10
"	1050	Piece in Blackwater Common	"	"	7 0 27	0 9 8
126	1253	Part of Watt's Hedge . .	J. Bates .	"	11 0 4	0 11 3
"	1268	Part of Marden Field . .	"	"	7 0 20	0 13 5
127	1608	Farm buildings, etc. . .	W. Clark .	—	0 0 26	0 1 9
126	1373	Stockings Field	Himself .	Arable	6 1 15	0 6 10
"	1867	Twelve acres .	"	"	12 1 21	1 3 5
"	1868	Part of Stockwood Park .	"	Pasture	60 2 36	14 15 6
"	1869	Plantation .	"	Wood	0 1 14	0 0 7
"	1871	" by road	"	"	1 1 15	
"	1872	"	"	"	1 2 9	
"	1873	"	"	"	0 1 21	
"	1874	"	"	"	1 1 17	
"	1875	Lodge, etc. .	"	"	0 0 8	
"	1876	Plantation by Lodge, etc. .	"	"	0 1 19	
"	1878	Red Lion Close	"	"	4 1 18	1 10 8
"	1879	"	"	"	4 1 25	1 8 7
					131 0 16	

But in addition to these *farms*, etc., of the improprator, there were found to be no less than 109 acres, 0 roods, 12 perches, in detached portions, belonging to the Marquis of Bute, also declared to be liable only to *vicarial tithe*. As much of this land was permanent meadow and wood (hay and wood were subject only

to vicarial tithe) it is impossible to determine from the above fact whether any or what part of these lands had been immemorially exempt from rectorial tithe. But as one at least of these portions of land, viz., No. 1111 (Pondewick) Gardens, belonged to the abbey, and therefore probably on that account was free from tithe, it does not seem unreasonable to infer that other portions also were alike immemorially exempt. Among these lands, too, may probably be found some originally belonging to the abbey, if not also to the rectory.

It is possible that even among those lands *charged with both kinds of tithes* there may be found some pieces which formerly belonged to the abbey. This would certainly seem to be the case with regard to a field called "twelve acres" (10 acres, 3 roods, 36 perches), belonging at the time to the Ashton Charity (No. 1109a, p. 95), which, as it is unquestionably the land bounding Pondwick Gardens on the east, is described in the lease of 1538 to Sir Thos. Rotherham, "as the land of the abbot." Whether this and other pieces, being held under the abbey by *freeholders* (who in 1544 paid £3 19s. 3d. rent), were therefore, like any other land, subject to tithes, does not appear, but it seems not unnatural to suppose that when so far separated from the manor as to be made freeholds, which was probably the case as early as c. 1290, they would, even if previously rectorial land, have been subjected by the abbey to tithe.

*Land belonging to the M. of Bute, exempt from Rectorial Tithe,  
but subject to Vicarial.*

Page.	No.	Tenant.	Quantity.	Description.	State of Cultiv.	Vicarial Tithe.
			a. r. p.			£ s. d.
105	1319	Himself.	13 3 5	Buxton Wood .	Wood	1 9 9
"	1921a	"	1 3 10	Calves Spring .	"	0 3 5
106	1394	Thos. Bent, etc.	2 3 8	Gardens .	—	0 15 2
"	1893	Rob. Bigg, etc.	4 2 13	"	—	1 4 8
"	1830	Edw. Boastin.	0 1 6	Cottage and garden .	—	0 1 4
107	1297	J. Brett .	3 0 28	Double Mead .	Pasture	0 17 2
"	1298	"	4 2 22	Hundred acre Piece .	"	1 3 9
"	1290	"	4 2 9	Three-corner Piece .	"	1 7 1
"	1310	"	1 1 29	Part of Long Mead .	"	0 8 6

Page.	No.	Tenant.	Quantity.	Description.	State of Cultiv.	Vicarial Tithe.
			a. r. p.			£ s. d.
107	1311	J. Brett .	3 0 31	Long Mead .	Pasture	0 13 10
"	1312	"	2 2 38	Bury Home- stead garden	—	1 9 7
"	1312a	"	0 1 11	Part of Six-acre Mead .	Pasture	0 2 3
"	1313	"	4 2 16	Home Mead .	"	1 9 10
108	1083	"	0 2 34	Blackwater Mead .	—	0 3 1
"	1084	"	1 0 18	Meadow and Barn .	Pasture	0 5 5
"	1111	H. Burgess, etc.	0 3 2	Gardens .	—	0 6 10
"	1078	Frk. Chase .	2 3 11	Spring Close .	Pasture	0 19 10
"	1385a	Sam. Clark .	0 0 28	Garden .	—	0 0 11
109	1092	W. Clarke .	1 1 28	Pondewicks Mead .	Pasture	0 10 0
"	1215	Thos. Cooper	0 1 25	Cartway .	—	0 1 6
"	1214	Eliz. Crawley .	3 3 0	Meadow .	Pasture	0 8 2
"	1393	"	1 0 0	"	"	0 7 0
110	1095	Rob. Dymock	0 0 30	Garden .	—	0 1 0
"	1212	"	3 3 14	Rye Hill Mead	Pasture	0 12 6
"	1157	J. Eyles, etc. .	0 2 13	Gardens .	—	0 3 2
111	1243	Thos. Farmer	9 1 25	Ozier bed .	Wood	3 16 3
"	1305	"	2 0 33	Bogg Field .	Pasture	0 9 7
"	1281	W. Fisher, etc.	0 2 27	Cottage and garden .	—	0 2 8
"	1452	Dan. Freeman	0 0 17	Water-mill, etc.	—	0 1 2
"	1452a	"	0 2 2	Meadow .	Pasture	0 3 7
"	1162a	Jas. Gathward, etc. .	0 3 20	Gardens .	—	0 4 9
"	1453	J. Gray .	3 3 13	Part of Moor .	Pasture	1 13 2
"	1453a	"	1 1 14	"	"	0 5 9
112	1405	Jas. Harris .	3 1 34	Hoglane Close	"	1 2 5
"	1592	W. Harrison, etc. .	0 0 31	Cottage and garden .	—	0 0 10
113	1435	W. Hunt .	2 2 30	Piece in Stops- ley Common	Arable	0 11 8
"	1435a	"	1 1 1	House, garden, etc. .	—	0 2 0
"	1437	"	0 1 22	Garden, sheds, etc. .	—	0 4 2
"	1438	"	1 1 30	Meadow .	Pasture	0 12 6
"	1450a	"	1 0 27	"	"	0 5 8
114	1306	J. Jones .	2 0 20	Bogg Field .	"	0 9 2
"	1530	Thos. Leeper .	0 0 14	Garden .	—	0 0 6
"	1433	Rev. J. Little	2 1 7	Meadow .	Pasture	0 9 11
"	1386a	The Guardians of Luton .	2 0 6	Gardens .	—	0 16 3
"	1423a	Jas. Marsh, etc.	0 1 4	Cottage and garden .	—	0 1 4
"	1523	W. Millmore .	0 0 12	Houses, etc. .	—	0 0 2
115	1560	W. Mimer .	0 3 26	Cottage and garden .	—	0 0 4

Page. No.	Tenant.	Quantity.	Description.	State of Cultiv.	Vicarial Tithe.
		a. r. p.			£ s. d.
115 1112	J. Parsons and others .	1 1 37	Cottage and garden .	—	0 7 10
„ 1303	Geo. Slough, etc. .	0 2 11	Cottage and garden .	—	0 2 8
„ 1374	W. Townrow .	0 0 34	Dell in Winsdon Field .	Arable	0 0 3
„ 1378	„	3 1 35	Lawyer's Close	Pasture	0 16 10
„ 1848	Jas. Wallace .	0 3 7	Cottage, lime-kiln, etc. .	—	0. 1 4
117 1451	J. Williams, etc.	0 1 21	Houses and garden .	—	0 2 8
„ 1446a	J. Wright .	0 1 20	House, yard, garden, etc. .	—	0 2 8
„ 1450	„	0 3 13	Meadow .	Pasture	0 4 1
		109 0 12			

## (2) VICARIAL TITHES.

The *Church Terrier* of 1707, containing the “account of the rights of the *vicarage* and church of Luton” in that year, after enumerating the various items for which tithes were payable to the vicar, viz., “hay, hemp, flax, turnips, cows, wool, lambs, pigs, poultry, and whatever else is tithable in the whole parish, except tithes of grain,” names (though rather indefinitely) certain lands as being exempt (immemorially, no doubt) from *vicarial* tithe. This was the only kind of tithe with which that document was concerned. Incidentally, however, in describing the first of the exempt lands (Stockwood), it states that it was “*wholly exempt from payment of tithes.*” On examination it would seem that the same remark might have been made concerning all the other lands mentioned, with the exception of the two pieces now known as Chaul End. This statement, if correct, is of much significance, as apparently indicating a common cause for the exemption of all, viz., that the lands had originally belonged either to Santingfield (Farley) Hospital or to the parish church. The *exception* of Chaul End with regard to *rectorial* tithe is treated elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Chap. III., and “Rectorial Tithe.”

*exemption* of all the other lands from rectorial tithe, equally with Stockwood, will be considered in its own place.

There is a strange discrepancy with regard to vicarial tithes between this *Terrier* of 1707 and the *Award* of 1844. In the *Terrier* thirteen pieces of land are stated to be free from vicarial tithes; in the *Award* only five, it seems, are declared exempt, viz., Stockwood, the two Farleys, and Dollow Manor Farm, and another piece of Dollow Manor belonging to A. Ettrick. These are exempt from all manner of tithes.

As the number of acres of each of the lands named is not given in the *Terrier*, but only the annual value of each holding or property, it is not easy to determine with certainty where some of the lands were situated. The accompanying schedule, however, will show which lands were then declared free, and also indicate those which seem to correspond with them at present :

Name of Land.	Proprietor.	Tenant.	Annual Value.	Present Designation.
<i>Whypersley and Farley</i> , exempt from all tithes	Rich. Crawley . Thos. Rotherham, Esq. "	W. Stratton, Jun. . Roger Weedén . Wm. Doe .	£ 70 c. 200 45	Stockwood (J. S. Crawley). Farley "
<i>Chaul End</i> .	Faich Neale and Edw. Symonds . J. Copping, Esq.	Own occupation . Thos. Clever .	c. 30 c. 40	Onyons Chaul End "
	Mr. Waites . A. Etrick . W. Hale, Esq., and J. Rotherham .	Thos. Mead . Wm. Bridgeman . Rich. Jos. Heridge	20 10 100	Dallow Land (A. Macnamara). Part of Dallow Manor. Dallow Manor Farm (J. S. Crawley).
<i>Dallow Manor</i> , exempt from all tithes	Sir J. Napier, Bart. W. Chanteley .	Own occupation . Michael Coleman, J. Sherlock, and Wm. Bridgeman	16 60	Dallow Mead, etc.
	Sir J. Napier, Bart. Mr. Roberts .	J. Prudden . G. Catherell .	20 5	Crawley Green, etc. (J. S. Crawley). S. Anne's Closes, etc. "
			£616	

*Rectorial Tithes.*

The four portions of tithes, (1) Luton and Challney tithes (£23), (2) Legrave (£10), (3) Limbury, Biscot, Bramlingham, and Woodcroft (£15), and (4) East and West Hide (£20) (Chiltern Green, New Mill End), were purchased, December 4th, 1599, by George Wingate and his son Robert. Robert died in 1603. In the same year George was called upon to restore the chancel in part, he being in possession of the four above portions. He died the following year (1604). Unless any of these tithes descended to any other son, either of George, who seems to have had a son Henry, or of Robert—the latter had one son, George, who died without issue—they in all probability came into the possession of John, the eldest son of Robert. He died in 1642. By an inquisition of that year he died seized of only two of the above portions, viz., those of *Lytgrave*—the value not mentioned—and of *Biscot, Limbury, Bramlingham, and Woodcroft*, of which the value is set down at £5, not £15 as formerly. As John owned both the manor of Lewsey in *Lytgrave*, and also *Lyttgrave Farm*, it seems natural to suppose that he freed the lands which he held in his own hands from tithe, and *possibly* from which he received rents. In 1844 only 38 acres, 3 roods, 22 perches out of the 1,100 acres, 2 roods, 7 perches of the parish were found subject to rectorial tithe. His son Francis, however, by his will, 1675, left to his wife “his tithes and portions of tithes in *Lytgrave*.” Their history after this is unknown.

The tithes of *Bramlingham* had not been merged in 1679. Those of *Biscot* belonged to the *Crawleys*, 1740, together with the manor of *Biscot*, probably purchased from the *Wingates*. Yet it would seem from the decrease in the value, £5 v. £15, that some portion must have been parted with.

From the fact, too, that no mention is made in the *Inquisition* of 1642 nor in Francis's will (1675) of the other two portions, it would seem that those of *Luton* and of *New Mill End* had been parted with by *John Wingate*. The latter had certainly come into the hands of *King James* by 1623.



## APPENDIX BF. (Chap. IX., p. 179.)

## INDENTURE, 1586.

INDENTURE made 14 Oct. 28 Eliz. (1586) between Sir Phillip Boteler of Watton Abstem? Herts K<sup>nt</sup> on one p<sup>t</sup> & Edw<sup>d</sup> Carde of par. of Allhallowes Hertford, Herts, late servant of s<sup>d</sup> Sir P. B. on the other. Witnesseth, th<sup>t</sup> Whereas *Thomas Barnardyston* of Ketton? Suff. Esq. by his Indent. of lease 10 Feb. 36 y<sup>r</sup> of H. VIII. 1545 made betw. s<sup>d</sup> Thos. on the one p<sup>t</sup> & one *Thomas Dermer* of par. of Luton, B., yeoman, on the other, did demise, grant & to farm lett to s<sup>d</sup> Thos. Dermer all that his *Manor of Dolowe* with the *mansyon*, barnes stables & all other buildings to it belong<sup>g</sup> w. all & sing. the appurt. in the co. B. together with the *Court Baron* of the same Manor, & all rents, issues & profits as well the *rents of free tenants* as the rents of the cōpye holders & fines of the s<sup>d</sup> copyholders w. all other issues, coin & profits coming of the s<sup>d</sup> Court Baron there to be holden, & also all & sing. lands ten<sup>u</sup> mead leasures, past. feedgs &c. to s<sup>d</sup> M. belonging (the view of frankpledge & the profit thereof & all wards, marr<sup>e</sup> releiffes, woods & underwoods, fishynge frowlinges, hunting & hawking, and also all the fines or monies of certeyne cōpyeholde landes then in the holdyng or occup. of *Agnes Welle* widow, at such time or times as the same sh<sup>d</sup> be letten during the terme under writen to the s<sup>d</sup> Thos. Barn<sup>n</sup> his heirs &c. always *excepted* & rescued (reserved?). To have & to h<sup>d</sup> all the s<sup>d</sup> M. l<sup>e</sup> ten. & exc. before exc<sup>d</sup>, unto s<sup>d</sup> Thos. Dermer his exors. &c. fr. F. of S. Mich. then last past before date of s<sup>d</sup> indents. unto the ende & term of 51 y<sup>r</sup> then next & imm. ens<sup>g</sup>, yelding & paying theref. y<sup>r</sup> during the s<sup>d</sup> term to s<sup>d</sup> Thos. B. £19 of lawf. mon<sup>y</sup> at 2 terms in the y<sup>r</sup> . . . by even portions. . . .

And whereas also one *Ffrances Markeham* of Brache Myll in par. of L. gent. by his ind<sup>u</sup> 26 Oct. 16 Eliz. 1574 did demise unto Thos. Dermer of Dollow in par. & c<sup>o</sup> at<sup>d</sup> yeoman all that his close or croft of l<sup>d</sup> or *pasture* c<sup>d</sup> Cowecroft cont<sup>g</sup> by est<sup>n</sup> 8 *acres* & one other close or croft of l<sup>d</sup> or *pasture* c<sup>d</sup> *Streteleys nyghe Buxtones Wood* cont<sup>g</sup> 5 *acres*, which 5 acr. of eareable land lying in the s<sup>d</sup> par. of L. wherof 4 of those acres eareable lyeth at *Dollow brook* abutting toward the South uppon Dunstable waye & lyeth

nyghe the land of the s<sup>d</sup> Francis on the E. & on the N. & nigh the *lands sometime belonging to the Abbot of S. Albans* then in the ten. & occ. of the s<sup>d</sup> *Thos. Dermer* of the W. part, and *the other* acre of l<sup>d</sup> lyeth in *Knights Field* betw. the l<sup>d</sup> of the s<sup>d</sup> Frances on both parts. To have & to h<sup>d</sup> the s<sup>d</sup> 2 closes, ar. or past. & the s<sup>d</sup> 5 acres of eareable l<sup>d</sup> w. all & sing. app. &c. to s<sup>d</sup> Thos. Dermer his exors. &c. fr. S. Mich. last p. bef. ind. for 15 y<sup>n</sup>, paying theref. y<sup>r</sup> unto s<sup>d</sup> Fr<sup>d</sup> during 16 y<sup>n</sup> xliij<sup>j</sup> v<sup>d</sup> at 2 terms &c. in even portions, & one good capone to be y<sup>r</sup> p<sup>d</sup> at F. of Nativity during s<sup>d</sup> terme. And also suit to his court once every y<sup>r</sup> to the Manor of Brache in L. &c.

The state & interest of wh. s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Dermer of & in & to the s<sup>d</sup> sev. indent. & also of & in & to all & sing. the a<sup>d</sup> Manors lands, tent. hered<sup>d</sup> &c. the s<sup>d</sup> *Sir Phil. Boteler now hath & enjoyethe* by good just & lawful convey<sup>ee</sup> & ass. in the law, except of & in & to the s<sup>d</sup> 4 acres wh. do lye tog<sup>r</sup> at *Dollowe* brook abutting tow. the S. upon Dunstable waye & the s<sup>d</sup> acre of l<sup>d</sup> wh. lyeth in Knyghts Field being parcel of the l<sup>d</sup> demised by s<sup>d</sup> Fr. Markeham.

Now theref. the s<sup>d</sup> Sir Phil. Boteler for & in consid. of a cert. sum of money p<sup>d</sup> by s<sup>d</sup> Ed. Carde hath geven gr<sup>d</sup> barg. sold, alyened, assigned & set over &c. to s<sup>d</sup> Ed. the s<sup>d</sup> sev<sup>d</sup> ind<sup>d</sup> of demise & lease af<sup>d</sup> together w. all & sing. the right title use poss. of the same. *Except* the s<sup>d</sup> 4 acres of l<sup>d</sup> wh. do lye at *Dollow* brook & the s<sup>d</sup> acr. of l. wh. lyeth in *Knights Field* being part of the l<sup>d</sup> demised by s<sup>d</sup> Fr. Markeham. To have & to hold, occupy & enjoy that sev. ind. & either of them, tog. w. all & sin. the the prem. in & by the same ind. demysed (exc. before exc<sup>d</sup>) to s<sup>d</sup> Ed. Carde fr. date of this ind. for & during so many y<sup>n</sup> as are yet to come & unexpired of & in the s<sup>d</sup> sev. ind. & either of them in as large & ample & benef<sup>d</sup> manner as the s<sup>d</sup> Sir Ph. in right ought to have occup. & enjoy the same. In witness whereof parties aboven<sup>d</sup> h. set their h<sup>d</sup> & seale in d. & y<sup>r</sup> above wn. Sign<sup>d</sup> Phillip Bottler. S. & s<sup>d</sup> in pres. of W<sup>m</sup> Plomer, J. Crane, Jonas Payne & Geo. Cowper.

## APPENDIX BG. (Chap. IX., p. 180.)

## DOLLOW MANOR AND ITS APPURTENANCES.

THIS in 1544 was held separate from the manor farm, as three acres, by the vicar (J. Gwynneth), as a copyholder at 10s. per annum. Though not expressly mentioned by name in the licence to alienate, 1586, it was evidently conveyed in the grant along with the "*mill and free fishery in the water of Luton.*" Almost immediately after this it seems to have been purchased—as perhaps the whole manor was—from Thos. Crawley by his father, John Crawley. For in 1598 John's widow, Alice, who had a life interest in it, *lets* it to the said Thomas as three acres, called variously "*Dollow al's Dallow Meade, al's Dollermaker, al's Berrymill Meade, al's Smythe's Meade,*" and in 1600 quits claim to said Thos. Crawley all her interest in said Dollow Mead. It must shortly after this have passed into the hands of one Scudamore, for in 1605 Rich. Scudamore of London, gent., sells Dollowe Meade (four acres) to Francis Crawley for ninety-nine years, and in 1625 Francis Crawley, sergeant, parts with the same to Thos. Creswell of Crawley Green at 8*d.* yearly. In 1633 Sir Fr. Crawley and T. Creswell devise Dallow Meade to Sir Rob. Napier. It is this mead which is probably referred to in the *Terrier* of 1707 as "Land of Sir J. Napier in his own occupation belonging to Dollow Court, valued at £16 per annum, and free from vicarial tithe," and which is said to have been in the possession of the Marquis of Bute in 1844.

*Crawley Green and Luton.*

How much this exactly comprised cannot be accurately determined. It evidently, however, included, probably under the former head, the two holdings :

(1) One described (Elizabeth and James) as "a close of twelve acres lately pertaining to the free chapel in Luton called S. Ann's Chapel, 13*s.* 4*d.*"; in 1707 as "S. Anne's Close, Geo. Catherel, proprietor, Mr. Roberts, tenant, valued at £5, free from vicarial tithe"; later on (1740-72) as "a messuage at Crawley Green, Barker's Close, Lower Close, S. Ann's Close, and the Holly-

crofts," in the possession of J. Crawley; and in 1844 as "S. Anne's Field (9 acres, 1 rood, 36 perches), and other fields (26 acres, 3 roods, 22 perches), in the possession of S. Crawley, Esq., Thos. Smith, tenant, *free from impropriate tithe*," this portion having apparently descended in the Crawley family from 1586 to the present time.

(2) Crawley Green, close, orchard, etc., belonging in 1844 to Thos. Smith (16 acres, 2 roods, 30 perches), also *free from impropriate tithe*, and which probably was included in 1707 in the "Lands in Dollow Liberty, belonging to Sir J. Napier, Bart., J. Prudden, tenant, £20, free from vicarial tithe," now belonging, like the former, to J. S. Crawley, Esq., but the descent of which to the late owner is not clear.

#### APPENDIX BH. (Chap. IX., p. 180.)

##### POSSESSIONS OF THE FRATERNITY OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

THERE is a still fuller account of the revenues of the guild in another *Chantry Certificate* (No. 1, pp. 30, 31).

##### *The Fraternytie of Luton.*

The landes tenements and rents to the sayd Fraternytie belonging, valued at—

The fre rentes of dyvers tenementes in Luton as apperyth by a particuler rentall thereof made by yere at the feastes of the Annuncyacyon of our Lady and Saynt Mighell tharchangell by even porcons ix.s. i.d.

The ferme of dyvers lands and tenements in Luton aforesaid letten to dyvers persones at wyll as aperith by a particuler rentall therof made by yere at thaboue said feastes by even porcons iiij.li. xx.d.

The ferme of the Brotherhed house with thapurtenances letten to *Thomas Perott* by Indenture by yere as is abouesaid vij.li. ix.s. iiij.d.

The ferme of a tenement with thapurtenances letten to *Thomas Evered* by Indenture by yere as is aboue said iiij.li. x.s. iiij.d.

Memorandum—that the Guyld or Fraternytye was founded by John Rotheram and John Acworth for the intent that there shold be ij chaplens to syng dayly within the parishe Churche of Luton at *thaltares* of the *Chapells* of tholy TrynYTE and our lady for the prosperous Estate of Kyng Edward the iiij. and Quene Elizabeth his wyff, and for the good Estate of all the brothers and systers and all theyr benefactors. Also there hath no grammar nor precher ben found in the said Brotherhed syns the feast of Saynt Mighell tharchangell last past. Item there hath no money nor other profett ben payd to any poore person out of the said

Brotherhed at any tyme within this v yeres entended to haue contynuaunce for euer. Also there are resident ij prestes, thone called John Johnson of thage of lx yeres but meanly learned not able to serve a cure. Thother is called Robart Gregory of thage of l years but meanly learned not able to serve a cure, and neither of theym hath any other lyvyng but the said Brotherhed. Item the said town of Luton is a market towne and there be in the same parishe mcc houselyng people and the parishe is in precyncte vij myles and more and many of the parishioners dwelling iij or iiij myles from ther said parishe church.

## APPENDIX BI. (Chap. IX., p. 182.)

### GWNNETH'S PUBLICATIONS.

As Gwynneth is the earliest author, among the vicars of Luton, whose works are known, the *Letters of Thos. Rose*, however, being nearly cotemporary, the following catalogue and fuller notices of their title-page, place of publication, and present press-mark at the British Museum Library, are here given :

(1) In the British Museum Library (C. 31. b.) is a small oblong 4to vol., which was printed on October 10th, 1530,<sup>1</sup> but by whom it was either edited or printed is not stated. On the second page is written : " In this boke are cōteyned xx Sōges (songs) ; ix of iiii ptes (verses) and xi of thre ptes," with the names, in most cases, of the composers of the music.

Amongst these songs and hymns on p. 60 *et seq.* (but the book is without paging), is one song or hymn by John Gwynneth, but whether he composed the words also, to which the music is set, has not been ascertained. As it appears not at all unlikely that both are his own composition (for he prefixes to one of his books some *Latin verses*), the words are given here. They are not without value as a specimen of a hymn of that early period, by whomsoever written ; and, as they may be taken as expressive of Gwynneth's feelings, whether composed by himself or only adapted by him to music, they may have an additional interest, as they seem to exhibit his character in a more favourable light than

<sup>1</sup> This volume was exhibited in one of the public rooms of the Museum in 1889 among the "Early Printed Books."

either his controversial works or his prolonged dispute with his diocesans might suggest.

## WORDS SET TO MUSIC BY J. GWYNNETH.

" And I mankynd <sup>1</sup>  
 Have not in mynd  
 My love that mornyth for me, for me  
 Who is my love?  
 But God Above  
 That born was of Mary.  
 Ad on the rode  
 Hys precious blode  
 He shed to make me fre  
 Whom shold I prove  
 So true of love  
 So gētyl and curtes <sup>2</sup> as he.  
 That kīg of blys  
 My love he ys,  
 That mōrth so for me, for me.  
 The Father hys son  
 Frō hevyn sent down  
 And borne was of a mayd,  
 The pphesye  
 Of Isay  
 Fulfyllyd he and sayd,  
 Behold, mankynd,  
 Thy Maker most lovyng  
 For thy love come to dye.  
 What ys thy mynd  
 To be so unkynd  
 Syth I so mourne for the, for the.  
 That virgyn's chyld  
 Most meke and myld  
 Alonely for my sake  
 Hys Father's wyll  
 For to fulfyl  
 He came great payns to take  
 And soffryd deth  
 As Scryptur sayth  
 That we shuld savyd be  
 On Good Fryday,  
 Wherefor I say  
 He mournyd sore for me, for me.

<sup>1</sup> This beginning seems to have been suggested by the old couplet, "For in my minde, of all mankynde, I love but you alone."

<sup>2</sup> "Yet is God a curteis Lord" (Chaucer, quoted by Knight, ii. 219).

Such payne and smart  
 As in hys hart  
 He suffred for mankynd  
 Can no man take  
 Nor mournyng make,  
 So mekly for hys frend.  
 The cruel Jeus  
 Wold not refuse  
 To nayel hym to a tre  
 And wyth a dart  
 To perce hys hart  
 Thus mournyd he for me.  
 Now Cryst Ihū  
 Of love most treu  
 Have mercy apon me,  
 I axethe grace  
 For my trespas  
 That I have done to the,  
 For thy swet name  
 Save me from shame  
 And all adv'sytye  
 For Mary's sake  
 To the me take  
 And mourn no more for me."

JOHN GWYNNETH.

(2) "The Cōfutation of the fyrst parte of Frythes boke,<sup>1</sup> with a disputacyon before, whether it be possible for any heretike to know that hymselfe is one or not. And also an other, whether it be wors to denye directly more or lesse of the faythe." By John Gwynneth, clerke. (Black letter.) Printed by John Herteforde for Richard Stevenage, Saint Albans, 1536, sm. 8vo.

British Museum Library, C. 12. b. 10: "Without pagination, the first part only: no more published" (?).

He commences this and the succeeding part almost in the same words. Catholic: "Hark, I saye, countryman, a word with you." Heretic: "Speak ye to me, sir?"

(3) "Declaration of the Notable Victory given of God to Queen Mary, shewed in the Church of Luton, 22 July, in the first year of her reign" (1553).

"Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde at the sygne of the Holye Goste, by J. Cawoode; Prynter to the Quene's Hyghnes."

In 32 leaves, 8vo. Black letter. No date.

<sup>1</sup> In a note he says he always refers "to the first print of Frithe's boke," bearing the date A.D. 1533.



This volume is not to be found in the British Museum Library, but is referred to in the *Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library*, p. 939, 8vo, No. 41, London, 1746, b. 14, with the following "note" appended:

"This discourse was spoken three days after Queen Mary was proclaimed in 1553, and printed the same year. The author, who might be a Welshman born, appears to have been a man of excellent natural parts, as Anthony Wood justly observes, and master of a good clear style, for its antiquity. He seems to have been deprived of that vicarage (in Beds) in the preceding reign, and was now returned to his church, upon the return of Popery. But he appears not to have been a Doctor at the time, much less of music, as that authority would incline us to believe, by surmising him to be the same person with another of his name."

Notwithstanding these remarks, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the vicar was not the same person as the Doctor of Music, or to infer that he was deprived of his living in Edward's reign. If it had been so, the appointment of his successor and his own re-institution would probably have been met with in the bishop's register.

(4) "A Declaration of the State, wherein all heretikes dooe lead their lives: and also of their continuall indever, and propre fruites, which beginneth in the 38 chapter, and so to thende of the worke," by J. Gwynneth, clerke.

(Black letter.) Imprinted at London. In Fletestrete in the hous of Thos. Berthelet. Londini, 1554, 4to. (Brit. Mus., 697. 9. 14.) Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

(5) "A Playne Demonstration of J. Frithes lacke of witte and learnynge in his understandynge of holie Scripture, and of the olde holy doctrine, in the blessed Sacrament of the Aulter, newly set foorthe," by Johñ Gwynneth, clerk. (Black letter.) Imprinted at London in Fletestrete Bi Thomas Povvell, 1557, sm. 4to. (Brit. Mus., 3932 d.) Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. On the first page are the following verses:

"Qui cupit Hæretici, nunc scire Sophismata Frythi,  
Plebs, quibus, est miris ludificata modis  
Commonstrat Gvinneth tibi clericus, ecce Johannes,  
Isto quem fecit Codice Marte suo.  
In quo se multum videas sumpsisse laboris  
Præsertim, quem nunc cana senecta premit.  
Pænitet haud tanti, tamen, ipsum omnino laboris,  
Se tibi fructiferum, si modo percipiat."

Having performed the first and second part of what he promised in the beginning of his writing against Frith's books, he says, here followeth the third part.

Though the tone of his books is rather dictatorial and contemptuous—all of them being dialogues between those whom he calls "Catholicus" and "Hereticus," yet there are some passages which seem to bespeak a better mind. He thus ends his third and last extant work, "Ask (to know the truth), and it shall be given you, seek, etc." "Some will like the matter because of the wryter, and some the writer because of the matter." "And therefore now, good Christen readers, because no man is or can be herein sufficient of hym selfe, but as the holy apostle dothe say, 'Our sufficiency is of God,' I wyshe unto you, as even to my selfe, the perpetuall succour and helpe of that holie Spirit whiche is the worker and merciful Giver of every good will. To Whome wythe the Fathèr and the Sonne be honour and glorye now and ever."

#### APPENDIX BJ. (Chap. X., p. 209.)

##### SEQUESTRATIONS OF THE ESTATES OF SIR R. NAPIER, BART., AND SIR FR. CRAWLEY, KT.

THE following extracts supply almost all the information that can be gathered concerning these events :

"1644, June 7th. The Committee of Bedford for sequestrations certify, at the request of Sir Robert Napper, Bart., that the Com<sup>tee</sup> being informed that he being a Member of the House of Commons did in August last depart from London and Westminster and neglect the service of the House until December, did according to the Ordinance of Parliament and order of the House of Commons sequester his estate in the county, and that his brother pretending he would come, the sequestration was suspended ; but he not coming in, the suspension was taken off and sequestration commanded to be executed"<sup>1</sup> (*App. to 8th Report, Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 3).

"On 26 Nov. of the same year (1644) the Com<sup>tee</sup> in London order the £30 lent to Sir Rob. Napper at the request of Edmund

<sup>1</sup> Apparently on April 29th in this same year.

Wingate be called in and paid to the use of the State within twenty-one days" (*Ibid.*, p. 7).

On November 29th he was assessed at £1,500, but no proceedings were taken on the occasion (*Cal. of State Papers, D.S., Proc. of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 490). The total value, however, of his property at this period was only £861 6s. This included £200 rent from tenants of the tithes of Stoppesley, which he held under Trinity College, Oxford, and £280 from those of his own tithes of East and West Hyde (Add. MS., B.M., 5494).

On July 1st, 1646, the Committee for plundered ministers "by vertue of an Order of both Houses of p'liam<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> of May last, ordered that the yearely sume of £50 be payd out of y<sup>e</sup> *Improprie Tythes in East Hyde and West Hyde* in y<sup>e</sup> p'ish of Luton w<sup>ch</sup> are sequestred from Sir Robert Napper, Delinquent, to and for increase of y<sup>e</sup> mainteñence of the Minister of Fletton and Silsoe." And on the 17th of the same month ordered that £40 be paid to each of the ministers of Biggleswade and Potton, and on August 12th that £50 should be paid to each of the ministers of Dunton and Sundon, out of the profits of the *improprie rectory of Luton*, sequestered also from Sir Robert, the total being £230 per annum. (*State Papers, D.S., Interregnum Order Books*, 1 F., 142-147; *Beds N. and Q.*, iii. 343-5).

The exact date of Sir Robert's submission and offering to compound for his estate does not seem to be stated, but it would appear to have been, like that of most of his fellow-Royalists, in this same year of 1646. He was not discharged, however, until September 14th, 1647.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the above allocations of portions of his tithes, unless some special arrangement were arrived at, would seem to have speedily come to an end. A similar difficulty arose in the case of the rectorial tithes of Leighton Buzzard, of which Sir Thos. Leigh, another delinquent, was the lessee. Fifty-five pounds per annum out of these tithes had been assigned to the vicar in 1644. "The Com<sup>tes</sup> for plundered ministers, 7th October, 1646, desire the Com<sup>tes</sup> of Parliament sitting at Goldsmith's Hall" (where the compounding took place) "to take such course as they shall think meet that the said

<sup>1</sup> "February 23rd, 1662-63. Certificate by F. Rowley, registrar, that the estates of Sir Robert Napier of Luton were sequestered April 29th, 1644, for his going to the king's quarters and not returning after ten days' notice, and that he was discharged by order of Parliament, September 14th, 1647" (*Cal. of State Papers, D.S.*).

graunt *bee not preiudiced* by the said Sir Thos. Leigh's compounding for his estate" (*B. N. and Q.*, iii. 347). The result, however, seems nowhere stated.

It is much to the credit of the committee that the rectorial tithes, the "spiritualities," sequestered from Sir Robert and others were devoted by them to their original purpose, that of supporting parish ministers, although in many cases they extended what was intended for the benefit of a particular parish to the maintenance of other vicars in the county. Besides those of Luton and Leighton, the other impropriate tithes, within the county, which were thus used, their owners being delinquents, were those of Steventon, Newenham, and Goldington.

Sir Francis Crawley's property was probably sequestered in 1643 or 1644. The following relates to his compounding for it:

"1646, 12th November. Sir Francis Crawley, sometime Judge in Common Pleas, begs to compound on Oxford articles" (according to the treaty on the capture of Oxford, June 24th, 1646) "for delinquency in adhering to the king. Being assistant to the House of Lords in Parliament, had their leave at Christmas, 1645, to go to his house at Luton, Beds, where, on New Year's day, received the king's summons to Oxford. Has since resided there and elsewhere in the king's quarters."

"17th Dec. Judge Francis Crawley, Serjeants' Inn, was assessed at £1,000, but no proceedings taken." "23rd Dec. Fine at one tenth, £958."

In the list by Jackson (p. 91), treasurer of the Committee for Sequestrations, in Westminster, of persons sequestered for delinquency, March, 1648, occurs the entry of "Justice Francis Crawley, fees."

The amount of his rents at Luton at the time of his sequestration is only set down in Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 5494, at about £289 os. 7d.

Sir Fr. Crawley was buried at Luton, February 20th, 1649-50, but his son and successor, Francis Crawley, was also declared a delinquent, and in 1655 his estate was likewise decimated, and he was fined £25 2s. (*Thurloe State Papers*, iv. 513). He became a Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Charles II., and as possessing £1,000 a year was qualified as a Knight of the Royal Oak.

The *rents* of these two large landed proprietors are thus given in the same document (Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 5494):

Rents of SIR ROB. NAPER, delinquent, in the parish of Luton, they were anciently let by the year before they were sequestered :

	£	s.	d.
J. Berry . . . . .	94	17	0
Thos. Sibley . . . . .	72	0	0
Thos. Samson . . . . .	12	5	8
Wm. Bridgmont . . . . .	12	0	0
Wm. Barker . . . . .	16	3	4
Thos. Crawley . . . . .	10	10	0
Thos. Cooper, senr. . . . .	3	10	0
J. Ineward . . . . .	6	0	0
Edw. Lawrence . . . . .	4	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£231	6	0
	<hr/>		

Thos. How and Thos. Crawley tenants for the *tithes* of Stoppesy at £200. J. Berry, J. Threall, and W. Catteline tenants for the *tithe of the East and West Hide*, £280. Besides woods and parks valued at £150. Total value of his property, £861 6s. He was the second baronet, and was buried, March 7th, 1661-62.

Particulars of rents of SIR FRANCIS CRAWLEY, delinquent :

	£	s.	d.
Thos. Cheney . . . . .	4	10	0
Thos. Field . . . . .	8	0	0
Thos. Crawley . . . . .	14	19	3
Geo. Crawley . . . . .	64	1	4
Wm. Crawley . . . . .	77	10	0
J. Crawley . . . . .	20	0	0
	<hr/>		
	189	0	7
House and ground about . . . . .	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£289	0	7
	<hr/>		

## APPENDIX BK. (Chap. X., p. 225.)

## LAWSUITS CONCERNING TITHES.

THIS latter action at law is of much interest as bearing upon the exemption of Dallow Manor from payment of tithes, and as throwing some little light upon the "Dallow closes" or lands of Mr. Macnamara.

That the lands in question, though called therein "*Threescore acres*" are the same<sup>1</sup> as those more accurately estimated by the Tithe Commissioner at 53 acres, 3 roods, 8 perches, seems unquestionable, (1) from their being called also in the depositions "*Dallow closes*" and "*Dallow grounds*," their present name being "*Dallow lands*;" (2) from their being universally admitted on that occasion to have formed part of the manor of Dallow, and to have been in the same hamlet of Limbury; (3) from the order of sequence in which they are mentioned (as "*Threescore acres*") in the *Luton Terrier* (1707), *i.e.*, immediately after Chaul End (which adjoins them) and with one intervening small piece of land (a part, no doubt, of the Dallow Manor), just before "*the Dallow (Manor) Farm*;" (4) from the known history of the other large portions of the manor, but (5), above all, from the fact that no other part of the arable land of Dallow Manor is, or ever has been, charged with payment of tithe.

There were two contentions on the part of the defendant, 1st. that, forming part of the manor of Dallow, the closes were not liable to the payment of any kind of tithe; 2ndly, that even if liable, sainfoin or cinquefoil,<sup>2</sup> not being hay, was not liable to vicarial tithe.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Access to the title-deeds of these Threescore acres would no doubt afford the shortest and surest proof, but in the absence of these it is thought well to establish the point on other grounds.

<sup>2</sup> In the depositions the plant is called indiscriminately, as was usual ever in the beginning of this century, through ignorance and mispronunciation, by each of these names. Botanically, however, these names belong to entirely distinct kinds of plants, the former, "*Sainfoin*," being *Onobrychis sativa*, one of the *Leguminosæ*, the latter, a "*Potentilla*," one of the *Rosacæ*.

<sup>3</sup> This latter was the sole contention of E. Lanady in a similar trial on the same occasion, who declared that he did not retain the tithe in obstinacy, but because the same was contested between plaintiff and the impropiator.

The depositions with regard to the first point were very conflicting, and, under known circumstances, peculiar; but as two of the witnesses appeared first in behalf of the plaintiff and then of the defendant, and openly contradicted themselves, *their* testimony at least cannot be considered of much value.

All agreed in acknowledging that the land in question formed part of the Dallow Manor. But whilst most of the witnesses asserted that they had always understood that the manor was entirely exempt from tithe, three of them deposed that the *manor farm itself* had actually paid vicarial tithe. These were Uriah Moss, who had himself held the farm, though only for one year, and said that he had paid 40s. composition for tithe to Mr. Jessop some twenty years previously (c. 1659), and also that his father before him had for forty years paid the same to both Mr. Jessop (1650-60?) and Mr. Bird (1617-49); J. Lawrence, who deposed that Mr. Peeter had paid tithe to the vicar for the farm some twenty years since, and Wm. Lawrence, that he himself had collected the tithe for the present complainant from Mr. Gutteridge the tenant.

The fact, therefore, of the land in question forming a part of the Dallow Manor afforded, according to them, no right of exemption from vicarial tithe.

As to the "Threescore acres" themselves, whilst Isaac Freeman who had owned them for nine years deposed that no tithes were either demanded of him or paid by him during that period, and two others confirmed his statement that they were always reputed to be exempt, on the other hand Thomas Masters witnessed that Mr. Bird sixty years previously (1619) had received tithes from them; J. Lawrence that he had known the lands to pay tithes for fifty years (*i.e.*, since 1629); Uriah Moss that he had known Wm. Waites both to have been occupier or possessor of these acres, "*heretofore arable* now sown with sanfoyne," and to have paid to the vicar 20s. composition for tithe; and Wm. Lawrence that he had himself collected their tithe from Mr. Gutteridge, an abatement of 5s. a year having been made to him.

None of them explained how, if the land were *heretofore arable*, it could have been liable throughout a long series of years to *vicarial* tithe.

As to the second point, also, conflicting opinions were given, some of the witnesses claiming that as sainfoin was sown and thrashed like *corn*, it should be reckoned as grain, and conse-

quently, if the land were subject to tithe at all, this latter would be due to the impropiator of the rectorial tithe and not to the vicar; others, that being used for fodder, like hay, they reckoned it as hay.

Neither the etymological view of the case, that "*sain-foin*," being simply "wholesome hay," or "*saint-foin*," as it is sometimes written, "*sacred hay*;" nor the scientific view that, being a leguminous plant, it had some claim to be classed with pulse, which, like corn, paid rectorial but not vicarial tithe; nor the physiological and practical view, that after having been cut it equally with grass, but unlike any corn, shot forth again, in fact, was a perennial—neither of these views seem to have been suggested by either party, and, as far as appears, the determination of its character and liability was left unsettled.

The depositions were taken at Luton on *26th January, 31 Charles II.*, 1680, before Simon Urling, gent., Wm. Daniel, Esq., and J. Dagnall, gent., the commissioners appointed by the Court of Exchequer.

The final issue of the trial is perplexing. The decision of the court was that "the petitioner might bring an action against Waite at the assizes at Bedford for tithes of sainfoin out of the said Threescore acres"—where the question, it seems, was to be decided whether the lands were tithe free or not. From the fact that in the *Terrier* of only twenty-seven years later (1707) amongst the lands *exempt* from vicarial tithe are not merely "the Dollow Farm," valued at £100, and a small piece of land of probably about 20 or 30 acres (Runley Wood, 21 acres, 3 roods, 12 perches?) valued at £10, and which evidently (at some time) had formed part of the Dollow Manor estate, but also these "Threescore acres," valued at £20, it might have been inferred that the decision at Bedford, if the case was ever tried there, was given against the vicar, or else that he had relinquished his claim to tithe from them, yet in the tithe award of 1841, in diametrical opposition to the *Terrier*, these lands, on the evidence it seems adduced at the above trial, and which is referred to in the commissioner's report, are declared liable to a tithe of £1 15s. 6d.

The assertion that the manor farm ever paid vicarial tithe, and that, too, at so early a date as the incumbency of J. Bird (1617-42), whilst it was notorious, as stated in the pleadings, that neither the abbey nor the tenants of the manor ever paid tithe, and that the manor was granted by the crown to Sir Thos.



**Barnardiston** tithe free, seems to have been pure fiction, and was rejected as such by the Tithe Commissioner in 1841. On the other hand, the same commissioner appears to have given credit to the evidence in behalf of the "Threescore acres" having been accustomed to pay vicarial tithe, and only exempted them from rectorial tithe by reason of lapse of time in seeking their recovery. If it be true that the "Threescore acres" paid vicarial tithes so early as 1619, as stated in the depositions of 1680, this it seems can only be accounted for on the supposition—a not improbable one on other grounds—that, though originally part of the abbey property, and still subject to its manorial rights, yet that long before the Dissolution they had passed into other hands, their owner been enfeoffed and reckoned among their free tenants, whilst by some arrangement of the abbey the lands, when thus parted with, were rendered subject to at least vicarial tithe. If the grounds assigned by the commissioner for their exemption from rectorial tithe were the only ones, and not merely put forth as being quite sufficient, without entering into any further question, then they were also subjected (it may be, as suggested elsewhere, like Chaul End) to rectorial tithe, but in this respect they were probably rather treated like the Crawley Green part of this property, by being still held under the manor as a free tenancy, and exempt, like that portion, from impropriate tithe.

But another value to be derived from this suit in the Exchequer Court of 1679-80 is the support given therein to the theory sought to be established throughout these pages, viz., that the original reason for Dollow Manor being free from tithe was the fact of its ancient connection with the rectory of the parish, in other words, its having been the original rectory lands. It was asserted by counsel on behalf of the owner that "the said sixty acres were part of the manor of Dallowe within the parish of Luton, which manor was heretofore parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of S. Alban's, which came to the crown by statute 31 Henry VIII., and that the abbot at the time of the Dissolution, his farmers, tenants and predecessors, time out of mind, held the said manor and lands tithe free and without paying anything in lieu of tithes. And that the same manor and lands either by prescription or *unity of possession with the rectory impropriate* of Luton, which was also parcel of the possessions of the said abbey, or by some other lawful way, came to the crown freed and discharged from payment of

tithes and were so granted by Henry VIII. to Thomas Barnardiston, and by several conveyances came to the said defendant Wayte, who insists that the said sixty acres are tithe free."

Though it is not here definitely and exclusively claimed that its "unity of possession with the rectory" was the real undoubted origin of the exemption of the manor from tithe—which it might have been difficult even at that distance of time to prove, especially upon the part of one who not being the owner of the manor was not likely to have in his possession its title-deeds, even if they might be supposed to allude to the matter—yet the very prominence given to the point seems to imply that that was considered the most likely explanation of its exemption, as indeed under the known circumstances of its history, that, and no other, would appear to account for its prescription or usage, time out of mind. Lands, *unconnected with rectories*, which belonged to the *Cistercians* were freed by a special bull of the pope from all tithes so long as they were retained in the hands of the monastery; but not so those which belonged to the *Benedictines*, of which order the monks of S. Alban's were. So, if the lands were not rectorial lands, exemption could only be claimed for them on the same ground as that assigned for the exemption of Farley, viz., that they had been acquired by the abbey before the second Lateran Council (1179-80), which, though a fact, is a ground of exemption which neither on this occasion nor at any other period is ever suggested for them.

There is also another, though subordinate value, attached to the account of this suit, viz., that (together with the contemporaneous suit against E. Lanady) it supplies us with the only documentary notice, with two exceptions, of the vicarial tithes during the three centuries which intervened between the ecclesiastical valuation of Henry VIII. (1535) and the Tithe Commissioners award in 1841. Besides exhibiting the claim of its incidence upon a portion of land of peculiar interest in connection with this work, it furnishes indirectly a proof that in the days of their ascendancy the Independents, as represented by Mr. Jessop, had no scruple in claiming and receiving tithes as well as other endowments, any more than they did, it seems, in being connected with the state, and being established. It was the same, it will be seen, with the other ministers appointed by the Puritan Committee for plundered ministers (December 6th, 1645), who ordered the justices of the peace to take speedy and effectual means for the recovery of the tithes and other profits of the church of Luton due to their nominee, Mr. Samuel Austin.

## APPENDIX BL. (Chap. XI., p. 230.)

## SPECULUM DIOCESIOS.

IN the *Speculum Dioecesis* of Bishop Wake of Lincoln, 1706, the year of Christopher Eaton's institution, there are the following entries concerning the parish :

1. *Benefice*. A Vicarage (Luton) in the Deanery of Dunstable. N<sup>o</sup>. of Families (Paroch' ampl') 400. Many Dissenters ? 50, the greater part Anabaptists, some Quakers (aliqui Quak').

2. *Incumbent*. M<sup>r</sup>. Christopher Eaton. Resident ; not in the Vicarage House, "but in a hired house." Vicarage in good repair ("ut dicit 1717" is added).

3. *Service*. Twice on the Lord's Day, once on Festivals, and on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Catechising ? in Lent and at other times.

Communion ? four times a year. This number was reduced to three times a little later, and again raised to four times later still.

A licensed Anabaptist conventicle.

4. *Revenue*. R. ? Vic. ? £160. In King's Book, £35 12s. 1d. Tenth's £3 11s. 2½d.

Procurations ? Church 13s. 4d. Vicar, 8s.

5. *Charities*.

Public school. Stipend of Master ? £15, and for other charities.

Master of the school, Dominus Wainwright, licensed.

£4 per annum in Bread.

£4 per annum for repair of Church.

Due. £3 6s. 8½d.

6. *Remarks*.

Sir John Napier lives here, and his estate in this place is reckon'd at £3,500 per annum. In his house is a neat chapel, consecrated, and very decently kept.

## APPENDIX BM. (Chap. XI., p. 233.)

## THE TERRIER OF THE CHURCH.

THE earliest extant *Terrier* and "Account of the rights of the Vicarage and Church of Luton," is dated 1707, and gives the following:

A Vicarage House of Timber, studd and lime walls, and covered with tiles.

Churchyard, 3 acres, fended by water in part.

Orchard, 1 acre, 2 roods, fended by moat and water.

Glebe of two small closes, 3 acres, called Tainterhook closes, abutting south on churchyard, west on Church Street, north on land of Sir J. Napier, Bart., called Pondewick, east on land of Thos. Cheney, gent., called Catling's Mead. Tithes of hay, hemp, flax, turnips, cows, wood, lamb, pigs, and poultry. All grass<sup>1</sup> grown in the town and parish of Luton pays to vicar in kind, and for every milch cow 2s., and for every dried cow or weanling calf or young bullock, 1s., and tythe of wool paid at Shere day and lambs at . . . . (March), the 10th or 7th pig at a month old, 2 eggs for a hen and 3 for a cock, the 10th pigeon, or 10th penny if they be sold, for the 10th of geese, at Stubbletime. A wax penny and smoke penny and all other subject by law. Surplice

<sup>1</sup> With the following exceptions: "One farm of Ric. Crawley, Esq., called Stockwood, now in the tenure of W. Stratton at the yearly rent of £70, wholly exempt from payment of tithes. One other land of T. Rotheram, Esq., called Farley, now in the tenure of Roger Weeden at the yearly rent of £200. One other farm belonging to Farley of Thos. Rotheram's, at yearly rent of £45, in tenure of W. Dac; other lands of Zaik Neale and Edw. Symonds, now in their own occupation, called Oynions and Challend, of about £30; lands belonging to J. Copper, Esq., called Chall End, in the tenure of Thos. Cleaver, at about £40; other lands belonging to Mr. Waites, called Threescore acres, in tenure of Thos. Mead, £20; other land belonging to A. Ettrick, Esq., £10, in tenure of W. Bridgeman; one other land belonging to Wm. Hale, Esq., and J. Rotheram, in tenure of Ric. Gutteringe, called the Dollow Farm, £100; other land of Sir J. Napier, Bart., in own occupation, £16, belonging to Dollow Court; and Broadwater closes of Mr. Chanteley, in tenure of Mic. Coleman, J. Sherlock, and Wm. Bridgeman, £60; and other land in the Dollow Liberty of Sir J. Napier, Bart., in tenure of J. Prudden, £20; and one other close called S. Anne's Close, of Mr. Roberts, and in tenure of G. Catherel, £5."

fees. Every man and wife for Easter offering 4*d.*, others above 16, 6*d.* every Easter.

Marriages with banns 2*s.* 6*d.* ; with licence 5*s.* For burial 8*d.* Christening 6*d.* Mortuary for every person that dyes worth £50, 10*s.* Vicar to Bishop for synodals, 6*d.* ; Archdeacon 10*s.* 6*d.*

## APPENDIX BN. (Chap. XI., p. 239.)

### THE STUART FAMILY.

THE family of the Stuarts is one of the most distinguished ever connected with Luton, and it was during the eighty-two years of its residence at the Hoo that it formed those extensive alliances which unites it to so many of the leading families of the kingdom. And whilst the senior branch was continually receiving grants of fresh dignities or inheriting them through marriage, even the junior members of the family were reaping honours, amassing wealth, and obtaining peerages of their own. The family name and connection are not always recognized under the titles of Stuart de Rothsay, Stuart de Decies, Wharnccliffe, and Stuart Wortley.

John Stuart, K.G., third Earl of Bute, having been a minister of the crown for twenty-seven years, resigned the office of Lord of the Treasury, April, 1763. In the previous year he had purchased Luton Hoo at the cost of £110,000. He was married to Mary, only daughter of Edw. Wortley Montagu, Esq., of Wortley, York, who in 1761 had been created Baroness Mountstuart of Wortley, with remainder to her male issue by the Earl of Bute. He found the park to consist of about 300 acres, as enclosed by the first Sir Robert Napier. He enlarged it to 1,200 acres, employing Brown to lay it out, and widening the river Lea, which flows through it, into a considerable lake. Napier's mansion had been built of brick. Lord Bute made extensive additions to it in stone. It was, however, in 1771 greatly injured by fire. After residing at Luton thirty years, he died (1792), leaving five sons and six daughters, all of them born before he purchased the Hoo. He was succeeded by his eldest son, John, who had been created Baron of Cardiff in 1766, and who succeeded, on his mother's death in 1794, to the barony of Mountstuart, being advanced in

1796 to the marquise of Bute and other dignities. The son of the marquis's next brother, James, who had inherited his mother's property at Wortley, and taken that name, was created Baron Wharnccliffe (1826); whilst the son of the fourth brother, Sir Charles, also a Sir Charles, was created Baron Stuart de Rothesay (1828), and was the father of the two ladies, Charlotte, married in 1835 to Charles J., Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India (in which country she died in 1861), and Louisa, married in 1847 to Henry, third Marquis of Waterford, who was killed in 1859 by a fall from his horse. She died in 1891. These two sisters formed the subject of "Two Noble Lives." Of the marquis's sisters, Mary married, September 7th, 1761, James Lowther, first Earl of Lonsdale; Jane married, February 1st, 1768, George, Earl Macartney; Ann married, July 2nd, 1764, Hugh Percy, second Duke of Northumberland; Augusta married Captain Andrew Corbett—these becoming the parents of a succeeding vicar of Luton, Stuart Corbett; Caroline married, January 1st, 1778, John Dawson, first Earl of Portarlington; and Louisa, who died unmarried, August 4th, 1851, aged ninety-four years. All the above marriages, with the exception of the first, took place while the family resided at the Hoo. The offspring of William, the fifth and youngest brother, the Archbishop, consisted of two sons and two daughters. These sons alone of the Stuart family have continued their connection with the county of Bedford. His eldest son, William, was of Aldenham Abbey, Herts, and Tempsford Hall, Beds. He married, in 1821, Henrietta, daughter of Admiral Sir Charles Pole, Bart., and had two sons, Colonel William Stuart, late M.P. for Bedford, and Charles Pole Stuart, late of Sandymount House, Woburn Sands, both of whom married Irish ladies, and have left issue. His son Henry was also M.P. for Bedford, and died, 1854, without issue. Of his daughters, the eldest, Mary, married, in 1815, Thomas Knox, second Earl of Ranfurly; whilst Louisa died unmarried in 1823, the year after her father, and was buried alongside her parents. These three, and one granddaughter of the first marquis, are the only members of the family of whom there is any monument to show that they were buried in Luton Church.

John, the first Marquis, greatly enlarged and beautified the Hoo mansion, increasing the number of the books in the library to thirty thousand volumes, many of them of great value and rarity. The room that contained them was 146 feet long. He also added

three hundred acres to the park.<sup>1</sup> His first wife was Charlotte, eldest daughter and co-heir of Herbert Windsor, second Viscount Windsor, and was the mother of John, Lord Mountstuart, who died in 1794 during the lifetime of his father; William, whose son, Villiers, was created Baron Stuart de Decies, and Captain William, R.N., who married Georgina Maude, the daughter of Cornwallis, first Viscount Hawarden, and whose only child, Georgina, died unmarried and was buried in Luton Church, 1833. By his second wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Coutts, Esq., the banker, he was the father of Lord Dudley Coutts, M.P., who married Cristiana, daughter of Prince Lucien Bonaparte. The marquis died at Geneva in 1814 and was succeeded by his grandson, John, second Marquis, who, as his father, two years before his death, had married (1792) Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Patrick Crichton, Earl of Dumfries, succeeded to that title in 1803, and assumed the name and arms of Crichton, in addition to and before that of Stuart. A fire on November 10th, 1843, having destroyed the whole of the interior of the Hoo mansion, with the exception of the library, together with the beautiful chapel, the marquis, the following year, after restoring it in good part, and having owned the Hoo, "nearly 1,300 acres in extent," with the manors of Luton, Hoo, etc., forming a domain of about 3,600 acres, for just thirty years, sold them by auction to Mr. Ward (1844), parting at the same time with the advowson of the vicarage of Luton, and of the chapelry of New Mill End, to the Rev. T. Sikes, curate of Luton. Thus the connection of the family with the parish came to a rather sudden termination. In the following January the marquis married, as his second wife, Sophia, daughter of Francis, first Marquis of Hastings, late Governor-General of India (she died December 28th, 1859), and, dying in 1848, was succeeded by their only offspring, the present marquis, John Patrick Crichton Stuart, born in 1847, who in 1872 married the Hon. Gwendoline Howard, daughter of Lord Howard of Glossop, and has an only daughter, Margaret, born 1875, heiress-presumptive of the earldom of Dumfries.

Davis (p. 41) records that "under the floor of the Luton Hoo chapel is the family vault of the Stuarts and Napiers, in which have been interred the remains of fifteen bodies. Only five leaden coffins remain, with the bones of the remaining ten"

<sup>1</sup> Davis.

## APPENDIX BO. (Chap. XI., p. 243.)

PARTICULARS OF THE CHURCH AND VICARAGE HOUSE, ETC., ETC., ETC., OF LUTON, MADE BY ORDER OF THE RIGHT REV., ETC., THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN, AT HIS VISITATION ETC., 1825.

"IMPRIMIS, One brick & tiled *Dwelling-House* in length Sixty Seven feet in breadth Thirty Eight feet to the outside of the walls.

A small courtyard of the width of Eleven Feet on the North West side of the Vicarage House by the side of which is a range of Buildings, in length Thirty Eight Feet, in breadth Thirteen feet, used as a Brew House, a Wood Barn & for other purposes.

In the orchard north west of the Vicarage-House and fronting South West to the Church-yard is a Range of Buildings in length 62 ft. in breadth 15 ft. 2 in. timber built part Brick and Boarded part Tiled & part Thatched, one occupied as a Cottage, a Stable & for other purposes.

Item. The *Church yard* containing (with the scibe of the church) 2 acres, 3 roods abutts on the grounds of Joseph Brown on the South East of the said Joseph Brown an ancient footpath called St. Ann's Lane, William Burr and the Marquis of Bute on the South West on a certain Garden in the occupation of John Brown & the public road called Church Street on the North West and on the Vicarage Garden Closes and Buildings and a public Footway called the Causeway on the North East the walls & gates thereof round about made by the Parish.

Item. One plot of ground in the midst of which stands being the House abutting on the Church yard to the South West on an old channel of the River Lea to the North East and on the Vicarage Closes on the North West and South East.

Item. One other plot of ground called the great orchard containing 8 acres, 10 roods, 5 poles abutting on the church yard South West on the Vicarage Garden North West on a public footpath called the Causeway South East and another footway leading to the Sack manufactory and on the old channel of the River Lea North East.



Item. One other plot of ground called the Little Orchard containing with the buildings thereon 32 poles abutting on the Church yard South West the Vicarage House & Garden South East on a certain garden with a Cottage belonging to Thomas Thorogood North West and the old channel of the Lea north east.

The fences of the above lands made & repaired by the vicar or resident Incumbent.

Item. There is also due to the Minister for every burial One Shilling and two pence for every Marriage by license 5s. by Ditto of Publication by Banns 3s. 6d. for the Publication of Banns 2s. one half of which is to the Minister & the other to the clerk. No fee either to Minister or Clerk for Baptism but Sixpence is usually paid for making the entry in the Register. To the Minister for every Thanksgiving of Women Sixpence. To the Clerk for every burial Tenpence. For every Marriage by License 2s. 6d. By Banns 1s. 6d.

To the Sexton for making a Grave & tolling the Knell eighteen pence.

Belonging to the said Parish are first the *Parish Church* an ancient Building consisting of a Nave two Aisles & two Wings containing in length (with the Chancel) one hundred & forty nine feet eight inches within the walls (exclusive of the Steeple) in breadth Fifty six feet nine inches with a Porch at the South & North doors each Porch in length 16 feet & in Breadth 12 feet 3 inches. The width between the Wings ninety four feet nine inches. The Chancel in breadth Twenty Four Feet and a half within the walls. The Steeple in Length Twenty Feet in breadth Seventeen Feet & a half within the walls in Height Eighty One Feet to the Leads at each of corner of which is an octangular Turret in Height of eight feet with a lead Spire & Cross Branching from the Centre in Height of twenty four feet. In the West Pinnacle thereof is an Alarum Bell fitted in a frame with a Rope Descending to the bottom of the Steeple the Diameter of which is nineteen inches with the inscription R. O. 1637. In the upper floor of the said Steeple called the Bell loft are Eight Bells with their frames. . . . In the third Floor of the said Steeple is fixed the Town or Church Clock Also an old Chime Barrel with a Cog wheel and part of a frame also a Roll & Frame for the purpose of Drawing Heavy Weights to the top of the Steeple. The Second Floor is what is termed the Belfry to which descend the

Ropes belonging to the Bells for the purpose of Ringing. In the Ground Floor are a Burial Cart & an old Bier. Adjoining the Chancel on the north side is a Chapel originally called Wenlock Chapel but now generally known by the name of & called Someries Chapel in which are several ancient tombs with a small portion of painted Glass in the different windows but much mutilated. The size of this Chapel is in length Thirty four feet seven inches in breadth Twenty five feet one inch Also the North Side of the said Chancel & appertaining to the Church is a Vestry Room in length Eighteen feet three inches in breadth seventeen feet eight inches above which is a Room of the same size (with a staircase leading from Wenlock otherwise Someries Chapel before mentioned) commonly called or known by the name of the Ministers Retiring Room. On the South Side of the said Chancel is an Ante chapel in length Thirty two feet one inch in breadth 12 ft. 9 in. through which is the entrance to the Marquis of Bute's Gallery—4 private pews (besides the Ministers) all the rest are considered as belonging to the said Church & kept in repair at the expense of the Parish. Within & belonging to the said Church is an elegant Gothic Baptistry of an octagon form containing a Font or Baptisterium composed of Stone & standing on 5 pillars with a marble Vase or Board therein purchased & presented to the Church by several inhabitants of the Parish the size thereof being Two feet eleven inches by Two feet. Also one pulpit and Reading Desk surmounted with another Desk for the Parish Clerk. One Pulpit Cushion covered with Purple Velvet with Gold fringe and tassels One Purple Velvet Covering to the Reading Desk with Gold Fringe one large Brass Chandelier suspended from the Roof by an ornamented Chain consisting of branches for 18 lights 1 large Bible and Ditto Testament with the Apocrypha two large Common Prayer Books The book of Martyrs (imperfect) with this inscription on the Cover "This Book of Martyrs was given unto the Church of Luton by John Adams 1606." The book of Homilies One Reading Desk in the Chancel one Altar Picture (painted by Fusseli) in an Oak Frame the subject thereof being Noah's Offering and (by the inscription thereon) taken from Genesis 8th, verse 20.

Four tablets affixed in the Chancel having printed thereon the Ten Commandments the Creed & Lord's Prayer One Communion Table with two purple Cloth Covers two stools with Covers One Carpet on the Floor of the Altar Ten feet by seven

feet and One Mat of the same Size the King's Arms Two pewter Dishes for the Offertory One Silver Flaggon weight Sixty Seven Ounces with a Cover engraved thereon I. H. S. and on the front "Laudes Deo sainifubo et vota mea excelso eaddam." One silver cup gilt within weight Thirteen Ounces with an engraved inscription thereon "Given this Cupe to the Church of Lutonne by Thomas Attwood of Castell Streett for a Communion Cupe 1610." One other silver gilt Cup weight Twenty Ounces One silver gilt Salver weight seventeen ounces Two linen Cloths one marked I. H. S. the other plain. One oak chest formerly with three locks but now only with one 3 Surplices One bier One weathe box for the use of the Minister at Funerals One Printed Tablet containing a list of Different charities left to the Church & Parish dated 1781 with the names of T. Alsop & J. Smith Churchwardens.

13 Parchment Register Books The first numbered one containing Baptisms from April 8th 1603 to April 29th 1719. Burials from April 6th 1603 to April 5th 1710. and Marriages from May the 4th 1603 to April 12th 1708 (all very irregularly entered). The one marked number 2 containing Baptisms and Burials from April 3rd 1719 to the end of 1759 & Marriages from April the 1st 1719 to March the 20th 1753. The one No. 3 contains Marriages from April the 27th 1759 to February 2nd 1761. The number 4 contains Marriages from June 20th 1769 to December 24th 1775. The number 6 contains Marriages from January 10th 1776 to April 13th 1790. The number 7 contains Marriages from May 1st 1790 to the end of 1812. The number 8 contains Marriages & Burials from January the 2nd 1760 to the end of 1775. The number 9 contains Baptisms & Burials from January 1776 to December 11th 1797. The number 10 contains Baptisms & Burials from January 1st 1798 to the end of 1812. Numbers 11, 12 & 13 contain a list of the Marriages Baptisms & Burials beginning 1813 & continued to the Present Time.

One Iron Chest under the care of the residing Minister & placed in the Vicarage-House with a Strong Lock with three Bolts."

## APPENDIX BP. (Chap. XII., p. 253.)

HISTORY OF THE VARIOUS RESTORATIONS OF  
THE PARISH CHURCH OF LUTON, BY THE  
REV. JAMES O'NEILL, B.D.

FROM until the middle of the *fifteenth century* no information can be gathered from any source of the condition of the church nor of anything done to it. But about that time, it appears from an inscription on a monument of one *John Hay*, steward to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which stood in the north aisle, and who is described as "a liberal and honourable man," that "he repaired it" ("hanc ecclesiam reparavit"). To what extent this reparation went we are not told. About the same time *Lord Wenlock* built or rebuilt the Wenlock Chapel, and *John of Wheathampstead* built or rebuilt the chancel, and, according to one statement, other parts of the church. It is evident from marks on the west wall of the tower and nave that the church formerly had a much higher-pitched roof than it has at present, and that it had not then a clerestory. It is very probable, therefore, that the work of John of Wheathampstead, in addition to the chancel, consisted in taking off the old roof and adding the clerestory, and possibly the north aisle, which is of a much later date than the south aisle. Recollecting the connection which the church at that time had with the abbey, it is not improbable that all that was done was executed under the superintendence of the abbot. Into whatever good state of repair it may have been put at this time, it is evident that before 1637 neglect and decay had done their work, for Camden says on visiting it he "saw a fair church, but the choir was roofless and grown over with weeds." How far this decay and neglect is to be attributed to the alienation of property from the abbey, and to that revulsion of public feeling which, however valuable in other matters, was not particularly favourable to the care of churches, it is impossible to say. The fact, as on the authority of Camden, cannot be questioned.

In the year 1779, that is, nearly a century and a half after Camden's visit, William Stuart, youngest son of the Earl of Bute, became vicar, and it is stated that during his vicariate he had the chancel re-roofed, and a round-headed window inserted in the east wall; but whether this statement is correct or not cannot now be

determined. The only records in connection with the church are the baptismal, marriage, and burial registers, and though notices are occasionally inserted in them there is none of this work.

A *quasi-restoration* was undertaken before or about this time of the whole church. It merely consisted of a free use of cement and stucco. With the former the arches and pillars of the interior were coated—all decayed stonework being in this way concealed—and the whole of the exterior, except the tower, was covered by the latter, the decayed stonework being first patched with bricks and mortar, so as to give the walls, buttresses, and battlements a uniform appearance. The Totternhoe stone, so extensively used in the building of the church, was freely hacked at this time to insure the better adhesion of the first coat of rough plaster that was laid on. Up to the present time, except where external restoration has been carried out, this coating is still to be seen.

In 1823 an invasion of stereotyped arrangements took place, which marred considerably the fine proportions of the interior of the church. A *gallery* was erected at the west end, and under it an oak partition, the cost of both amounting to £400, of which part was taken from the church and steeple fund and other parish charities. This partition shut off from the part of the church used for worship the space from the west wall to the third pillar. An organ, one of Lincoln's, which cost three hundred guineas, was erected on it, and on either side of it tiers of seats, dark and dingy, for the Sunday-school children. The erection of this gallery involved the removal of the baptistery from its right place at the west end of the church to the south transept, where it remained until the year 1864, when the restoration of the interior was commenced.

This was the condition of the church when the Rev. J. D. Parry visited it in 1827, and wrote his *Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire*, in which he included a description of the parish church of Luton. It is one of the best that has been written.

In 1829 what was deemed a further improvement was carried out. The high square pews which filled the greater part of the nave were removed, and *oblong pews*, about four feet high, were erected in their place, with oak fronts and doors. In the centre aisle, according to the usage of the time, about twenty deal seats with backs, capable of seating three in each, were erected for the aged poor, and in the north and south aisles, rows of inferior pews,

without doors, apparently for another class of parishioners. According to a printed tablet, now placed against the south wall of the tower, six hundred sittings were thus added to the seven hundred previously existing, and were declared "free for ever" by an agreement with the Incorporated Church Building Society, which contributed a part of the funds.

No further alteration appears to have been made until 1855, when the vicar, the Rev. Thomas Bartlett, effected another change. With the consent of the occupants, the three small galleries in the aisles and the Marquis of Bute's large pew across the chancel, referred to in Parry's book, were taken down, with the partition that was under it separating the chancel from the other parts of the church. In lieu of these, benches were erected in the south transept for John Shaw Leigh, Esq., who had become possessed of the Marquis of Bute's estate, and pews were erected on the north side of the chancel, one of which J. S. Crawley and family occupied, with seats on the south side for his servants. Into these, by a strange fate, some of the *massive old oak benches* were worked, while the only *two* remaining old *massive stalls* were transferred to the west wall of the church, under the gallery, for the use of the sexton, who also acted as verger to the church. Stranger still was the fate of the lower part of the *chancel screen* (the upper part had at some previous time been sawn or broken off), for on taking down what had been the Marquis of Bute's pew, it was extracted from some layers of baize in which it had been hidden, and, though decorated with some mediæval painting, making it, in the view of the architect subsequently employed, one of the most treasurable pieces of furniture in the church, it was thought by the churchwardens so worthless that their first thought was to sell it for old firewood. Having escaped that destiny it was placed in the deserted south porch, where it served the ignoble purpose of keeping the coal in a heap, until 1862, when it was removed by the vicar and put aside for the inspection of a competent architect.

During the three years that Mr. Bartlett was vicar (1855-1858) two other alterations were made. The *ceiling* which covered the rough oak roof of the chancel was removed, and the *pulpit*, which had always stood against the first pillar of the nave on the south side, with the *reading-desk* and *clerk's desk* in front of it, was transferred to the north pillar of the chancel arch. His successor, Dr. Peile, however, had it and the reading-desk placed against the

opposite pillar. But it was found that the original site was the best, and they were subsequently taken back to it.

Notwithstanding these alterations, which in some respects put the interior into a better condition, no person with architectural taste could enter the church without feeling that the removal of the baptistery from its proper place at the west end of the nave, and the erection of the gallery there, cutting off a considerable part of the church, and the pews, which were of an inferior and poor-looking kind, were alterations in the wrong direction, and that if the whole of the internal structures were cleared away, and the church left to exhibit its original grand proportions, it would be an unquestionable gain. It was a feeling of this kind that induced the vicar in 1863 to make proposals for a thorough restoration. Preaching on Haggai, i. 8, he said, "As appropriate to the former part of my subject, let me remind you that this material temple in which you are now assembled has claims from its condition which each one ought to hasten to recognize. An effort is being made, and will continue to be made, until something effectual is done, to remove the deformities which meet your eyes on every side, and to make it a temple more suitable for those chaste and elevating services which are conducted here. It is not fit, it is not right, that the mother church of the parish should continue in a state which all lovers of what is beautiful must condemn, but which every right-minded person must deplore. To meet the difficulties which exist from having allowed this venerable pile to fall into its present state, it is hoped that everyone who does not take the very selfish view of 'allowing posterity to take care of itself,' will render assistance by every means in his power." The result of that was a meeting in the vicarage of the leading parishioners, when the matter was discussed, and it was agreed to apply for a faculty to authorize the restoration, and to form a committee to collect funds. The services of Mr. G. E. Street were engaged as the architect, who was instructed to draw out specifications for a thorough restoration of the fabric and to furnish a report for publication. The report was as follows :

*Report of the proposed Restoration of the Parish Church at Luton.*

"The parish church at Luton is on a grand scale, and though containing examples of work of various dates, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, is still simple and uniform in plan, consisting of a western tower, nave with aisles and two porches, tran-

septs with eastern aisles, and a large chancel, with its ancient groined vestry. The size is very considerable, the total length being 182 feet and the extreme width 101 feet. The general character of the exterior is, now, that of the fifteenth century, but the steeple is one of the finest examples of its class of the fourteenth century. The church is much in want of exterior repairs, the walls in particular being in a very bad state, owing to the decay of the Totternhoe stone which was extensively used in their erection. Many of the windows, also, require renewal. The internal fittings are very poor and badly arranged—a great western organ gallery cutting off a great part of the length of the nave, and the space under being shut off from the rest of the church. The result is that the very fine fabric of the church is so obscured or defaced as to deprive it of almost all its naturally fine effect.

“I have made careful surveys of the church, both inside and out, and I propose to repair the whole of the external stone and flint work, to restore the old copings and gables, to rebuild the south porch and considerably alter the north porch, to carefully restore all the defective stone-work in the steeple, and to lower the ground round it to its ancient level, and in the east wall of the chancel to insert an entirely new window in place of the quite modern window which now exists there.

“In the interior, I propose to clean and repair carefully the walls and stone-work throughout, to re-pave and re-floor the whole church, and to fit up with open oak seats of handsome and solid construction and uniform design. Some portions of the church I propose should be seated with chairs, where their use will be more convenient than that of fixed seats.

“The fine and uniform baptistery, which was moved a few years ago into the south transept, will be moved back to the west end of the nave and carefully refixed.

“The alteration and arrangement of the seats will give an increase of accommodation for more than one hundred worshippers over what is now provided ; but this statement of numbers does not in any degree measure the real value of the increase, as, in the restored church, all the seats will be easy of access, on the same floor, and perfectly comfortable for use, both for kneeling and sitting. The whole church will have to be carefully warmed, and I recommend that this should be done by means of hot-water pipes.

“I estimate the cost of the whole of the works of all kinds re-



quired to be done, at the sum of £10,500 or £11,000, of which £4,500 is the amount required for works on the exterior of the building, and £6,000 to £6,500 for those in the interior, including some portions of the exterior, which must of necessity be executed at the same time.

"The works proposed may be very well subdivided, so as to admit of their being executed from time to time, as funds allow ; but it is, of course, most important that the whole should be undertaken on one comprehensive plan, if a successful result is to be achieved.

(Signed) "GEORGE EDWARD STREET.

"51, Russell Square, London, May, 1864."

"N.B.—The Committee beg to point out that in the apparently large sum required for internal restoration and repairs, the rebuilding of the south, the thorough repair of the north porch, the insertion of a new east window, the restoration of the west window and rebuilding of the east end, together with other matters, which must be carried on at the same time as the internal works, are included."

"Butler, Printer, 'Times' Office, George Street, Luton."

The notice of the application for the faculty, dated July 18th, 1864, was hung upon the church doors, and any parishioner objecting to it was invited to attend at S. Mary the Great, Cambridge. No one appeared (it has been supposed by some, because it was thought that such an undertaking would never be carried out), and the faculty was accordingly issued, giving a wide margin for the restoration, and sanctioning the plans and specifications prepared by Mr. Street. Among the various items of this faculty, the following may be especially noted : the insertion of an east window suitable to the architecture of the church, raising the chancel two steps above the nave, the removal of the pews, stones, etc., paving the floor with flags and encaustic tiles, rebuilding the south porch, restoring the north porch, re-seating the church with oak benches, and the reparation of all stone-work, internal and external.

In February, 1865, a *contract* was entered into by the committee with Messrs. Wall and Hook of Gloucester for the restoration of the nave and aisles, the chancel and transepts being screened off for the services of the church. This contract was completed in July, 1865, and this part of the church was opened for service on

Sunday, July 23rd. It was furnished with chairs, the funds not then being sufficient to allow of oak benches being provided. A second contract was entered into for the restoration of the eastern part of the church, including the transepts, the Wenlock Chapel, the chancel and the vestry, which was completed in July, 1866, and furnished with chairs like the nave and aisles. On July 29th, the Rev. J. W. Peile, D.D., a former vicar, preached, and the Rev. H. Windsor, vicar of Flamstead, in the afternoon. The committee who had hitherto directed the restoration under the guidance of Mr. Street now ceased to act, having spent all moneys at their disposal. Everything that has been done since has been done under the direction of the vicar and churchwardens. In the following year the treasurer, J. S. Crawley, Esq., published the following statement, which shows the receipts and expenditure by him up to July, 1867 :

## (ABSTRACT.)

<i>Receipts.</i>			<i>Payments.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
<i>Donations.</i>			To Contractors for contract and extras . .	2,300	0 0
The Lady Eliz. Russell .	50	0 0	To Clerk of the Works . .	161	17 8
J. S. Leigh, Esq. . . .	300	0 0	For Chairs . . . .	70	0 0
L. Ames, Esq. . . .	30	0 0	To Architect for commission, etc. . . .	222	1 0
W. Stuart, Esq. (Aldenhurst) . . . . .	100	0 0	Heating apparatus . .	261	17 6
Trustees of late F. Burr, Esq., on acc. of £100 . .	50	0 0	Etc., etc.		
Bishop of Ely . . . .	50	0 0		£3,125	14 0
Trustees of the Marquis of Bute . . . . .	100	0 0	Receipts . . . . .	2,606	12 9
Mrs. Burr . . . . .	20	0 0			
Offertories, Coll. Cards, etc. . . . .	400	9 9	Balanced due to Treasurer	£519	1 3
Fr. Ch. W. (Ch. and Steeple Funds) . . .	128	18 2			
<i>Subscriptions.</i>					
J. S. Crawley, Esq. (ann.)	100	0 0			
Rev. J. O'Neill (ann.) .	30	0 0			
Mr. J. Cumberland (ann.)	10	0 0			
Trinity College, Oxford .	10	0 0			
Lord Wenlock . . . .	30	0 0			
Hon. and Rev. S. W. Lawly . . . . .	10	0 0			
Etc., etc.					
Total	£2,606	12 9			

The chancel was still unfit for use. Though the east wall had been taken down and rebuilt, the east window inserted and filled with plain glass, the walls replastered, and the floors paved, neither prayer desks, stalls, or choir benches had been put in. It had to be screened off, therefore. The Lord's table was placed at the entrance of the chancel on the western side of the screen, and worship conducted in the nave and transepts from July, 1866. until June, 1868. During the interim funds were collected for furnishing the chancel, and on June 9th, 1868, stalls, choir benches, and prayer desks having been erected, and suitable furniture for the Lord's table with hangings for the walls having been obtained, an octave of services was held each evening until the 17th. The preachers were:

Sunday, May 31st. Morning and evening, Right Rev. the Bishop of Sierra Leone. Afternoon, Rev. A. Blomfield, rector of Barton.

Monday evening, June 1st. Rev. A. T. Edwards.

Tuesday evening, June 2nd. Rev. W. Gell, rector of Hertingfordbury.

Wednesday evening, June 3rd. Rev. T. W. Peile, vicar of S. Paul's, Hampstead.

Thursday evening, June 4th. Rev. Robert Maguire, vicar of Clerkenwell.

Friday evening, June 5th. Rev. W. Haslam, mission preacher.

Saturday evening, June 6th. Rev. H. Tite, curate.

Sunday, June 7th. Morning, Rev. J. Lee, vicar of Christ Church, Luton. Afternoon, Rev. W. H. Iggulden, vicar of East Hyde. Evening, Rev. James O'Neill, vicar of Luton.

The whole church being now once more used for service without any of the excrescences and deformities which bad taste and foolish economy had introduced, its fine proportions were once more seen, and the wisdom of the endeavour to effect a thorough restoration recognized.

The next important additions were made in 1874, when a handsome stained glass east window was inserted in the chancel, executed under the direction of Mr. Street, by Mr. Alex. Gibbs, of London. It consists of nine medallions with subjects taken from the life of our Lord, beginning with His birth and ending with His ascension. Its colouring is very rich and is much admired. The cost was defrayed by subscriptions and collections in church.

In the same year the third window from the west end of the church in the south aisle was put in by the Sunday-school

teachers and scholars. It represents Moses, David, and Aaron, with their distinctive symbols, and a choir of angels in the tracery.

In this year, also, the north porch was restored by the re-facing of walls, etc. Gates were afterwards added from the design of Mr. J. H. Humphreys, architect.

In 1877 the north transept stained glass window was erected. It was first a quarry window with the Apostolic Fathers in the tracery. But the large mass of quarries not giving satisfaction, a year or two afterwards the quarries were removed, and the figures of S. Mary the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, and S. Stephen were inserted, with a choir of angels in the base. This window was paid for by £50 taken from the church and steeple fund and collections.

Before any more decorative work was undertaken, it was felt that two pieces of substantial repair were urgently needed—the re-roofing of the north and south aisles and the rebuilding of the south porch. The porch had been condemned by Mr. Street as unsafe and incapable of any restoration. It had, therefore, to be taken down and a new one—designed by him—built. It is built of Ancaster stone and chequered work, has an upper room or parvise, now used for mothers' meetings, and is reached by turret stairs leading from the church. It was opened on August 24th, 1879, when the Archdeacon of Bedford preached in the morning, the Rev. J. Finch Smith in the afternoon, and the Rev. Dr. Maguire in the evening.

The other, the re-roofing of the north and south aisles, was rendered necessary by their almost dangerous state, many of the rafters being decayed. Their defects had been concealed by lath and plaster, which, in the restoration, was removed<sup>1</sup> by the architect with the view of showing how necessary it was that a new roof should be put up. It was felt most desirable to make new and substantial oak roofs, and to re-lead them all over. A contract was entered into with Mr. G. Garside, of Leighton Buzzard, for this work, which was commenced in 1880 and completed in June the following year. In this year also the brass communion rail, with double pillars, divided by foliage, was erected. It was paid for by a concert given by the choir, and special subscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> The exposure of the rafters proved the free use of colour at some former period, vermilion and (cobalt) blue being traceable on them and in other parts of the church.

and executed by Messrs. Jones and Willis, of London, who also supplied the design.

In 1882 a *pulpit* was built on the spot where the original pulpit had stood. The body is of alabaster, with figures of the Four Evangelists and S. Peter in mosaic panels, which are surmounted with canopies. The central and supporting pillar is made of Connemara marble, surrounded with smaller ones of Devonshire red, and the base is of the Isle of Man black. A special subscription fund was raised for it, being the twentieth year of the vicar's residence as vicar of Luton. The design is copied from the pulpit of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, which is built of stone and marble, of which Mr. Street was also the architect. It was executed by Messrs. Jones and Willis, of London.

In the autumn of this year the east wall of the chancel was enriched by an alabaster dado in squares, within which are carved quatrefoils, resting on red marble. At the angles of the squares are 120 rosettes, each one of a different pattern. It was designed by Mr. J. H. Humphreys, architect, and executed by Mr. L. Giddings, of Luton, stonemason.

1883 was marked by the amount of decorative work carried out. The chancel this year underwent an entire transformation by the erection of a reredos, the covering of the whole of the east wall above the dado with mosaic work, the insertion of similar work in a blind window in the north wall, and the decoration of the north and south walls and roof. The reredos consists of a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper" in an alabaster frame. The sides and base have a bold moulding, and the upper part is a series of seven decorated arched canopies with crocketed finials between them. It was produced by Messrs. Jones and Willis from a design by an artist in Bruges, but altered in its details by their artist in London. It is said to be one of their best pieces of workmanship.

The following detailed account is given in a local paper :

"The decoration of the east wall is carried up throughout. On either side of the window, worked in mosaics, are the emblems of the Four Evangelists—S. Mark, a lion, S. Matthew, a figure with a human face and winged, S. John, an eagle, and S. Luke, an ox. There is also the conventional monogram of the Saviour, 'I.H.S.,' and the true one recently discovered in the catacombs of Rome, 'X.P.C.' Over the window there are depicted in opaque mosaics angelic figures soaring amid fleecy clouds, and the change in the

style of the work and the fine treatment of the subject are highly effective. On the north side a window space is filled with pictures of the three Marys, done in opaque mosaics. The central figure is that of the Blessed Virgin, and on either side are Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, each with appropriate accessories and the whole forming a striking picture. In the recess below is a cartoon in monochrome of Christ raising Lazarus, a grand subject effectively yet simply treated. . . . The remainder of the wall is coloured and divided in imitation of masonry, with alternately cinquefoil pateræ and ornamental scrolls in the prevailing colour. . . . The chancel roof is appropriately decorated in blue, with golden stars over the sanctuary, and outside chocolate with stars in white. The longitudinal and crossbeams are relieved with red and a white fillet. The pier by which stands the pulpit is decorated with cheque-work and stars to correspond with the chancel walls, and this relieves the violent break in style between the pulpit and column, and brings this feature and the chancel into harmony. In the niche in this pier has been inserted a picture in mosaics of S. Paul in the attitude of preaching. A new brass rail, with foliated standards, has been added to the pulpit steps, the stonework of which also has been improved."

This year (1883) was also signalized by the insertion of seven stained glass windows. "The principal ones (says the same local journal) are the two in the south side of the chancel. Each has four lights with a traceried head. The one to the east depicts the following scenes: John baptizing the Saviour; the Temptation in the Wilderness; the Transfiguration, with representatives of Moses and Elias on either side the Saviour, and Peter, James, and John below them; and Christ feeding the Multitude. In the head is a choir of angels, and at the bottom screen-work. The second chancel window is of similar character, and the four subjects are: Peter raising Dorcas, and at the foot, 'Tabitha, arise; Philip baptizing the Eunuch; the Stoning of Stephen; and the Conversion of Saul. The tracery contains emblems of the Christian graces: Faith, Hope, Charity, Humility, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Patience. In the south aisle the first window contains representations of Samuel, Eli, and Elijah, and the brass on the splay records its erection by the vicar in thankful remembrance of mercies and privileges. The third is a new stained glass window, the figures being those of Abraham, Melchisedech, and Jacob, and it is given by Mr. John Cumberland, Mr. George

Bailey, Mr. H. P. Newland, Mr. G. H. Chambers, and Mr. John Higgins, churchwardens between 1862 and 1882. The fourth window is a two-light between the south porch and the west end, and very effectively reproduces Enoch and Noah; this is a gift of the district visitors. The windows westward are both two-light: one depicts Adam and Eve after the fall, clothed in skins, he with spade in hand as a gardener, she with the serpent near; and the other represents Joseph and Mary, and for colouring and facial expression is not excelled by any of the others."

The chancel was screened off during the progress of these works; but on Easter day, 1884, the windows and mosaic work were all unveiled and special services held, commencing an octave from March 25th to April 1st, with morning and evening services and the Holy Communion each day. On the first day of the octave the Rev. Dr. Wainwright preached at each service, morning, afternoon, and evening. The following are the preachers during the octave:

On Monday, March 26th. Morning, Rev. J. O'Neill, vicar. Evening, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Bedford.

On Tuesday, March 27th. Morning, Rev. A. Blomfield, rector of Barton. Evening, Rev. W. Hay Aitken, mission preacher.

On Wednesday, March 28th. Morning, Rev. W. T. Harrison, vicar of Christ Church, Luton. Evening, Rev. Dr. Griffith, vicar of Sandridge, S. Albans.

On Thursday, March 29th. Morning, Rev. G. E. Laws, curate of S. Matthew's, Luton. Evening, Rev. H. Kempson, rector of S. Cuthbert's, Bedford.

On Friday, March 30th. Morning, Rev. Dr. Morris, curate. Evening, Rev. A. H. Delme Radcliffe, rector of Holwell.

On Saturday, March 31st. Morning, Rev. G. H. Moxon, vicar of Sundon. Evening, Rev. J. Darwin Fox, secretary of the Parochial Mission Society.

On Sunday, April 1st. Morning and afternoon, Rev. J. Darwin Fox. Evening, Rev. Jas. O'Neill, vicar.

In 1884 the first stained glass window in the north aisle was erected by the Wenlock Chapel Guild. As the subjects in the south aisle were all from the Old Testament, the plan was adopted of taking all subjects in the north aisle from the New Testament. The Twelve Apostles were therefore chosen. The Wenlock Chapel Guild window is the third from the west end of the church.

In 1886 the three remaining windows in the north aisle were inserted, completing the twelve apostles on that side of the church. The first two from the west end were paid for out of the general fund, and the one at the east end of the aisle was put up by Mrs. Scrivener in memory of her husband, who before his death expressed a wish to that effect.

In the autumn of this year, also, the west window of the north transept was filled with quarry glass. The openings are relieved by three circles of coloured glass, with designs in each.

In 1887, the year of the Queen's Jubilee, the last window that was inserted was that in the tower. It is a memorial window, placed there by the family of the late Mr. Evan Owen Williams to his memory, and is one of the best in the church. It has four lights, and is treated with Temple subjects: Our Saviour among the Doctors; Our Saviour cleansing the Temple; the Widow making her Offering. The grouping and colouring are remarkably good. Mr. Alex. Gibbs, who had executed all the other windows, having lately died, and his business being discontinued, it was feared that it might prove an exception to the general style of all the rest. This fear, however, was obviated by securing the services of Mr. Burgess, Mr. Gibbs's artist, and committing the execution to his foreman.

These several works complete the internal restoration of the church, with the exception of the windows in the Wenlock and Hoo Chapel. That which is most desiderated now is a suitable organ, and for this a subscription has been opened with such success that it is hoped a new, and in every respect a suitable one, will take the place of the small one at present in use before the expiration of the present year.<sup>1</sup> The exterior of the church needs extensive repairs still. But as some property accruing from the church and steeple fund is available for this purpose, and will at the expiration of the present lease realize about £250 annually, it is hoped that by means of it, together with subscriptions and collections, the whole of the exterior will in a few years be as thoroughly and satisfactorily restored as the interior has been.

<sup>1</sup> This was written in 1888.



## APPENDIX. PART II.

## COSTUME AND DATE OF EFFIGIES OF PRIESTS.

(Pp. 320, 321, 326, 341.)

THERE are still remaining in the church four effigies of priests, two of them in stone, that of W. Wenlok (1392), and that under the niche, and two in brass,<sup>1</sup> viz., that of John atte Spetyll (wanting the head), without date, but early in the fifteenth century; and of Edw. Sheffield, LL.D., early in the sixteenth century (1526).

These exhibit well the changes of custom among the clergy, both as to the mode of wearing the hair, and as to ordinary dress and ministerial vestments; and the comparison of them with other effigies will help to the determination or confirmation of their dates.

The figures of only two of them, that of the stone effigy under the niche, and of the brass of J. atte Spetyll, are in eucharistic habits, those of the others being in ordinary clerical or capitular dresses. The crown of the heads of all four was doubtless shaven, but the head of J. atte Spetyll is now missing, and that of Edw. Sheffield is covered with a peculiar cap,<sup>2</sup> the distinctive mark, it is said, of a doctor or professor of theology, or at least of one who had taken some degree in theology.

On the unknown stone effigy the rest of the hair is rather short and straight, as is found to be the case on some of the very earliest brasses,<sup>3</sup> but in the case of W. Wenlok it is long and wavy, exhibiting the ears, as doubtless also it was in that of J. atte Spetyll, the custom of so depicting the hair prevailing throughout

<sup>1</sup> The effigy of J. Penthelyn being unfortunately destroyed before Steele's visit.

<sup>2</sup> This cap appears on brasses at least as early as 1361, *e.g.*, J. Hotham, in Chinnor Church, Ox., 1361 (*Mon. Brasses in Eng.*), and also on later ones, *e.g.*, Dr. Rob. Langton, *c.* 1515, Queen's Coll., Ox. (*Ibid.*), and Dr. Urswick, 1521, Hackney (*Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 105).

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, that of a priest in Hereford Cath., 1370 (*Mon. Br. of Eng.*).

the greater part of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in the case of Edw. Sheffield, as was usual in the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> it is long and straight, covering the ears.

Around the neck of the unknown priest the amice<sup>2</sup> appears without ornament; in the case of J. atte Spetyll it is "apparelled," being ornamented with crosses botonnée.

In the former case, too, the "apparel" or embroidery of the alb<sup>3</sup> is plain, and encircles the whole wrist of the sleeve, as it is found to do only in the very earliest examples; in that of J. atte Spetyll it is only upon the upper part. In the former, also, the lower part of the alb is unadorned except with a plain, broad, rectangular apparel, extending the whole width of the front, and

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Ric. Wyllys, c. 1460, Higham Ferrers Church (*Mon. Br. in Eng.*), J. Stodley, 1505, Over Winchenden Church, Bucks (*Ibid.*), Dr. Rob. Langton, c. 1515, Queen's Coll., Ox. (*Ibid.*), and Edm. Assheton, 1522, Middleton Ch., Lanc. (*Ibid.*). "Long and flowing hair, particularly when it appears curling in profusion behind the ears (which themselves are large and prominent), is a special characteristic of the earliest ecclesiastical brasses. As the fifteenth century drew towards its close, the hair, which in the brasses of ecclesiastics had long been less flowing than at an earlier period, is represented as quite straight" (*Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 96, note j).

<sup>2</sup> "The amice," says Mr. Waller, "is an oblong piece of fine linen, having on one of its lateral edges an embroidered collar, which is turned over and brought round the neck, the ends of the amice itself being seen folded across where they meet in front." "It is the collar of the amice which appears resting upon the chasuble, and encircling the throat of the priest in eucharistic habit. In the earlier brasses of ecclesiastics it was adjusted loosely about the neck, and with no inconsiderable degree of elegance; but subsequently it is represented as if constructed of stouter materials, and worn after a fashion altogether devoid of the former gracefulness" (Boutell's *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> The alb is a loose and long garment, generally of linen, coming down to the feet, and having close-fitting sleeves reaching to the hands. It was generally ornamented with square or oblong pieces of embroidery at the feet, and also at the wrists.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*, in the brasses of De Bacon, c. A.D. 1310, Oulton, Suffolk (*Mon. Br. and Slabs*, p. 95), Ric. de Hart, c. 1315, Mert. Coll., Ox. (*Ibid.*, p. 115), Rich. de Hakebourne, c. 1315, Mert. Coll., Ox. (*Christ. Mon. in Eng. and Wales*, p. 137), Thos. de Hop, c. 1320, Kemsing Church, Kent (*Mon. Br. in Eng.*), Nichol de Gore, c. 1320, Woodchurch Church, Kent (*Ibid.*), and J. de Grofhurst, c. 1330, Hormonden Church, Kent (*Ibid.*). "Immediately after this last period, the embroidery first appears to cover *only the upper part* of the wrist, as in the brass of Lawrence Seymour, A.D. 1337, Higham Ferrers Church, Northants" (*Mon. Br. and Slabs*, pp. 94, 95), though there is an example of the previous custom probably two or three years later on a bracket brass, c. 1340, Great Brington, Northants (*Christ. Mon. in Eng. and Wales*, p. 139).

the maniple and stole are also plain ; in the latter they are all ornamented with the crosses botonnée.

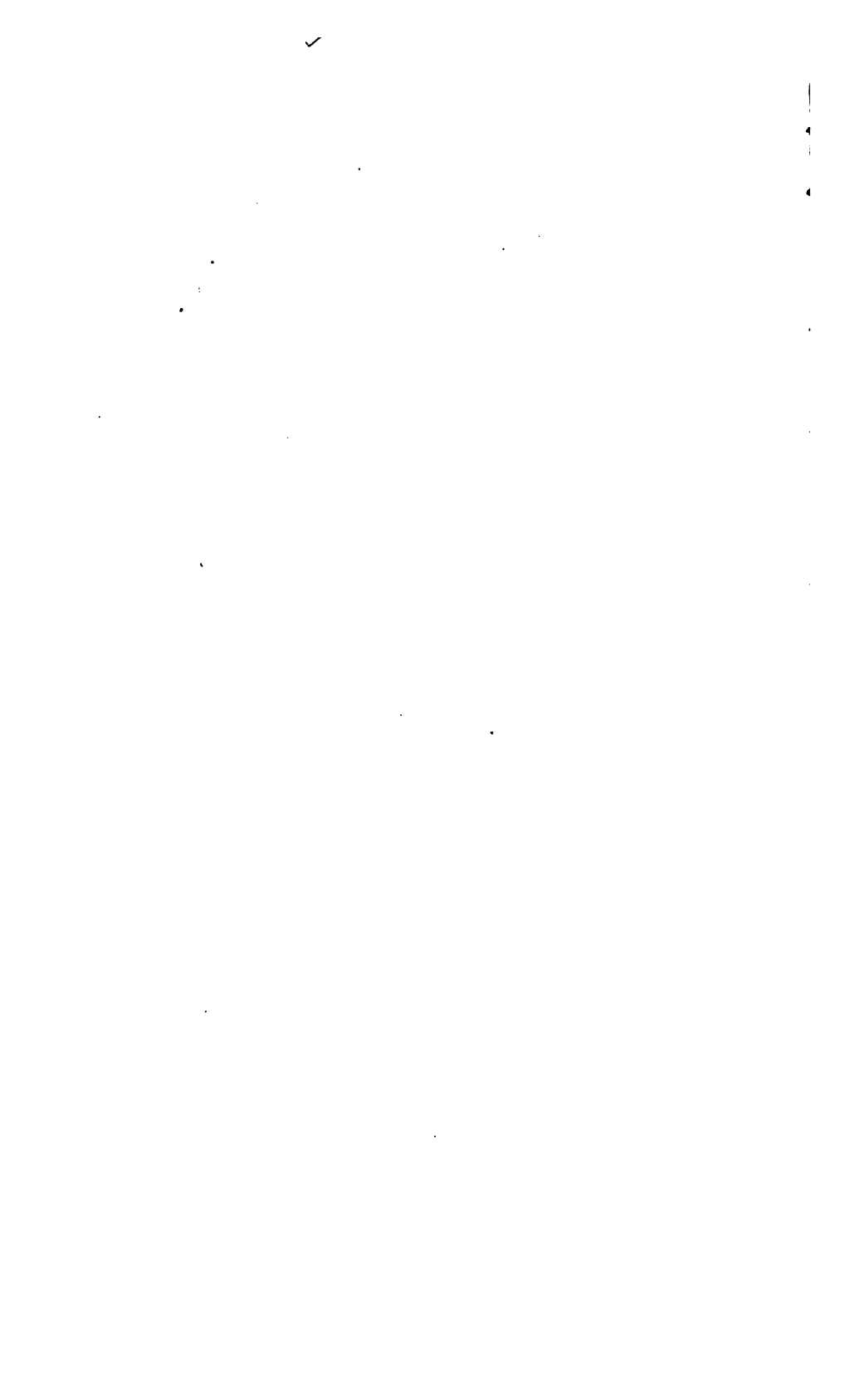
Though the dates of examples in stone may vary a little from those in brass, yet the natural inference from the above comparisons (regarding the straightness and shortness of the hair, the absence of elaborate embroidery on maniple, etc., but its encircling the wrists of the alb—perhaps also the presence of the Y orphrey) seems to be that the unknown effigy was probably erected during the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps before 1337.

Edw. Sheffield wears a surplice, and over it a canon's tippet (called also an almuce or amys) of fur, or cloth lined with fur (its edge being vandyked in imitation of a fringe of the tails of the animal), from which hang down in front two long stole-like pieces of the same material.

## CHARITABLE DONATIONS.

- 5 Nov., 1602. *Edward Vaughan*, of London, Esq., by Indenture:  
3 Messuages on Tower Hill, Luton, for the poor.
- 21 May, 1610. *Thomas Atwood*, of this town, Yeoman, by Indenture:  
40s. per annum for Langleys & Kitnowe Closes for the aged & infirm.
- 13 Sept., 1624. *Thomas Crawley*, of Kimpton, & *Edward Crawley*, of Barton, by Indenture:  
A Messuage standing next the Tithe Barn & 5 acres in the Common Fields of Luton in the occupation of Abraham Crawley, to sustain & amend the Parish Church & Steeple for ever.  
*George Rotherham*, of Summeries, by Indenture:  
£4 per annum from Lawleys to amend the Parish Church & Steeple for ever.
- 15 April, 1637. *Sir Robert Napier* the elder, by Will:  
4 houses on Tower Hill for 4 poor persons, 2s. per week to 26 poor people in bread from his Breach Farm, every Sunday after Divine Service for ever.
- 16 May, 1642. *George King*, of this town, Malster, by Deed:  
52s. per annum, from two pieces of Land in Blackwater Field, laid out by 12d. a week in bread to 12 poor people every Sunday.
- 5 Nov., 1660. *Elizabeth Winch*, of this town, spinster, by Will:  
7 acres in Burge Field: rents distributed amongst poor on S. Thomas's Day.
- c. 1673. *Cornelius Bigland*, of this town, Barber-Surgeon, by Will:  
£6 per annum from Messuage called "Old Tavern" for clothing, maintaining, schooling, & educating 6 poor children of Luton.

- 13 Sept., 1682. *William Crawley*, of this town, Malster, by Will:  
 Piece of Land at Stocken Bridge, for the poor.
- 2 July, 1695. *Roger Gillingham*, late of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., by Will:  
 £10 yearly from Manor of Shitlington for ever to Schoolmaster to teach gratis children of the parish of Luton nominated by the Lords of the Manor of Luton Hoo.
- 28 Dec., 1715. *Sir Theophilus Napier*, Bart., by Will:  
 To poor of Luton conformable to the Church of England, £5 a year in bread every Sunday morning immediately after Divine Service.
- 23 May, 1715. *Elizabeth Rotheram*, late of Kensington, widow, by Will:  
 Charge of £2 12s. yearly on Hurtwood or Hawtwood Close, Brooms Close, & Hawt-hill, for 12 penny loaves every Sunday to 12 poor women present at Divine Service.
- 11 May, 1731. *John Richards*, of Luton, Tin-Plate worker, by Will:  
 Messuage in Luton to put 5 boys to school with the Master of the Church School; also to give every Sunday morning, immediately after Divine Service, to 6 poor widows, who do not receive collections, one 2d. loaf of bread.
- 25 Oct., 1736. *Thomas Long*, Citizen & Merchant Taylor of London, by Will:  
 £1,000 to Churchwardens to be laid out in South Sea Annuity Stock for use of Master & Boys of the free School of this town.  
 £15 of it yearly to the Master, residue to apprentice boys of School.



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